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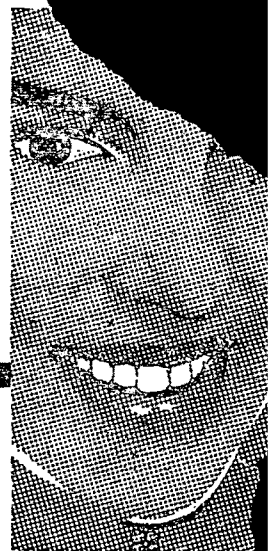
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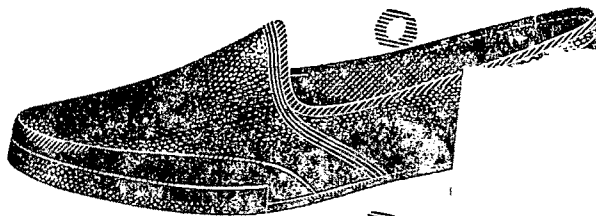
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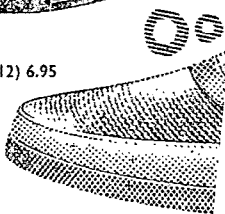
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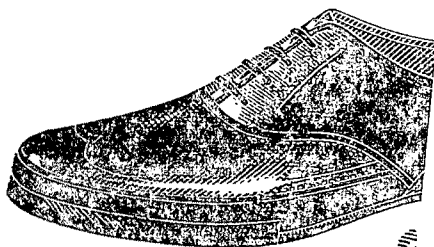
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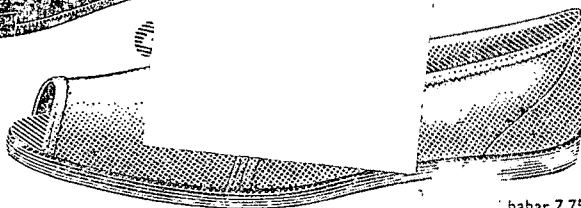


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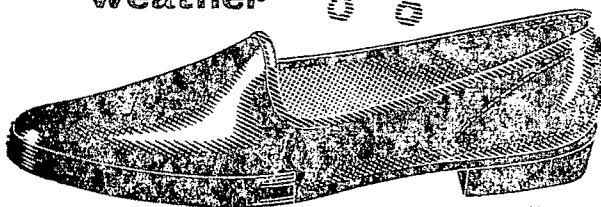


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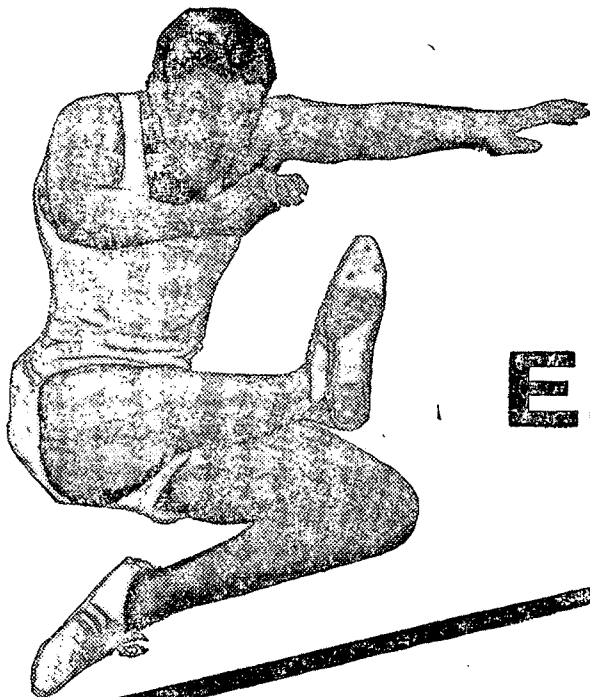
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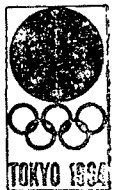


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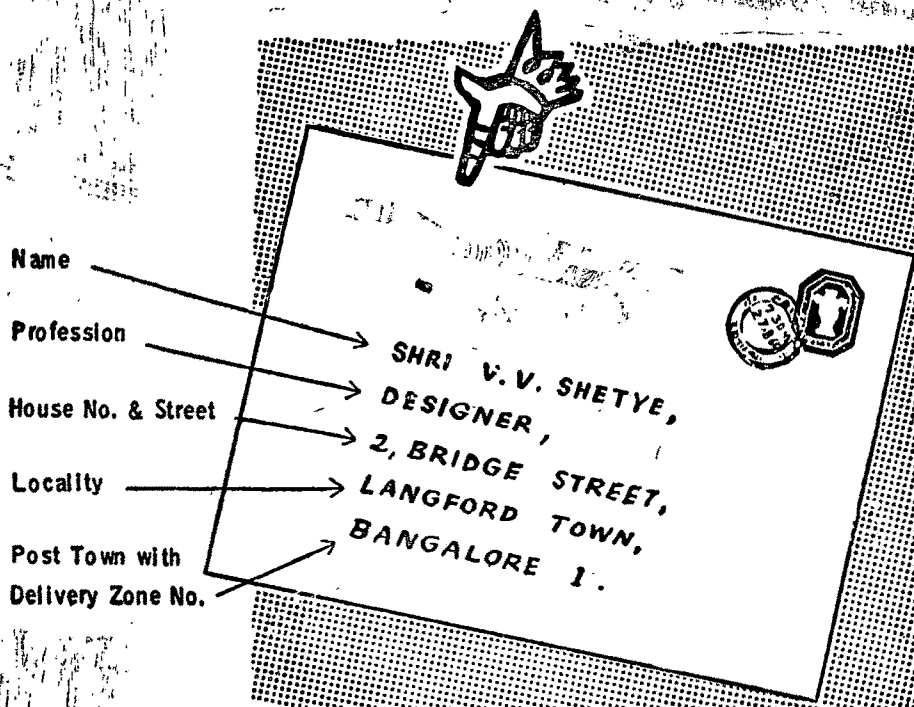
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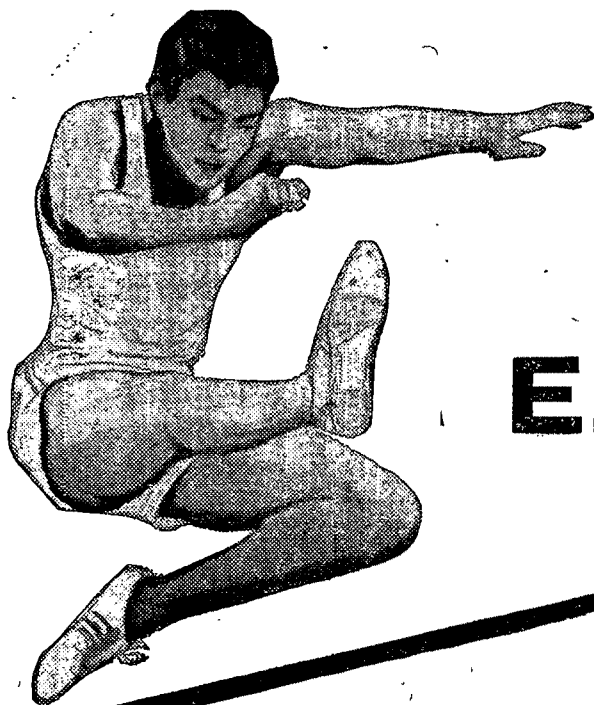
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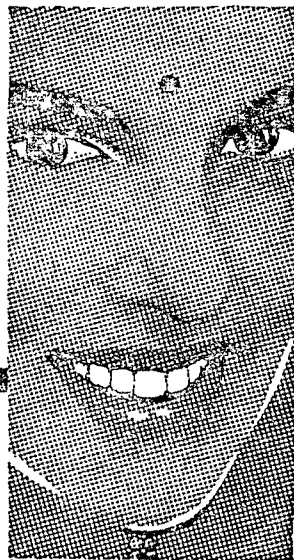
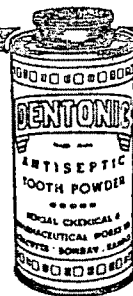
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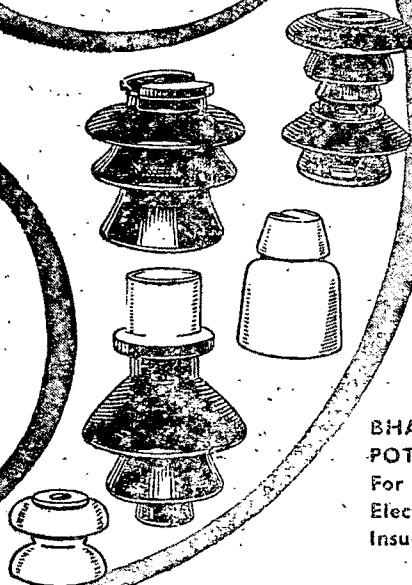
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NOTES

The World

World tensions have remained much the same since the notes were written for our last issue. In Laos nothing new has been achieved by the Six-Nation Conference at the royal capital Vientienne beyond a mild recommendation that the full 14 nation Conference be called and that the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Commission, Britain and the U.S.S.R. be asked to direct the North-Vietnamese troops, who are fighting either as Pathet-Lao volunteers or as regular troops of North Vietnam, to pull-out of Laos. At the time of writing, the Pathet Lao had not mounted any fresh offensive and reconnaissance by U.S. planes accompanied by jet fighters was being kept up. In South-Vietnam the position is much the same, though the monsoons being on, regular troops with their mechanised units and heavy armour are at a disadvantage in comparison with the Viet-Cong guerillas with their light-equipment, adapted for jungle warfare and movement through marshy areas and rice fields. There is a trying time ahead, therefore, unless new tactics are brought into play, for the Government forces.

In the U.S. the attitude of the Government seems to have hardened to the point of risking war with China if necessary to save South-East Asia from Communist aggression. According to authoritative sources this attitude on the part of the U.S. Government has been made known in regard to the problems involved in the cases of Laos and South Vietnam. Speaking at a

Democratic Party function in San Francisco on June 20, President Johnson had said :

"There are still those who believe they can violate their neighbours' borders and steal their neighbours' freedom. There are still those who refuse to accept the standards and the laws which the international community has developed.

"As long as these men persist in disturbing the international peace, we must insist on preserving our power. As long as I am President, I intend to see that America's defence can never be the object of doubt or her strength the subject of suspicion."

The hopes for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines have again receded due to the bellicose and intransigent attitude of President Soekarno of Indonesia. Goerilla warfare in the Malaysian areas of Borneo is again being stepped up by the Indonesian President who loses no chance of proclaiming his determination to destroy Malaysia through a policy of "Confrontation." The "Summit" meeting at Tokyo failed due to the unyielding arrogance of the Indonesian's stand in regard to any attempt at compromise, the basis for which was to have been the total withdrawal of the Indonesian guerillas. All attempts by the Philippine President Diosdado Macapagal at persuasion has failed so far and the prospects for further talks for a settlement of the disputes are dim. The hand of Red China is clearly indicated in the tangle. The visit of the First Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. Mr. Anastas Mikoyan to Jakarta does

not seem to have yielded any results so far, in either direction.

In South Korea a violent outbreak of student rioting has forced President Chung Hee Park to proclaim martial law and to dismiss his nephew by marriage Kim Chong Pil who was the head of the ruling Democratic-Republican Party and the head of the South Korean Central Intelligence Administration—a military organisation with an evil reputation. Kim Chong Pil, who was widely hated, was the behind-the-scenes strong man who was placing his supporters into key jobs in a brazen fashion. Park, who is a dictator, saw that the situation was going out of control fast and therefore pushed Kim out of his job and sent him to attend a seven-week long seminar on politics and economics at the Harvard University. The ways of a dictator are curious indeed.!

In the Congo tribal revolts instigated by Red China's emissaries, who provide money, weapons and training in guerilla warfare to tribals, have resulted in the pulling down of Premier Cyrille Adoula's Cabinet. The widespread disturbances have resulted in the reappearance of all the major trouble makers in the four-year old republic, and the biggest of them, Moise Tshombe is said to be on his way to the revolt racked country. The U.N. peace-keeping force pulls out by June 30.

As was only to be expected, the South-African Government has treated the request by its friends in the U.N.O., to mitigate the ferocious sentences imposed on the African leader Nelson Mandela and seven others, with cynical contempt. Verwoerd and others of his government are confident that the great powers of the West would abandon all humane considerations and principles rather than stop the flow of rich dividends however vile their sources, if it came to the ultimate choice. Afro-Asians have to wait until they are in a position to retaliate massively before they can expect any remedy.

In the U.S.A., the Civil Rights Bill has passed the final stages and it is expected that the U.S. President will sign the Bill into law on or about the Fourth of July. The Bill's voting guarantees must wait for an election before being fully tested, the ban

on discrimination in employment and labour unions does not come into effect for a year. But the public accommodation section becomes effective as soon as the Bill passes into law and is likely to cause the most violent repercussions. It is the farthest reaching and strongest civil rights measure as yet proposed and it categorically:

(1) Forbids racial discrimination in most hotels, restaurants, theaters and the like.

(2) Authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits or to intervene on behalf of aggrieved persons in school desegregation and other discrimination cases.

(3) Creates a Federal equal employment opportunities commission to investigate and counter discriminatory practices in hiring and union membership.

(4) Allows Federal officials to cut off U.S. funds to "any recipient" who persists in racial discrimination (state and local works projects would be among those affected).

(5) Proscribes tactics used by some Southern registrars to keep Negroes off the voting rolls (such as disqualification for immaterial errors on records of application).

The Bill, when it passes into law, would "vastly extend the Federal power to combat racial discrimination" as the **New York Times** wrote. But, as the **N. Y. Times** commented, it is only the first step and steeper ones are ahead. The **N. Y. Times** said:

But the bill will not cure all the racial ills that beset the country or even most of them. It will constitute only a small part of the massive effort that will be required to eradicate the economic, educational and social inequality that is the Negro's lot.

And further it said:

When the civil rights bill is signed into law, it will be comparable in significance to the Supreme Court's ruling a decade ago that outlawed racial segregation in the public schools. But like that historic decision, the prospective new law is but a small step toward the far-distant goal of racial equality.

Moreover, the force of the law falls unevenly upon South and North. In the South it is expected to lead to dramatic though limited change. In the North its effects will be mainly psychological.

The principal change in the South will come in public accommodations. In some places, including chain hotels and restaurants, quick compliance is expected once discrimination is outlawed and that can be cited as an excuse to protesting whites.

But resistance by many independent operators is expected.

The Sadachar Samiti

Our Home Minister, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, gave a slogan to the recently formed anti-Corruption Society, The Sadachar Samiti, during an address to the Working Committee of that body. The slogan was "People's War agaisnt corruption", Mr. Nanda said, during the course of his address, that he wanted every person to take a pledge that he would "end all forms of corruption and work for the good of the country." We thoroughly approve of the idea, on the principle "better late than never."

The Samyukta Sadachar Samiti, which is a non-official organisation set up to fight corruption, has arrived rather late in the day. Corruption became rife and rampant in this country during the days of World War II, the central figures being the **Pucca Sahibs**, both civil and military, who revived the foul traditions of John Company's factors who amassed huge fortunes by **shaking the Pagoda tree** and other processes with fancy names which spelt in plain language extortion, rapine and plunder. Of course these **Pucca Sahibs** had Indian satellites who did all the dirty work for them and also sometimes suffered some penalties when some cases were instituted as a matter of form against a few of them, just to show the world the glories of the British Raj. Needless to say the punishment never fitted the crime and, excepting right at the end of the war, few of the real "Big shots" were ever apprehended.

After the end of the War, the conditions in this country were appalling. Every sphere of public life, was riddled with corruption, transport systems were in ruins and trade and industry had either passed or were in the process of passing into the hands of gamblers and speculators who were

likewise experts in tax-evasion, black-marketing and profiteering on large-scale. They were the successors in business to the **Burra Sahibs** and the **Pucca Sahibs** who had taught them every trick of the trade **inclusive of the methods of pulling political strings.**

Freedom came—not as a gift from the British as some super-fatted British press-lords and some gullible Yankees and others of that ilk would believe, but because the British were astute enough to make out that of the million and half Indian war-veterans almost all would join the freedom fighters in the motherland if the call came and the war-weary British soldier had no stomach for forlorn-hope fighting for the preservation of the Empire. So they left in good grace, unlike the French in Indo-China. Almost all the **Burra Sahibs** and the **Pucca Sahibs** departed with the passing of of the British Raj carrying with them the White-man's Burden, which means Loot, leaving their trained satellites to carry on with the tradition of corruption, profiteering, tax-evasion and political graft. And it is they who constitute the main forces of evil that the Sadachar Samiti will have to fight, though their numbers have proliferated and their malign influence has permeated wide and deep into the body politic, administration and the economy of the nation far beyond what it was at the time of the attainment of Freedom.

Those who were placed in control of the affairs of the Union after the Transfer of Power, were there by virtue of their leadership of the people through the long years of the struggle for freedom. Later on their assumption of powers was ratified through the democratic processes of a free election on the basis of adult franchise, so there could be no question about their being placed in the position of power and trust through the will and the consent of the nation.

Our chosen leaders had enormous enthusiasm and a profound theory about the functioning of a democracy with all the attributes of freedom. They had supreme faith in the intrinsic goodness and staunchness of the peoples they had led in the bitter struggle for freedom that started so many

decades back. But they had no experience in the intricacies of administration whatsoever, particularly where it meant dealing with the corrupt practices and anti-social activities of powerful groups of totally unscrupulous businessmen and financiers with insatiable lust for illicit gain and, further, they were blissfully unaware of the extent to which corruption had spread in the general administration of the country and the political organisation of the Congress. The result was that Organised Corruption had a free field to work its evil designs on the helpless peoples of India. No one talked about an anti-corruption drive at that juncture.

Some time later, when tax-evasion assumed colossal proportions, a Commission was set up to investigate and assess the extent to which it had been done, under the Chairmanship of ex-Chief Justice Varadachari. The results of the survey was not made public but it is known that excepting just a very few of the old-established industrial concerns, almost all the other big businessmen and entrepreneurs were indicted. But some of the most powerful had dug themselves into the good-graces of the most powerful men at the top, so they were let off on condition that they paid the Government its back dues in instalments running over 20 years in certain cases!

That was the time for the formation of a Sadachar Samiti, but despite warnings from all thoughtful peoples, the Great Ones went along their blissful way, unheeding and over confident.

So it is late in the day but, however, it is better late than never—provided it signifies a sincere determination on the part of the majority in the Cabinet to root out the evils of corruption. No half-hearted measures, no reservations and no interference by party bosses must be allowed to prevail. And no political luminary with a shady or doubtful reputation, however high the position or office he might have climbed into in the past, must be allowed to hold places of vantage in the Samity, if it is to be an efficient instrument—and it should be remarked in that context that quite a few of the shadiest will do their level best to

get in, once they are convinced that the powers-that-be mean business. In any case, our best wishes to Shri Gulzarilal Nanda for success in his extremely difficult but vitally important venture.

The Chief Minister's Conference

The three-day Chief Minister's Conference at New Delhi, which ended on June 26, has had a more satisfactory result, where the common man is concerned, than was expected of it. It has led to certain decisions which are likely to have a reassuring effect in these days of uncertain food supplies. It is not that all the decisions were clear-cut and conducive towards ending the complications of foodgrain supply immediately, but they do indicate the determination of the Government to grapple with the problems of soaring prices of essential foodstuffs. A decision was taken at the end of the conference to set up adequate machinery immediately for the proper enforcement of all control measures and to prevent profiteering, black-marketing, hoarding and other anti-social practices. The measures decided upon are as follows:

The conference decided that a scientific study should be undertaken immediately with a view to fixing maximum prices of rice and wheat in different States.

The proposal to form a foodgrains trading corporation as a commercial organization was fully discussed but could not be given a final shape. There was divergence of opinion whether these corporations should be formed on a regional basis or one central corporation should be constituted.

Maximum control of prices and distribution of foodgrains in West Bengal will continue as at present. The Government of India has given the assurance that adequate quantities of rice and wheat will be made available to the States.

Wheat zones as constituted at present will be maintained. The Central Government will, however, make arrangements for supply of adequate stocks of wheat to deficit States.

The conference is understood to have decided to fix ceiling prices at wholesale

and retail level as an immediate short-term measure to check the rising prices.

There will be no restrictions of any kind, formal or informal, on the movement of coarse grains or pulses from one State to another or within a State. All such restrictions that may have been imposed by any State Government will be withdrawn immediately. Movement of gram from certain States which had been regulated with the approval of the Central Government will, however, continue to be so regulated.

Movement of grains between the States should be on State to State account. The conference decided to establish three rice mills in the public sector to begin with. Of these one will be located in the Madhya Pradesh.

It must be remarked in this context, that it is still to be seen whether these decisions will be given effect to with the firmness and efficiency that is needed to counter the anti-social tactics of the profiteers and black-marketeers that infest the trade in essential commodities. Deterrant action is urgently called for and it is to be hoped that the authorities at the Centre and in the States would henceforward devote their attention on concentrated executive action against the profiteers, black-marketeers, hoarders etc.

The Prime Minister's speech, at the conclusion of the conference was forthright and heartening and it is to be hoped that those in charge of the working-out of his ideas would follow the lines of action suggested by him. The failure of the administration, both at the Centre and in the States, has been largely caused by the indifference of the executive towards the interests of the people in general resulting in neglect of duty—which has assumed colossal and criminal proportions in all Government departments—motivated partly by pure indolence and in other cases by more base considerations.

The speech summary is appended below :

New Delhi, June 26.—Prime Minister Shastri today told the State Chief Ministers they could not "afford to lose a moment" in taking long-term measures to solve the food problem.

They should aim at the objective of in-

creasing production, and reaching a stage in "five year's time or even a little more" when the supply of foodgrains to States, whether indigenous or imported, would not remain a Central responsibility.

Mr. Subramaniam (Union Food Minister) had said that he would more or less delegate most of the work to the State Governments, Mr. Shastri said, and added : "I am thinking of the day when the State Governments should not ask for a single foodgrain from the Central Government. It should be entirely the responsibility of the State Governments." If there were deficit States, it should be the duty of the neighbouring States or other States to help them. "Let the Chief Ministers meet and discuss matters and decide among themselves." If they liked their Food Ministers might participate in the Zonal Council meetings, but even that was not necessary.

He envisaged that in the long run the Centre would intervene only when there was a serious or extraordinary situation. It should not become a general practice.

The Prime Minister hoped that the trade would realise its responsibility and respond to the needs of the present situation. "If they don't, we cannot allow them to play with the lives of our people," he warned.

In this connection the Prime Minister recalled that at the time of the Chinese invasion the Delhi foodgrain merchants and association had told him that they would not enhance the price even by a single paisa. They fulfilled the assurance. "They will of course, have profits, they cannot become saints or sadhus. As the situation is today they must realise their own responsibility."

Mr. Shastri said the Finance Minister, Mr. Krishnamachari, in his address to the Conference, had mentioned "one of the most important things,—a heavy reduction in government expenditure."

The Prime Minister added : "May I appeal to you, we should not be tinkering with the problem. If there is a surplus department, the department may be eliminated completely. I know if the secretariat so desires, and if it is earnest about it, it can cut down expenditure by 25 per cent. We may also be partly responsible—the politicians

or ministers—because those who are re-researched start coming to us, and we sympathise with them and create difficulties for officials. In this matter, we will have to be somewhat hard-hearted.”

He said that if expenditure was not cut down, the whole population would suffer and commodities would get dearer. He hoped every State would take care of this problem.

It is certainly necessary that a due warning should be given to the trade that the Government “Cannot allow them to play with the lives of the people,” but the Prime Minister should remember that, that is precisely what the Governments at the Centre and in the States have allowed it to do all these long years. The trade now consists largely of hardened “anti-social” elements whose chief attribute is insatiable greed. We hope the Government has worked out a plan of action against recalcitrant traders. Pious exhortations or mild admonitions and small fines are not likely to have any more effect on them than on other hardened criminals. The position is too acute today, as can be seen from the news item appended below, to allow of any tardy action. The news item is :

Wholesale prices in India are now at the highest level ever reached, revealed Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

The general price index at 144.5 on May 30, 1964 is 8.6 per cent above the level a year ago.

Prices of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities in particular have risen sharply in the past year. While prices of food articles have gone up by 13 per cent, cereal prices have increased as much as 16.5 per cent.

The Prime Minister said that this rise in prices imposes extreme hardship and inequity on a large section of the people, and it is naturally the foremost problem in people’s mind today.

Besides foodgrains there are other essentials like fats and oils and suppliers of protein that are essential for the life and well-being of the people. In West Bengal there is a gamble going on in mustard oil which has reached almost criminal levels. The oil-seed comes from other provinces and a closely guarded ring of importers control the prices in the markets at Calcutta. Needless to say they are of the same ilk as the “anti-social” traders in foodgrains. The result has been artificially created shortages with the attendant evils of skyrocketing black-market prices. The State Government has asked for action at the Centre as was reported sometime ago :

To deal with hoarders in mustard oil and seeds, the West Bengal Government has approached the Centre for enforcing immediate regulations to licence stockists of mustard oil and seeds on an all India basis.

The State Government has requested the Centre to adopt some measures immediately for the control of mustard oil prices all over the country.

The question is likely to be discussed by the Chief Minister, Sri P. C. Sen during his stay in Delhi.

Lastly, to illustrate the way of the profiteer we append an advertisement below which appeared in local dailies a few days back. It should be noted that just a few weeks back the charge for the 2½ Kg. tin container was in the neighbourhood of 60 naye paise.

Packing Nett wt.	Oil	Price of Packing & Tin	Ex Mill Rate.	Wholesale Rate.	Retail Rate.
1/2Kg.	Rs. 1.54.	00-54nP.	Rs. 2.08nP.	Rs. 2.11nP.	Rs. 2.16nP.
1 Kg.	Rs. 3.09	00-81nP.	Rs. 3.90nP.	Rs. 3.96nP.	Rs. 4.06nP.
2 Kg.	Rs. 6.18.	1-36nP.	Rs. 7.54nP.	Rs. 7.66nP.	Rs. 7.86nP.
4 Kg.	Rs. 12.36.	2-09nP.	Rs. 14.45nP.	Rs. 14.69nP.	Rs. 15.09nP.
16.5Kg.	Rs. 50.98	3-91nP.	Rs. 54.89nP.	Rs. 55.88nP.	Rs. 57.53nP.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Centenary

The Centenary Celebrations of the birth of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee were inaugurated on the 29th of June, his birthday, by our President Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, who himself was one of the earnest and scholarly younger professors selected by Sir Asutosh to fill one of his Chairs for post-graduate teaching. Sir Asutosh in his quest for talent for the purpose of equipping the faculties with suitable men, looked for keenness of intellect and scholarly attainments and equipment only. To him youth was no disqualification nor were there any parochial limitations or considerations preventing the choice of candidates from out side provinces. The President, in his inaugural speech particularly stated that there were heads of departments in post-graduate teaching in Sir Asutosh's time who were between thirty and thirty five years of age, which was an example that the Educational departments of the Central and State Ministries might well follow profitably.

Dr. Radhakrishnan began his address by paying his tributes to the three great sons of Bengal—Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda and Asutosh Mookerjee—who had contributed so immensely, directly and indirectly, to the political awakening and cultural emancipation of the country. They had, he pointed out, recently celebrated the centenaries of the first two and today they had the privilege of inaugurating the birthday centenary programme of Sir Asutosh.

Nobody felt more keenly than Sir Asutosh how the Indian universities in those days were creating a disinherited section in our motherland and how scant was the attention they were paying to the culture of our own country. A democrat, Asutosh opened the gates of the university to all and introduced the democratic basis of education of all kinds in the country. Anybody, rich or poor, was, under his new system, entitled to find a place for university education provided he possessed the merit to go in for the same.

Sir Asutosh also tried his best to make sure that people in the universities of India remained true to the culture and heritage

of their own country. They should acquire whatever they could from other countries of the world, but at the same time he taught them to remain steadfast to their own self. He also wanted to ensure that men who had made Indian culture great found an honoured place in the Calcutta University.

Dr. Radhakrishnan pointed out how Asutosh had made distinctive contributions to the educational progress of the country by emphasizing for the first time the importance of scientific research and technological progress and, in the second place, by stressing the importance of Indian languages in the educational set-up of the country. He made Bengali as the medium of instruction in Bengal and his example was soon followed by other universities in various other parts of the country.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, Mr. Malik, mentioned, while proposing a vote of thanks to the President, that the University today was unable to accommodate many qualified and deserving students due to lack of funds and space. We do not know whether any measures are being taken to remedy this State of affairs, which includes, according to Mr. Malik, the question of teacher-student ratio, the non-existence of tutorial classes and some other essentials of academic equipment. There should be an attempt to devise ways and means, despite the acute scarcity of available funds, to provide venues of higher education for those who deserve but cannot get the requisite accommodation. That would be the fittest tribute to Sir Asutosh.

New Departure in Food Policy

At last the Central Government has decided that the mentality of the food-grain traders is corrupt beyond any redemption, where the principals are concerned. Mr. C. Subramaniam said at his first Press Conference as Union Food Minister, that "unaccounted money"—by which he meant money dishonestly earned and illicitly hoarded and employed—was "playing havoc" with the country's economy, and was largely responsible for holding back food stocks from the market.

He also announced that the Government was now working on the details of the proposed Food Trading Corporation. It might be one corporation for all commodities and for the whole of the country. Alternatively there might be Zonal Corporations. He said these details would be finalised and put forward to the Central Cabinet before long. The expert body to advise the Government on fixation of maximum prices for food grains would also be set up soon.

But the most heartening announcement made was that no new licences would be granted to private parties to set up rice mills. The Public Sector or the Co-operative bodies will set up 2000 rice mills progressively by 1970. The Food Minister said that by July 15 a team of food officials would go to West Germany, Italy and Japan to obtain machinery for the new rice mills. The existing rice mills in the private sector will not be allowed to remodel their machinery.

On being told that there was an impression amongst the traders that the threats and workings to the trade were, "idle," Mr. Subramaniam replied "We go on hissing some time. Later on, if it becomes necessary, we will have to bite also."

Let us hope that there is substance behind this statement. The Government has been fiddling with vital problems too long.

New Chief Minister in Punjab

The Das Commission report having led to the resignation of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon from the Chief Ministership of Punjab an uncertainty prevailed in the Congress circles regarding the choice of a successor. There were warring groups within the Congress in Punjab and there were faction-leaders who were constantly jousting for power and office. There were opposition groups which stood to benefit from these schisms within the Congress group as some

of them had objectives which cut across party affiliations. So the choice of a leader of the Congress party after the resignation of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon posed problems of extraordinary complication because every claimant for leadership seemed to have almost as many bitter opponents as followers within the party.

Finally the different groups decided to leave the choice of a new leader to the High Command and agreed to abide by its decision. The prestige of the Punjab Congress was enhanced by this move but the burden of responsibility imposed on the High Command became heavy in the same measure because of the critical situation in the Punjab P.C.C. The obvious solution, by the nomination of Mr. Swaran Singh of the Central Cabinet, was excluded from consideration because he could not be spared. The result was a fortnight of tussle between the two rival groups, led by Messrs Kairon and Darbara Singh respectively, both pressing their claims before the High Command. The names of Mr. Mohan Lal, Giani Zail Singh, Mr. Darbara Singh, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar and Dr. Gopichand Bhargava were all put forward by their followers and supporters. They were all men of standing in the Congress party but none could offer the prospect of peace amongst the rival factions.

The High Command evidently decided to steer clear of controversial personalities and to look for a long record of service and unchallenged integrity in preference to a strength of following in their choice. Mr. Ram Kishan has been the choice, and to judge by the unanimous approval of the party leaders the choice has been happy.

The choice of Mr. Ram Kishan after the choice of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Prime Minister seems to indicate that the High Command desires to put an end to the rule of party bosses. If so, it is a happy augury.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

PRICES AND THE FOOD CRISIS

The mountain in labour, to wit the Chief Ministers of States who have lately been in conclave with leaders of the Central Cabinet in New Delhi with a view to devise ways and means to effectively combat the mounting food crisis in the country, appears to have produced not even the proverbial mouse, but merely a molehill. Preliminary indications, on the eve of the conference, of the thinking of the Central Government that were given out to the press, seemed to suggest that the Government of India had already decided on the pattern on action that would be required to deal with the recurring food crisis and had, perhaps, even been envisaging the type of machinery that would have to be set up to implement the pattern. They had only been waiting for the Chief Ministers to endorse their views in this behalf before actually getting down to the business for, after all, it would be at the State level that, primarily, implementation of the suggested measures would have to be undertaken.

Control and Rationing Sabotaged

Thus, Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have averred that he saw no other way to effectively deal with the situation except by promulgation of physical controls and rationing. The young and intrepid Union Food and Agriculture Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, was said to have decided that to enable controls and rationing to be effectively worked, it would be necessary for the State to take over the foodgrains trade as well as rice mills. We frankly did not look upon with equanimity these tentative suggestions. We have already had fairly extensive and rather unhappy experience of public sector management of business enterprises and industry. The administrative resources at

the disposal of Government simply do not seem adequate, both in terms of rectitude—and this, in our view, was of the supreme importance as we commented last month in these columns—and efficiency, equal to the stupendous size of the task involved. In retrospect even higher prices, as we said then, might seem to be a lesser evil. And we desired that other methods might be devised that would be likely to effectively meet the needs of the situation.

However, the Chief Ministers appear to have effectively sabotaged the Union Government's plans and desires in this connection. What, in effect, the much boosted conference appears to have yielded is the rather surprising decision to virtually maintain the *status quo*. They do not consider it either wise or necessary for the State to intervene in the goodgrains trade or to introduce physical controls and rationing. They seem to have decided that measures for developing consumer co-operatives on a large scale, an undertaking which has already been tried and signally failed to make any impression at all, should be fostered and, in the meanwhile, statutory fixation of prices and modified rationing much in the manner in which these have been essayed in West Bengal, would meet the case. To them, it would appear, the problem of food was one mainly of supplies and if the free movement of goodgrains from surplus to deficit areas with, of course, necessary reservation of powers to the States to cordon off areas in deficit to prevent outgoes from these regions and, additionally, if the Centre accepted responsibility for maintaining supplies to deficit areas, the crisis can be nipped out. The West Bengal Chief Minister appears to have been so elated with the decisions taken that he has already been patting himself on the back on the cleverness of his measures in this behalf which, he seems to think, may conceivably set the pattern for the whole country. As regards the proposal

to take over rice mills, existing mills would not be touched as most of them were too outmoded and uneconomic and a scheme is said to have been evolved and agreed upon by which some modern mechanized units would be set up under the public sector at some date in the distant future. So, any hope that the Chief Ministers in consultation with the Government of India would devise immediate and effective measures to deal with the crisis that might have been generated, has now been most definitely dashed to the ground.

Not Merely One of Demand and Supply

We cannot agree that the problem of food, in the shape and manner it has been presenting itself, is merely one of supplies nor can we endorse the view that tinkering with it, as the West Bengal Government have been doing, by way of fixation of prices, which has ever been observed in the breach, and modified rationing, where supplies except during the last two weeks have comprised a small fraction of the units registered under ration cards, could even remotely deal with a crisis which, in its ultimate analysis, is far from being merely one of supplies, but of prices. In West Bengal, for instance, the aggregate monthly consumption of rice, according to official estimates, does not exceed 400,000 tonnes. According to revised official estimates, again, the yield of the last **Aman** harvest in November/December last in terms of rice aggregated 4.8 million tonnes (earlier official estimates had placed the figure at 5.4 million tonnes) and the expected yield of the **Aus** crop was a further 400,000 tonnes. So that the aggregate stock of the **new harvest** rice in the State should comprise a total of 5.2 million tonnes. Government are said to have had in their stocks a further 160,000 tonnes of rice upto end of May and expectation of supplies from Orissa and additional Central Government's promised subventions were placed at 300,000 tonnes each. So that the total stocks of rice in the State over the year and until the next harvest would be expected to comprise a gross 5.96 million tonnes against a gross estimated consump-

tion of some 4.8 million tonnes. This, then, should leave the state with a comfortable surplus of some 1.16 million tonnes. Where is then the crisis of supplies?

The Nature of the Crisis

What has been happening really is that the Government are either unable or unwilling to assess the real nature of the crisis, which is clearly one of prices. And, short of complete physical controls and full rationing, it must be at this point that the problem will have to be tackled if effective results are expected to eventuate. All that the Government seem to think have been creating this price pressure are inadequate development and the resulting scarcity and inflationary pressures. What would seem to be completely lost sight of in this connection is the fact that the very measures and expedients pressed to service to obviate the situation so far applied, have themselves been containing distinctive and additional inflationary pressures. And, in addition, there are a variety of incidental and ancillary factors in operation in the market which have been intensifying this pressure to a very large extent.

Even at the risk of repeating ourselves, for we have lately been discussing this aspect of the matter again and again in these columns, —we feel it necessary to once again clearly restate our reading of the various contributory elements in the situation that, we feel, have been mainly responsible for accelerating the steadily mounting price pressure and of which, we think, the crisis in the more easily vulnerable food sector is an inevitable incidental result.

Inadequate Development: Its Real Meaning

In the first instance there is this matter of what is being generally and comprehensively defined as inadequate development. On the face of it, having regard to the increasing allocations for development investments in the public sector, this would seem to be an obvious paradox. And the only remedy that, apparently, the Government seem to think would obviate the situation,

would be by further and more overwhelming allocations towards this end both in the public and private sectors. That increased investment allocations, by themselves, do not or would not lead to that measure of requisite development that would be able to establish a better balance between investment and production and thus correct the subsisting imbalance between demand and supply, is a fact which does not seem to have been accorded that measure of consideration which it would clearly seem to deserve. Basically, the content of development is inherent in the actual production yield that would flow from and must be commensurate with the measure of investment injected into the economy. That there has, all through the Second Plan, been a clear imbalance between investment and yield in actual terms, would be obvious from the fact that while the measure of investments fully conformed to the targets envisaged in the Plan, the resultant yield has been measurably short of expectations in terms of the increase in the quantum of national income. While the Second Plan programmed for a national income level of Rs. 15,500 crores at the end of the Plan period, (and this, in itself, was a somewhat attenuated estimate compared to the target originally envisaged), the actual yield in terms of the national income that was obtained aggregated only Rs. 15,050 crores. Whether this shortfall in the achievements of the Second Plan was due to the pressures on the price level, as Shri G. L. Nanda, in his then capacity as the Union Minister for Planning, complained, or whether the price pressure was itself the cause of this shortfall in development achievements, the fact remained that the shortfall has been most definitely there and the inevitable resultant price pressure which dogged the initial years of the following Third Plan, commenced to gather accelerating momentum as the Plan progressed until it has reached the present critical level. This, clearly, has been helped to a considerable extent by the widening gap between investment and implementation in the Third Plan. Thus, while according to an estimate of the Planning Commission, aggregate investment would comprise over the Plan

period more than 93 per cent of original estimates in this behalf, actual development yield in terms of the national income would fall short by a considerable margin. Even at the level of the very optimistic estimates of the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission recently released, the level of the national income at the end of the current Plan would not rise above Rs. 18,000 crores per annum although in realistic terms, the actual level reached, could not, by any means, reach far beyond Rs. 17,000 crores; probabilities are that it would be well below that level. But Plan investments have been goared to a national income target of Rs. 19,000 crores. Thus development, in the manner it is being essayed, would clearly seem to contain within itself, very obvious and distinct inflationary potentials. It is essential that the emphasis on investment must yield priority to more commensurate yields to conform to capacity if the present imbalance in the economy has to be corrected with a view to arriving at a stable price situation. Incidentally, but not less importantly, investment priorities would seem to call for urgent revision and readjustments to obviate the pressures arising from that large area of already laid down but idle capacity in the economy. Clearly, therefore, a most essential and urgent need of the hour is to reorient the thinking of the Planning Commission and the Government alike to attain a more wholesome and healthy balance in Plan investments and priorities to obtain disinflationary results.

The Taxation Structure

One could wish most devoutly that this was all that needed to be done to obviate the present price crisis. Unfortunately, however, there are two distinctive and almost overwhelmingly potent factors that have been further complicating an already complex and confused situation from two different ends. The first of these is the obvious inflationary potentials in our tax structure to which we have referred more than once in these columns. Our gross revenue structure today comprises the overwhelming proportion of very nearly 74.6 per cent in indirect taxation. What is

even more significant is that very nearly one half of this sector of our taxation measures are in the form of excise and other imposts upon a variety of essential and semi-essential consumables. Apart from the fact that such a tax structure inevitably lays far more than proportionately heavier burdens upon the poorer and more vulnerable sections of our tax payers which is fundamentally inequitable, and thus renders this vulnerable sector of the population progressively more vulnerable in the process, such a taxation structure also inevitably creates inflationary pressures upon the price structure. Shri Krishnamachari, in his last Budget speech, admitted as much, by implication, but there does not seem to have been any clear indication of his or the Government's intentions for devising actual measures for correcting the situation in the measurable future. One does not deny the obvious difficulties involved in such action but the crisis in prices that has already eventuated does not clearly admit of pursuing a policy of drift.

Credit Black Market

Then, there is that large, wholly unregulated credit market operating in the country which seems to be completely beyond the influences of any fiscal discipline that has been an almost overwhelming factor in the dismal price situation in the country. This credit sector in the country has been responsible for exploiting every point of imbalance in the economy for profiteering advantages which has been mainly responsible for the price crisis in the more vulnerable sectors of the economy covering essential edibles. Agricultural shortfalls have clearly helped them in their nefarious and anti-social activities. Increased agricultural production might have been a partial corrective, so far as essential edibles were concerned, but the fact cannot also be overlooked that progress in increased agricultural output itself can and is being substantially hampered by the operations of this all too obvious but strangely undetectable credit market in the country. Unless measures, immediate and effective, can be devised to immobilize this sinister factor in

the economy, price complications, in large measure, will inevitably continue to arise. This has even been officially admitted although greater strength would appear to have been lent to the elbows of this sinister group by also admitting the Government's virtual impotence to deal with it.

However much, therefore, Shri Prafulla Sen of West Bengal may give self-congratulatory pats on his own back to delude himself or the public he has to deal with, that he has found the panacea to obviate the food crisis or, however relieved the Government of India may feel that the Chief Ministers of States have saved them from having to face a most unpleasant necessity that of contending with the consequences of rationing, the essential fact remains that the present food crisis is only one, though a vital facet, of the general price crisis in the country. The factors that have variously and in different measures contributed to the crisis have been identified and their natures discussed. And unless ways and means can be found to deal with this basic problem, although determined administrative measures at State levels may, perhaps, temporarily lessen pressures on the food front for the time being—it is quite uncertain that it may do so—it will continue to remain an ever-recurrent factor in the economy and will be bound, eventually, to vitiate the entire structure of planned development right down to its very foundations.*

CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER—AN ASSESSMENT

The question, in spite of the rather vague findings of the Mahalanobis Committee on distribution of income and wealth, has begun to be seriously asked as to whether the pattern of concentration of economic power in individual hands in the private sector is not being far too much exaggerated out of proportion to its real size and intensity. This has especial reference to the rapidly growing size of the public sector progressively under successive Plans.

* The above comments do not necessarily represent the editorial view on the question.

The pattern of industrial investments under successive Plans in the public sector would seem to have been growing at a very fast rate as the following figures would reveal :

Industrial Investments in the Public Sector

First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan Appropriations
1950-51—1955-56	1955-56—1960-61	1960-61—1965-66
Rs. 60 crores	Rs. 770 crores	Rs. 1330 crores

Thus investments in public sector industries would seem to have increased in the Second Plan by approximately 1283.3 per cent compared to those in the First Plan and in the current Plan by approximately 172.7 per cent over those in the Second Plan. In other words, compared to investments in public sector industries in the First Plan, investments in the Third Plan have been scheduled to increase by as much as roughly 2,217 per cent.

Comparably, investments in the private sector would seem to have been gradually showing down in proportion. The order of investments in the private sector is found to have been of the following magnitude :

First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan Appropriations
1950-51—1955-56	1955-56—1960-61	1960-61—1965-66
Rs. 338 crores	Rs. 850 crores	Rs. 1,275

Thus the per centage increase in private sector industries in the Second Plan would be found to have been of the order of roughly 251.5 per cent of those in the First Plan and investment appropriations for the Third Plan are approximately 150 per cent higher than in the Second Plan. The gross per centage increase of private sector investment in industries in the Third Plan compared to those in the First Plan would thus seem to be of the order of roughly 377 per cent.

This should be taken as evidence enough, on the face of it, of the growing area and influence of the public sector in the process of planned industrialization of the country. Admittedly, considering the size of the residual investments in the private sector and the continuing and still fairly

large size of new investments under the Plans, the private sector continues to wield considerable influence in the over-all industrial pattern in the country. But in view of the fast growing size of investments in the

public sector which, in the Third Plan, is over 104 per cent of those in the private sector, the scope for concentration of income and consequent economic power in a few hands in the private sector should normally be correspondingly attenuated.

Some indication of the actual state of affairs in this matter should, ordinarily, be available from the incidence of the income groups assessable to the Income Tax. From the Income Tax Administration Report for the year 1960-61 it is found that the total number of assesseees for the year aggregated 952,000 in all of which the number of individuals were 828,000. Of these, the total number of individual assesses whose in-

comes have been assessed at over Rs. 40,000 per annum, comprised 38,700 persons which, against the gross population of the country in that year at 437 millions, comprised just over .008 per cent of the population. Their aggregate income, as assessed to the income tax, works out to a total of Rs. 517 crores. This, with the gross national income in 1960-61 (end of Second Plan) at Rs. 15,050 crores (this was the revised estimate confirmed by the Planning Commission), comprises a little over 3.4 per cent. In other words, .008 per cent of the top income earning section of the population's appropriations comprised over 3.4 per cent of the gross national income. Here is an obvious depth of concentration of economic power which, on the face of it, is fairly overwhelming.

But these figures, by themselves, are

not wholly revealing. Those in the income group of above Rs. 500,000 number only 900 but their aggregate appropriations comprise over Rs. 250 crores, which is 1.66 per cent of the gross national income. Thus the topmost income earning 900 persons, comprising just .00002 per cent of the population appropriate 1.66 per cent of the wealth annually produced in the country. The depth of concentration of economic power in this very very microscopic sector of the population would thus seem to be almost fearsomely large.

But even this is not entirely all that can be said on the subject. There is a great deal that one knows about, but which it is not possible to reduce to terms of factual analysis, of the accumulated wealth in selected microscopic areas of the private sector derived largely from black marketing in essential and semi-essential consumables and consequently by large tax evasions over the years which goes to deepen this undue concentration of economic power at such levels of the community which seem to be wholly impervious to fiscal and other disciplines of the State. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari was reported to have once hazarded the guess that the size of the unregulated credit market would be almost as large as the organized credit market in the country. One does not know of its actual size ; it may, indeed, be even larger or, perhaps, somewhat smaller in dimensions ; it is impossible to arrive at any reliable estimate. But some indication should be available of the strength of this credit sector from its obvious but behind-the-curtains operations.

Thus, for instance, the extensive black market operations in essential edibles which have been creating a deepening economic crisis over the years and which have admittedly been assuming alarming proportions since last year, could alone have been financed from these unidentified and unregulated credit sources. The Government and the people as a whole would appear to have been held to ransom by these operators and it would be deluding ourselves by merely blaming the small-time known operators in the trade for the present situation. It would also be self-deluding to

hold that the present and fast deepening food crisis in the country has eventuated from a crisis in production and supplies. One does not claim that we have large surpluses in the supply of essential edibles, but production has been large enough, especially during the last harvest, particularly in cereals, to just about cover the country's current minimum requirements. Imports from abroad, which though they have fallen in quantity are still large enough, should yield a marginal surplus although not quite a comfortable one. It is quite clear that the present crisis in supply and prices have been deliberately engineered. It should be equally obvious that such manoeuvres would have called for very large, practically astronomical finance to sustain them. Where does this finance flow from ? Not from the organized credit market whose operations are fairly strictly circumscribed by the fiscal disciplines imposed and enforced by the Reserve Bank of India ?

The obvious source of these very large finances is therefore inevitably that unregulated and hidden credit market which is completely beyond the disciplines of the community. Unless these sources of large credits are discovered and prized out into the open, there would be no means of breaking the back-bone of the process of concentration of economic power. For, here is an instrument of accelerating concentration that must have been adding its tremendous power to the whole process. The widening public sector has so far proved to be too weak and ineffective to check the process primarily because of its low productivity and high-cost production. Its contributions to the supply and price position in the country has, upto-date, been quite the reverse of beneficial.

Two measures, simultaneously applied and wholesomely conceived, might play an important part in restoring a certain balance to the economy. First and foremost, must be a measure to wholly freeze the hidden and unregulated credit market. This is an essential and immediate need which would admit of no soft or dilatory measures. Secondly, but no less urgent, is the need to restore an element of competition and effi-

ciency in the productive machinery which alone could, in our view, effectively break the back of the present arrogant sellers' market. It is unreasonable for the State to encourage and indulge inefficiency and price cartels for the benefit of a cumbrously conceived and indifferently operating public sector which, instead of progressively eliminating, would seem, on the contrary, to have been assisting the process of concentration of economic power.

REORIENTATION OF PLAN STRATEGY ?

'Planning for growth'—that has been the favourite expression of leaders of Government since the beginning of Planning—appears, so far to have been a strangely abstract, one is almost inclined to call it dehumanized, process. Throughout the last two and a half quinquennia of so-called planned development of the country's economy, acute periods of economic distress, frequent recurrences of near famine conditions and, of course, a progressively accelerating—its tempo having now assumed almost a fearsome pace, have eventuated from time to time. Accusations have been voiced that the huge masses of our poverty stricken people have grown even more abjectly poorer in the process of planned development. The Government and their "super cabinets," the Planning Commission, appear to have remained strangely indifferent to these results of planning. They seem to have remained satisfied with their show pieces and the little addition to the national income in terms of increased production even though the latter has not been—as much has also been admitted by accredited spokesmen of Government from time to time,—filtering down, in the largest proportion, as it normally should have been to invest "development" with any sustainable meaning, to the bottom levels of the economy.

It appears, however, that a slow dawning of a sense of reality has, at last, been in evidence. According to a recent news report, "changes in the basic strategy" has now become "unavoidable to deal with the related problems of unemployment and economic distress. The changes" it is added, "would perhaps have been necessary even otherwise."

Shri Ashok Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, was stated to have explained that "the shortfalls, particularly on the farming front, has brought the need for a careful reappraisal to a head even before Mr. Nehru departed the scene." This need for a reappraisal and revision of Plan strategy would appear to have assumed an added urgency in the new Post-Nehru regime conditioned by its corresponding need to "win a vote of confidence from the people by producing concrete and quick results. This implied that the emphasis in planning might have to shift towards immediate improvements in well being."

In other words, it is assumed, that the Plan would have to accord a certain measure of priority to enterprises which would yield immediate returns in terms of both job opportunities and development of consumer production in precedence to those which would be calculated to build up the sinews of future growth, atleast over a temporary period, Shri Ashok Mehta is reported to have qualified his assessment in this regard by adding that the shape of the Fourth Plan would be largely conditioned by the next two harvests which, if plentiful enough, might make for a change in the objective circumstances and thereby favour a continuance of planning for future growth rather than for immediate well being.

One of the Fourth Plan drafts, it is understood, envisages stepping up of investments by such a huge margin that it would be necessary to increase the rate of savings from 14 per cent in 1965-66 to as much as 21 per cent by 1970-71. This, it is said, is intended to be achieved mainly by higher taxation which has been conceived to be of the order Rs. 690 crores over the five years of the Plan above current levels, and higher profits to be derived from public sector enterprises. It is also assumed that personal savings over the period must double.

What, in sum, the changed strategy of planning that is said to be in view, would appear to have under consideration, is a swing to the other extreme from the present basis of planning. So far, except in the matter of farm production—and here programmes would appear to have been merely glibly laid down on paper without providing for the requisite bases which would be re-

quired for their practical realization—planning has been overwhelmingly producer-oriented with the inevitable pressures upon prices, especially in the sector of essential consummables, particularly upon edibles. Increasing taxation, which should normally act as a brake upon inflationary pressures, in the manner in which it has sought to have been designed—its one and only objective would seem to have been the quickest and shortest way to requisite resources for plan-development and the accelerating cost of administration—would appear to have, on the country, further contributed to this pressure. And there was, of course, the additional complicating factor of a huge sector of unaccounted money which has been operating to the detriment of any kind of price stability.

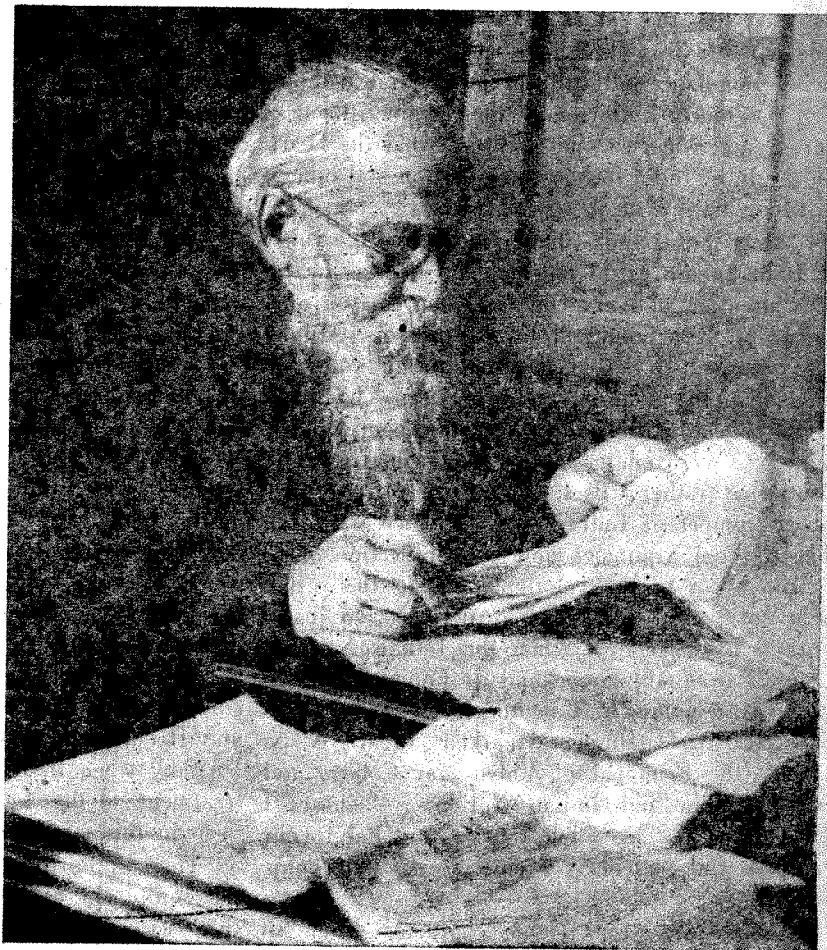
A swing in plan strategy to the opposite extreme as seems now to be seriously under contemplation might, we are afraid, jeopardise the very basic objectives of planning and might indefinitely hold up growth to within the severely circumscribed areas of a static agrarian economy. While the basic postulate, in any programme of economic growth, of a sizeable farm surplus must, we

feel, be ensured and the necessary machinery towards an early attainment of this objective created, it would seem to be equally important that the emphasis on the growth of key producer industries must also not be attenuated in any sizeable measure.

What would seem to be needed is that a balanced adjustment between the requirements of growth of farm production and other essential consummables—here small and medium industries, especially village industries could play a most crucial part—on the one hand and that of key producer industries providing for the potentials of future growth on the other, is arrived at, the adjustment of priorities as well as investment quotas of these different sectors to ensure a healthy and dynamic balance would, unquestionably be a very complicated enterprise. But then planning, especially in the context of a mixed economy with the different and varying pulls that such an economic structure would be bound to occasion, is itself basically a complicated business. To plan for developing one particular sector after the other is an oversimplification which would appear to have been one of the principal factors in the present impasse.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE—INDIA'S AMBASSADOR TO THE NATIONS

By the late Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D. Lit.



WALTER Bagehot characterised "the first thirty years of the 19th century as a species of duel between the *Edinburgh Review* and Lord Eldon," the Tory Lord Chancellor. We may say with equal truth that the first forty years of the 20th century in India were marked by a still longer duel between the *Modern Review* and the Tories in power over India's destiny. The first editor of the *Edinburgh Review* lived to see his efforts bearing fruit in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the spate of liberal legislation that began with it. The first editor of the *Modern Review* has just now (30th September 1943) closed his eyes with the struggle for India unended. And The *Modern Review* meant Ramananda Chatterjee far more than the term 'editor' does elsewhere. He had begun it even earlier, in 1901, through on a necessarily smaller scale and in the Bengali language, in his *Prabasi*, which had at once seized the first place among the vernacular monthlies. And now in January 1907 he gave to that unrelenting struggle for light, liberty and human progress, the more universal appeal of an English garb. He edited the paper and impressed it with his personality, without a break for over 37 years. Unlike Francis Jeffrey of the *Edinburgh Review*, Ramananda Chatterjee was

not the agent of a group or party; he was the founder and steersman of The *Modern Review* and made this paper what it has become.

And yet, at the outset, it was a most hazardous adventure for a man who had no accumulated wealth, who had just thrown up his salaried post as a college head on a question of principle, and who declined to take service anywhere else, though he had a growing family to think of. His paper, from its first number, set an example of neat get-up and fine coloured illustration, which were then unique in Indian journalism—and very costly too. In fact, this *Review*, at the end of the first eight months of its working, showed a debt of Rs. 1800 (as he then told me).

But it supplied a crying need of India at the time and immediate and rapidly growing recog-

nition of its value came to his help. A year earlier the Partition of Bengal had given the people a concrete demonstration of how India can be dissected like the carcas of a dead animal by a sudden *ukase* from whitehall,* without regard for racial, linguistic and cultural unity, and without even previously informing the people affected. Europe and America must know what the heart and brain of India felt on this question and others of which the Partition was a type.

Thus Ramananda Chatterjee became the voice of India to the world outside, and he was heard with attention in every country where reason and humanity were honoured by its thinkers. Milton has been called the "God-gifted organ voice of England"—the sonorous and majestic champion of the *Populo Anglicano* to the continent of Europe. We cannot apply that image to R. Chatterjee, rather will I call him the "God-gifted silver trumpet of India"—for his voice was ever that of cool argument and wise reflection. He appealed not to the emotions, but to the "dry light" of reason and human experience, so justly praised by Beacon. When the Indian National Congress was still young and its Founder Fathers gathered together in Calcutta for planning, one day Mr. A. O. Hume remarked to Mr. N. N. Ghose the Principal of Vidyasagar College and editor of the old Indian Nation):—"Ghose, I am twice your age but I have not half your coolness and patience. I envy your philosophic calm."

That was the right characterisation of Ramananda Chatterjee, too.

He was the "senior classic" (if I may borrow an English analogy) of his year (1885) among the graduates of the Calcutta University, being first in First Class Honours in English and also the first student in order of merit in the whole University. He also distinguished himself in the same subject at the M.A. Examination. Besides English he cultivated a wide range of subjects, including Physics, and specialised in Economics, Political Science, and History by unceasing private study. His residence at Allahabad for 13 years (1295—April 1908), as Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala, led to a most intimate friendship with Major Vaman Das Basu, I.M.S. (retired), a profound reader, tireless writer and staunch patriot. Dr. Basu, early in his service at Peshawar, had purchased for the price of waste paper, twenty maunds of the back numbers of high

class English magazines and papers, which an old colonel had collected during his long Indian exile and was now getting rid of, for retirement Home. These Dr. Basu sifted patiently and reduced to 2½ maunds of clippings of valuable information, statistics and opinion, arranged the residue under subject-heads, and scrapped up the rejected mass. These helped him to write his numerous books on British Indian history and polity, and supplied him with the solid backing of facts, figures and authoritative pronouncements. It might be argued that the material was old,—some of it going back to the pre-Mutiny days,—and that India (along with the rest of the world) had changed since they were written. It is also true that a philosopher working on old papers in his closet is likely to look at persons and problems in a different and less realistic way than a man (equally wise and no less patriotic), who works in the busy world and has to grapple in daily practice with administrative problems in their actual working,—and who thus comes to discover new difficulties and new ways of solution on which mere books can throw no light. But then it must be admitted that the garnered experience of old administrators like Munro and Malcolm, Sleeman and Heber, cannot be lightly set aside as "time-barred," when they plead for liberalism in the treatment of the Indians. R. Chatterjee worked deep in this mine with V. D. Basu.

These authoritative opinions were only a part of the equipment of Ramananda. He supplemented them with the latest statistics and pronouncements of the best thinkers and prominent statesmen of Europe and America, which he patiently collected and systematically used. Those horrid things, the Indian Census Report Appendices, were his constant study. This fact gave a unique value to the Editor's "Notes" in *The Modern Review*, and placed his paper as a class apart above all other reviews. In fact, the first thing that most readers did on receiving a new member of *The Modern Review* was to turn to its Notes.

But Ramananda Chatterjee was a much greater thought-power than a mere columnist, however gifted. He laid the greatest emphasis on India's economic problems, her art, old and new, and the facts of her historic past so dimly known before. In the very first number of his *Review*, out of 15 articles, three were on economics, two on art, two on Indian history, and only one on politics—or two if we include a life-sketch of

Dadabhai Naoroji in that category. In fact, so much prominence was given by him to India's past, in the pages of his paper, that a rival once remarked with blended malice and truth,—“The *Modern Review* has become a Review of Ancient and Medieval India.”

A list of the contributors to the *Modern Review* from its foundation to 1943 will be an almost complete biographical dictionary of the leaders of the intelligentsia of India during 37 years, with some notable European and American sympathisers added. Hence the influence of the *Modern Review* in Vienna and New York no less than in Madras and Lahore.

For, The *Modern Review* is far other than an English version of the same editor's Bengali magazine The *Prabasi*, as the ignorant sometimes suppose. Its outlook has, from the first, been all-Indian, and even cosmopolitan, in its humanism. From its first number, Bengal's special interests took an infinitely small proportion of its space while Maharashtra and the Punjab, Dravid land and the Indian States occupied the foreground of the picture. Herein lay its catholic appeal. India is one; whatever concerns one province of India cannot be a matter of indifference to any true son of another province.

By nature, Ramananda Chatterjee was the antithesis of the platform orator, whose one aim is to sweep the audience off their feet by rhetorical effervescence and emotional appeal. Ramananda's life-long endeavour, on the contrary, was to build up opinion by an appeal to sober thought and reflection. Sweet reasonableness (as Mathew Arnold has finely called it)—enlivened frequently by a flash of humour (very tersely put), was the character of his style of writing.

Among the most frequent and valued contributors, up to the time of her death in 1911, was sister Nivedita, and even after her sad departure from our midst, her unpublished papers continued to adorn the pages of the *Modern Review* till they came to an end. She converted educated India to the recognition of the true principles of art, and also instructed the new school of “Indian Art” in Bengal by her wise criticism of their paintings. This Indian art became

the special feature of The *Modern Review*. Ramananda Chatterjee was the first to publish colour blocks of pictures in an Indian magazine, and he was the first to give publicity to the Indian painter by the generous provision to three-colour blocks and black and white illustration of their work along with studies of their lives and criticism of their style. The very first number of The *Modern Review* contained an article on Ravi Varma with six blocks (one of them in tri-colour). Dhurandhar, Nandalal Bose, Abanindra, Gaganendra, A. Haldar, Ukil, Chughtai and many others came later, and so also did Molaram and the Kangra school for their share of his publicity. No expense was spared to do justice to the paintings in their reproduction. The prints were a delight to the eye for an hour together.

Here I may tell an interesting story which I heard from him. In 1909 (?) Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee was summoned to Lahore as a witness in the Punjab Treasonable Conspiracy trial. The Counsel for the Crown, Mr. Bevan Petman, in his address denounced Mr. Chatterjee as a disloyal agitator who ought to have been placed in the dock with the Punjabi nationalists, and he supported his invective by saying that Mr. R. Chatterjee had been dismissed from his chair at the Allahabad College for his seditious campaign in The *Modern Review*. The true facts are that the *Modern Review* was started in January 1907 and Mr. Chatterjee had resigned his post at the College four months earlier, and that too on a question of college management where he had insisted in vain on the observance of sound educational principles as followed in England. So much for the varacity of the *avocat* class.

Well, this very Mr. Petman when resting in the court after his speech, chanced to see some volumes of the *Modern Review* which Mr. Chatterjee had taken there with himself for reference if needed. Mr. Petman with the editor's permission borrowed the volumes and turning over the pages remarked that he was charmed with the beauty and ineffable *grace* of the modern Indian pictures reproduced there, and that he did not know before that such artistic genius existed in the country. The pictures (he added) would do

edit to any European country and their production was worthy of the best magazines in England. Finally, he urged Mr. Chatterjee to publish them in the form of albums.

A curious testimony was borne to the power of the *Modern Review* by the *Times* of London only two years ago. In an obituary notice of Rabindranath Tagore, the English paper remarked that the wide spread of the poet's fame was mainly due to the very effective publicity given to his opinions and writings by the highly influential *Modern Review*.

Here it must be remembered that Rabindranath wrote directly for *The Modern Review* on exceedingly few occasions. But very large numbers of his essays, tales, poems, dramas etc., were translated from the original Bengali into English (mostly by her hands) and published in this *Review*; these formed for many years the most attractive feature and the most valuable portion of the English monthly.

But R. Chatterjee's Bengali monthly the *Prabasi* printed Rabindranath's contributions in an immense stream throughout the poet's life and even after. Except for a short period in the nineteen-tens, no number of the *Prabasi* was without a piece from Tagore's pen. That dark interval was one of about 70 years, when a rival paper (foredoomed to faint mortality) was started for printing all Tagore's new writings on thick paper and large type, and not a single poem or paper from Tagore was offered to the *Prabasi*. At the end of the eclipse, Rabindranath himself renewed the connection by sending Mr. R. Chatterjee a long contribution with a note saying:

"It will not bring me money; but it will reach the largest number of readers. That's my consolation.

But these two were great friends, kindred spirits, twin-brothers as far as intellectual and moral sympathies went, modified by the generation due from the younger to the elder age. As Ramananda openly declared after Rabindranath's death:

"Tagore was to me what Arthur Henry Hallam was to Tennyson; more than a friend, more than a brother:

Dear as the mother to the son;
More than my brothers are to me."

(Im Memoriam, ix).

The profound wisdom of this silent thinker is, to my mind, best illustrated by one of his notes, written several years before the present World War No. II, when the Indianisation of the officers in a few selected sepoy regiments was offered to us by whitehall. Mr. Chatterjee then declared that India's military defence could not be considered as safely established unless and until Indians in fully adequate numbers were trained and equipped for service in the tank, artillery, wireless, airforce, army, medical and naval departments as well, with a proportionate reserve for expansion at any sudden need, and that the peace which the world was then enjoying was the best time for making such an advance. He added that the appointment of a few Indians as commissioned officers in a strictly limited number of infantry regiments was only the mockery of a scheme of national defence which would prove a fatal delusion and snare in our time of danger. The present war when the Sepoy army had perforce to be raised from 1½ lakhs to 20 lakhs with breathless haste, and when an utter dearth of trainers and of auxiliary service officers for the Indian army has caused despair among our military chiefs, has proved how true a prophet Ramananda Chatterjee was, and how he shared the usual fate of prophets by being scoffed at.

Here I may mention what I heard from Rabindranath Tagore in 1968. Sir K. G. Gupta, then a member of the Secretary of State's Council, was sent out to India during the cold weather to tour the country, sound public opinion, and ascertain how it was that our educated youngmen of respectable families turned to political murders and "hold-ups." He asked Rabindranath, whose reply was:

"Give our youngmen military training and the right to enter the commissioned ranks of their country's army, as in other lands; and then the natural appetite of healthy youths for the heroic and the dangerous will find its normal vent, whereas under the present exclusion policy it is driven into the channel of political murder and robbery,—the only things open to a demilitarised gentry."

This is exactly what Ramananda preached for a life-time.

The founder of *The Modern Review* has died in the fulness of years, honoured and loved by the best minds of more than one country, more than one continent. But he has died poor in the world's goods, as he never compromised with meanness and vice, never stooped low to pick up lucre. He has never been a popularity-hunter; he has attacked corruption in high places, sometimes alone in the Bengal press. The very goal which he had been pursuing for 78 years seems to have been blotted out by the horrid flames and smokes of war, the reign of law has been replaced by that of a daily avalanche of

ordinances, D. I. O. No. *ad infinitum*, and the economic ruin of "native" India has been all but assured by the astronomical inflation of the currency, the control of every agency and material of production and transport, and the annihilation of a whole rising generation by the lack of food in a province known as 'the granary of India.' The outer world has grown unutterably dark to his closing eyes, but he has gone to face the great Judge in serene confidence because he had very early chosen as his life's guiding principle—

"Thou hast the right to work, but never to demand the fruit of it as the reward."

कर्मणि एव अधिकारः ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

AMERICA PAYS TRIBUTE TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

By PRAFULLA C. MUKERJI

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Mr. Nehru. "The Prime Minister is no more. The light is out." This sad announcement by Mr. C. Subramaniam at the Lok Sabha was broadcast on the radio in America from early morning of Wednesday, May, 27. Already special editions of some of the daily papers were out on the street before dawn, carrying headliness about the demise of Jawaharlal Nehru. There was widespread sadness. Persons who had seen and talked to him within the last month or two had informed us about the condition of his health; so when the news of his second stroke reached us we had the feeling that the end was near. But we were hoping against hope. Finally when the news came that Nehru was no more; the shock was overwhelming. For those of us who have been part and parcel of India's struggle for independence, it is hard to dissociate Nehru from India, as he himself has put it, that his ashes are "to mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India."

From the spontaneous reactions of public press in this country and also from the utterances of Government officials and responsible persons, it seems obvious that there exist a very high regard for the personality of Nehru in this country, though many of them have in season and out of season criti-

cized him and often ridiculed him for his policy of non-alignment and have severely taken him to task for his Kashmir and Goa policies. If Nehru's policies in these matters had been otherwise, that is, if they were favorable to the allies of America, Nehru would have no doubt received smiles but not respect. This should be a lesson to many Indian politicians and college professors who have been visiting America recently.

President Radhakrishnan has truly characterized this period in India as Nehru epoch. Nehru not only put his heart and soul to win independence for India but he made the supreme sacrifice for the uplift of the masses and to make India a nation. From the press reports from the various parts of the world during the past week, it is clear that expressions of grief and sense of loss are genuine and almost universal. America certainly shares these feelings, as are expressed by the leaders:

President Johnson in his message of condolence to President Radhakrishnan, said: "Once again we come together in grief over the death of a great and a beloved man—this time your own leader, Prime Minister Nehru. Yet his spirit lives on. The rich heritage he left us, his faith in his own

people and in humanity, will, I know, serve to sustain you and yours as we strive together to translate his ideals into reality. History has recorded his monumental contribution to the moulding of a strong and independent India. And yet, it is not just as a leader of India that he has served humanity. Perhaps more than any other world leader he has given expression to man's yearning for peace. This is the issue of our age. In his fearless pursuit of a world free from war he has served all humanity. Peace was his ideal. It was his message to the world. It is my sincere belief that in his memory the statesmen of the world should dedicate themselves to making his ideal a reality. Our country is pledged to this, and we renew our pledge today in tribute to your great departed leader. A world without war would be the most fitting Memorial for Jawaharlal Nehru."

Former President Herbert Hoover said: "I extend my deep sympathy to the people of India for their great loss. Jawaharlal Nehru spent his life in the service of his country and his countymen."

Former President Harry Truman said: "I am as sorry as I can be to hear of Prime Minister Nehru's death. He was one of the great men of our time."

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower said: "I am deeply grieved to hear of Prime Minister Nehru's death. Often he has disagreed with the leaders of this Government but none have ever doubted Mr. Nehru's sincere devotion to universal peace or his dedication to the welfare of India's vast population. For my part I valued every opportunity to meet with him on important problems and was proud to claim his friendship. Mrs. Eisenhower joins me in expressing our profound sympathy to his family and to the people he served so well."

Mr. U Thant, Security General of the United Nations, said: "I was deeply grieved to learn this morning of the demise of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Few men of his age have left their mark on the history of their country as he has. Responsible as he was for the policies of one of the largest countries of the world, he has affected the

course of world events. India should know that in her hour of grief, her sorrow is shared by all of us in the United Nations."

The General Assembly of the United Nations is not in session now. The Flags of the one hundred and twelve member nations were not on display on May 27; only the Flag of the United Nations was flown at half-mast. The Security Council was to meet for the consideration of Cambodia's complaint against the United States for its Air-force's aggression against Cambodia's territory. The debate was postponed out of respect for Mr. Nehru. Instead, the members paid tribute to the memory of Prime Minister Nehru.

Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, the chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, said: "India has lost its father and the whole world grieves. Within Nehru's frail body burned the fires of freedom, justice and hope. At a critical time for his country and the world, we have lost a towering leader whose wisdom is sorely needed. Pandit Nehru knew better than most that many of life's great decisions are painted not in black and white but in shades of gray. The hope of the world rests with leaders who have the gift of firmness and of flexibility. Prime Minister Nehru had both. He was one of God's great creations of our time." Similar tributes were paid by other members of the Security Council including the delegates from Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France, Nationalist China, Brazil, Ivory Coast, Morocco etc. Mr. B. N. Chakravarti, the permanent delegate of India was absent on account of illness. Mr. Naren Singh thanked the delegates on behalf of India.

Debates in both houses of Congress—the Senate and the House of Representatives—were suspended and tributes were paid by the leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties. They all emphasized that Jawaharlal Nehru was a great statesman and a world leader. Senator Mansfield, the leader of the Democratic Party, said "Mankind has been greatly diminished by his loss. Few men have cast so large a luminosity on the world." Senator Hubert Humphrey, the floor leader of the Democratic Party, said, "The world has lost a great

statesman and India has lost a great leader. He dedicated his life to peace and democratic progress." Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said. "The death of Prime Minister Nehru was a great shock to us. He was a very great leader of a very great people. The world is poorer today." Senator Cooper, former U.S. Ambassador to New Delhi, said, "Prime Minister Nehru was a leader not alone in his own country but one of the few who, since World War II, have influenced the thoughts and affairs of the world." Senator Yarborough of Texas, said "Prime Minister Nehru was one of the apostles of peace of our time; his passing is a world loss.

Carl Albert, leader of the House of Representatives, sent condolences to the people of India, on behalf of the House and said "The people of India and of the world have lost a great leader. Nehru was a tower of decency and character. He embodied part of our hopes for peace in the world.

Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York, sent a message to the President of India, saying, "Prime Minister Nehru was one of this century's greatest statesmen, whose struggle for the well-being and freedom of the Indian people will forever be remembered."

John D. Rockefeller, brother of the Governor and President of the Asia Society also sent a message: "His passing is a great loss to people everywhere. He was one of the outstanding men of our time."

Many other leaders in America sent messages of condolences. Among them are former U.S. Ambassador to India, Prot. Galbraith, Ambassador Chester Bowles, Robert F. Wanger, Mayor of New York, John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Herald Tribune of New York, said editorially on May 28, the day after Nehru's death that Nehru was the great enigma of Asia. "He is certain to pose many problems for the historian of the future. For in himself he united many of the contradictory tendencies of his countrymen—the humanitarian statesmanship of an Ashoka; the

narrow pride of a Rajput kinglet; the idealism of Gandhi.....Gandhi led a revolution; Nehru built a state. And in the building Nehru displayed a devotion to democracy and social progress for India that is almost unique in the troubled world of new nations. His power over the Indian people was largely moral, and it was nearly absolute.....All of this is testimony to a greatness in Jawaharlal Nehru, to a stature which he alone, of all the revolutionaries of a revolutionary era, really possessed. His greatness is genuine. And India, the world, will be poorer without him."

The New York Times which had criticized him often in former days, paid a tender tribute on May 28, in an editorial titling "The Heart of a Nation." "Jawaharlal Nehru and India bore great love for each other; and it was India's love for this man, this man who could be so demanding, so tender, so impatient, so involved, so aloof, so merry, so brooding, that gave him the greatest of all powers—the power to rule through the heart of a nation. Lesser leaders have used the love of their people wantonly, to master their people. But Nehru refused to turn power into despotism. Dictatorship was within his grasp and at times India seemed to be thrusting it upon him. He refused. The insistence upon an India free in independence was his gift, born out of love, for his country....Jawaharlal Nehru was an Indian and he was a revolutionary. He was educated abroad and he travelled widely, but only on the soil of India was he happy and at home and did life have purpose. What he did, he did for India. He was a sensitive man who knew India could not live isolated, protected, by mountains and seas. He knew the glories of India and her moments of tranquillity and he knew her wretchedness and despair and he could not separate himself, ever, from any of them, nor wished to."

"A disciple of Gandhi, he was a revolutionary. He was in revolution against foreign rule, and everybody remembers it. But what is so often forgotten is that he was in revolution for things as well as against them—for a reassessment by every man and nation of the kind of world in which men

starve and go cold and are aching with disease. Within his own society he was a revolutionary, constantly haranguing his own people about their own superstitions and encrustments. He was a revolutionary in international councils, and a successful one, in that he was the first to prove that a nation without military might could and would be heard by the militarily mighty.

"The records, books and the newspapers of the past few decades are dotted with great events and conferences in which Nehru played a role. But none of these played a larger part in the character and formation of Nehru than a passing incident that took place 44 years ago—a visit by Nehru to an Indian village. He saw there what he had not seen often before—the anguished peasant face of India—and he wrote: "They showered their affection on us and looked on us with loving and hopeful eyes, as if we were the bearers of good tidings, the guides who were to lead them to the promised land. A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with new responsibility that frightened me." Jawaharlal Nehru whom India called her jewel, never laid down that frightening responsibility. He loved India and he died beloved by her."

C. L. Sulzberger the well-known writer on foreign affairs, in a lengthy article on Nehru in the *New York Times* of May 30, remarked among other things: "Certainly Nehru had the opportunity to make himself an autocrat but he was never corrupted by power. He sought to preserve individual liberties against any temptation to revolutionary short cuts. Nehru showed more emotional sympathy for Russians than Americans. He was an intellectual snob and United States always irritated him. But he was never dominated by petty bias. He was pragmatic, not dogmatic and although vaguely socialist, was not doctrinaire. He thought all contemporary states were tending toward socialism through economic necessity but India sought its own policy and there was no ideology in it. Nehru's basic hope was that the culture and tradi-

tions of India's past might be used to cement a modern nation. Perhaps some day this could be confederated with Pakistan and Burma. India was lucky to have Gandhi and Nehru in its renaissance years. Gandhi, seen as a saint, was also a crafty politician, stubborn leader and visionary patriot. Nehru was no saint, but he shared the other attributes; and both men were astonishingly loved by their followers. Though sometimes he has despaired, Nehru was convinced that its vastness in space and historical depth in time guaranteed India's future."

The Nation of June 8, 1964 said editorially: "In his youth Nehru prepared for greatness. In middle age, in association with Gandhi, he achieved it. Baffled by insuperable contradictions and conflicts he was still a cut or two above the other statesmen. The world and not India alone recognized this superiority."

A number of Nehru Memorial meetings were held in many cities of this country. We have not received all the reports yet.

Tagore Society of New York held a meeting on May 28 at the India House where condolence messages were adopted. Two messages were sent, one to Srimati Indira Gandhi and the other to Shree Gulzarilal Nanda the Acting Prime Minister.

To Indira Gandhi

In Memory of Jawaharlal Nehru
Peace, my heart, let the time for the
Parting be sweet.

Let it not be death but Completeness
Let Love melt into Memory and
Pain into Songs.

Let the flight through the sky end
In the folding of the wings o'er
the nest,
Let the last touch of your hands be
Gentle like the flower of the
night.

Stand still, O Beautiful End, for a
moment
And say your last words in
silence.

I bow to you and hold up my lamp
To light you on your way.

Rabindranath Tagore.

As we offer this poem by Rabindranath Tagore to the Memory of your loving father, Jawaharlal Nehru, our hearts go to you and your dear ones and to the millions in India, in this hour of great sorrow. In his demise India has lost one of her noblest sons and the world one of its greatest men and a valiant crusader for peace and international co-operation and good-will. One of the chief architects of India's independence, Jawaharlal Nehru gave his life so that India may live.

Today we all share your grief and offer you our heart-felt sympathy. May the noble example of his life give us strength and make us fit to carry on his unfinished task.

Shree Gulzarilal Nanda
Acting Prime Minister of India

In this dark hour of sorrow we send you and the people of India our deepest sympathy at the demise of our beloved Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

"At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an Age ends and the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take a pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." Thus spoke Jawaharlal Nehru on that memorable midnight of August 14, 1947, when the British flag came down and the Flag of Free India was unfurled over the Indian Parliament. These words like those of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, will remain in the hearts of people everywhere. The world will bear witness, Jawaharlal Nehru kept his pledge.

"Guided by Mahatma Gandhi and aided by his compatriots, Jawaharlal left to the world a Free India and inspired many other struggling nations of Asia and Africa to achieve their freedom. Above all he has left for the people of India and for all humanity—the Dhruba-Tara—the shining example of his noble life.

"It is a fitting tribute to Jawaharlal

Nehru that the United Nations has designated 1965 as the International Co-operation Year which he so convincingly sponsored. May we all be fit to follow his foot-steps."

A memorial meeting was held at the New York Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Center where Swami Nikhilananda, Rev. Dr. Donald Harrington and delegates of U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, U.S.A., to the United Nations spoke.

In Washington at the National Cathedral a Memorial Service was held for Prime Minister Nehru. It was attended by President Johnson and his family, by the members of his cabinet and their wives and most of the Corps Diplomatique and their families besides the members of Congress and the Indian community. Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, former U.S. Ambassador to India made the principal speech.

Philadelphia Tagore Society had a Memorial service the next day when Mr. Sunil K. Roy, India's Consul-General, made the principal speech.

Similar memorial services were held in Chicago and Boston. On Sunday, June 7 a public Memorial Service for Jawaharlal Nehru was held at the New York Community Church. It was sponsored by the Community Church, The Tagore Society, The Asia Society, Indian Students Association and India-America League. At least 1500 persons were present. It was a solemn ceremony. Affectionate tribute was paid by His Excellency U. Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Chakravarty, Narasimham, Assistant Secretary-General, Dr. Donald Harrington and others. A candle was lit and a red rose was placed in front of his portrait.

Like Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru was a person with many facets. One can speak on any of these facets of his life. We can speak of his heroic struggle for India's independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We can speak about his prison life—he spent about 14 years in prison out of the last 25 years before India's independence. There he not only dug ditches but also produced some of his best literary works—Toward Freedom, Discovery of India, Glimpses of World History. They

are a rich legacy to young India. John Gunther the noted American author said of these writings that there were not more than six persons living who could write as good English. Nehru was not a professional historian but his large volume 'Glimpses of World History' shows what a scholarly and rational approach he had about world events. He was a person of great intellectual integrity. We can speak of him as an architect of Free India's democratic and secular constitution, which guaranteed equal rights for men and women of all faiths and races. We can speak of him as the initiator of planned economy in India—his plan of village panchayets and village co-operatives. We can speak about his great concern for the masses and his utmost effort to raise their standard of living. We can compare him with Rabindranath Tagore as a person of deep humanism and an active worker for peace and international co-operation. All these will make a very instructive study. We hope young Indian scholars will do research on these various facets of Nehru's life and put them in writing.

I wish to refer briefly to two of such facets which I consider to be two of his major contributions to the world. First let us take his struggle for India's freedom. It is true that he fought hard and suffered much to win independence from England. But really he was not fighting England as such. As is well-known he was educated in England. As a student he became attracted to the Fabian Society, where he came in close contact with some of the outstanding personalities—Bertrand Russell, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and others. This association had great influence on him. He cultivated liking for the English people and their institutions. So, what he fought was really not England

but that hydra-headed monster called colonialism. He gave every ounce of his energy to efface from this earth this debasing colonial system. He, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, broke the backbone of this system, so that not only India but most of the other colonial countries of Asia and Africa came to the road to freedom. That seems to me to be a major contribution of Nehru. But the task is not quite finished yet. Imperialism though weakened is not dead. The world is sorely in need of a Nehru now. His demise at this time is a grievous loss to the world.

I consider his second major contribution is his insistence on the policy of non-alignment in a war-wearied world, in spite of very great pressure from outside. This inspired many other nations of Asia, Africa and other continents to follow the same road. Undoubtedly this policy of non-alignment has been a potent factor in preserving a semblance of peace in the world. Only recently some of the leaders in the West are realizing that this policy of non-alignment has been a boon to them. Militarily unprepared countries will remain grateful to Nehru for his courage to withstand tremendous harassment.

As we pay our tribute to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru today, our heart goes to Lal Bahadur Shastri and his colleagues on whom will fall the responsibility of guiding the nation. It is our fervent hope that tears from the eyes of millions of men, women and children throughout the length and breadth of India, will give them living faith in their own destiny and that they will overcome all difficulties and withstand all temptation and lead the nation in unity, freedom and human dignity. That will be the most fitting tribute to the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND THE SAN FRANCISCO TRIAL

BY KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE,
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THE *Modern Review* for June, 1918 had a fairly long note¹ on the German-Indian Conspiracy Trial held in San Francisco from November, 1917 to April, 1918.² Resenting the intriguers' efforts—"to connect Sir Rabindranath Tagore's name with the conspiracy" and the insinuation made by the *Madras Mail*, the *Modern Review* characterized the German lies and the *Madras Mail's* insinuation as "too contemptible and ridiculous to deserve any serious refutation." *The Madras Mail* suggested that Tagore should offer an explanation to enable the Government to say whether they are satisfied with it. The alleged complicity of the poet was sought to be established by certain documents which were produced in the course of the trial.

One of the documents was a telegram from Herambalal Gupta of New York to Ram Chandra of San Francisco (both prominent Indian accused in the Conspiracy trial) dated October 13, 1916. The telegram said, "Received reports about Tagore. Read your fine articles. Send all his speeches specially on national questions. Have not found them here. Consider very important." In reply to a defence counsel's question, "Tagore is not one of the defendants?" the prosecution attorney Mr. Preston said, "No, he is not. We overlooked him in our haste."³ The other document is a letter addressed to one Olfiers of Amsterdam. The letter is postmarked Washington, dated November 21, 1916 and the decipherment is as follows: "Rabindranath Tagore has come at our suggestion and saw Count Okuma, Baron Shrimpei Goto, Masaburo Suzuki, Marquis Yamanouchi, Count Terauchi and others; Terauchi is favourable, and others are sympathetic."⁴

While reporting the proceedings of the San Francisco trial the *New York Times* published prominently the news of Tagore's alleged complicity.⁵ The news item was published under the heading—Link Tagore's Name With German Plots. The report said, "secret papers introduced by the Government purported to show that Sir Rabindranath Tagore . . . had enlisted the

interest of Counts Okuma and Terauchi, former Japanese Premier and present Premier respectively, in the movement to establish an independent Government in India. . . . The name of Wu Ting-Fang, former Chinese minister to the United States, also was mentioned in the document as one of the persons with whom Tagore had obtained a friendly interview."

Tagore, it has been pointed out, was not a defendant. The authorship of the letter dragging the poet's name could not be established by the court. Dr. R. C. Majumdar who raises the question of the poet's alleged association with the Indian revolutionaries in the United States has no conclusive evidence to offer. Dr. Chandra K. Chakravarty, another prominent accused in the San Francisco trial told him that, "the statement was true, but could not furnish any corroborative evidence." Dr. Majumdar's suggestion that it is, "worth consideration that Rabindranath never formally contradicted such a serious allegation published in the *New York Times*"⁶ is, however, misleading. Neither is it warranted.

For, the poet did formally and emphatically contradict what he considered a 'lying calumny.' When the newspaper report in which he figured reached him some months later, he immediately wired to President Wilson: Newspapers received concerning Conspiracy trial San Francisco wherein prosecution counsel implicated me. I claim from you and your country protection against such lying calumny.—The wire was sent from Santiniketan. The cable was received in Washington on May 13, 1918.⁷ It was followed by a strongly worded letter to the American President, dated May 9, 1918, in which the poet said, "Though I feel certain that my friends in America and my readers there who have studied my writings at all carefully can never believe such an audacious piece of fabrication, yet the indignity of my name being dragged into the mire of such calumny has given me great pain. It is needless to tell you that I do not believe in patriotism which can ride roughshod over higher ideals of humanity, and I consider

it to be an act of impiety against one's own country when any service is offered to her which is loaded with secret lies and dishonest deeds of violence. I have been outspoken enough in my utterances when my country needed them, and I have taken upon myself the risk of telling unwelcome truths to my own countrymen, as well as, to the rulers of my country. But I despise those tortuous methods adopted whether by some Government or other groups of individuals, in which the devil is taken into partnership in the name of duty. I have received great kindness from the hands of your countrymen, and I entertain great admiration for yourself who are not afraid of incurring the charge of anachronism for introducing idealism in the domain of politics, and therefore I owe it to myself and to you and your people to make this avowal of my faith and to assure your countrymen that their hospitality was not bestowed upon one who was ready to accept it while wallowing in the sub-soil sewerage of treason."⁸

The letter was received on July 31, 1918. This was followed by an exchange of notes between the Department of Justice and the Department of State. On August 3 of the same year Leland Harrison of the Department of State wrote to Charles Storey of the Department of Justice asking for his "opinion as to how the letter (Tagore's letter to Wilson) should be answered." Storey's reply of August 9 ran as follows :

My dear Mr. Harrison,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 3, 1918 enclosing copy of a letter from Rabindranath Tagore to the President. This suggestion may possibly appeal to you.

If you approve, we will write to Preston in San Francisco asking him to submit copies of the transcript of record in every instance where Tagore's name is mentioned and if it appears that the newspaper articles which Tagore saw are not borne out by the record we might be able to convince Tagore that the Government was not responsible for the calumny to which he was subjected.

When Preston was on here he told me that Tagore was not in any way implicated in the plot and I think that probably the record in the case will bear out this statement.

Very truly yours,
Charles M. Storey.

Harrison agreed with the suggestion in his reply on August 14. A sequel to this correspondence was the following letter of September 5, 1918, from La Rue Brown, Assistant Attorney General (who signed for the Attorney General) to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. (Attention of Mr. Leland Harrison) :

Sir,

Referring to previous correspondence relating to certain references to Sir Rabindranath Tagore during the course of the so-called Hindu trial, I enclose to you herewith photographic copies of portions of the transcript of that trial in which Tagore's name appears.

Mr. Preston, who tried the case, states in the accompanying letter that his remarks appearing in the colloquy with Mr. Healy, one of the counsels for the defendants, which appears in connection with the introduction of exhibit no. 140, was intended to be facetious and should not have been recorded by the reporter. He adds that it did not become the subject of a press comment. The Department is further advised by Mr. Preston that no evidence implicating Sir Rabindranath Tagore in the Hindu Conspiracy has at any time come to his attention.

By an irony of fate, however, Tagore's cable and letter remained unanswered. There is no iota of doubt that the poet had been cleared of the vile charge. But the exoneration unfortunately, was confined to the files and neither the aggrieved party nor the public were informed of these findings. This lapse on the part of the U.S. Department of State can be best explained in the words of Stephen Hay. "Brown went on to reprove Harrison for communicating with Storey instead of with the Attorney General, thus creating 'the danger of difficulty arising from papers going astray in the File Room.' (State Department Index No. 862. 20211/1448.) Brown was apparently so perturbed at Harrison's failure to follow prescribed channels that he forgot to enclose the transcript. Harrison, perhaps piqued at Brown's rebuke, decided to give Brown a taste of his own medicine, and wrote the Department of State's Diplomatic Bureau asking them to remind Brown to send the papers. This was done on September 19 by William Phillips, the Assistant Secretary of State, in a letter to the Attorney General. Brown, again somewhat absent-mindedly, addressed his reply to the Secretary of State, omitting to add : . . . 'Attention of Mr.

Leland Harrison.' "The correspondence between the Justice and State Departments ended here apparently because the Secretary of State's office did not know for whom the transcript of the trial was intended. Brown's covering letter does not seem to have reached Harrison, and after one official had pencilled "So" on it and two others had added check marks, it was marked "File" and on October 29 was so disposed of. In any case, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had asked for an armistice on October 4, 1918, and from that time onward the highest officers of the State Department had turned their full attention to the all important problem of ending the war in Europe."⁹

Readers may be interested to know that the baseless allegation against Tagore had its repercussions even before it was made public in the course of the San Francisco trial. In 1917 Tagore expressed his desire to dedicate his new book 'Nationalism' to President Wilson. George P. Brett, President of the Macmillan Company, in a letter to the American President dated March 9, wrote, "We have a cable from Sir Rabindranath Tagore requesting permission to dedicate his forthcoming work entitled Nationalism to His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

We are sending you a set of proof sheets of this work and we should be much grateful if you would kindly give your permission to have this done."

The President referred the matter to Colonel House who in his letter of April 6, 1917 to Wilson said, "Wiseman has investigated the Tagore matter and advises that you decline to have his book dedicated to you. His reason is that when Tagore was here he got tangled up in some way with the Indian plotters and Wiseman thinks that it may embarrass you if these things should come out publicly about the time the book is issued."¹⁰ Sir William Wiseman was Britain's special liaison agent in the United States.

The *Modern Review* tried to controvert the vile insinuation against the poet as early as June, 1918. It quoted from some papers of the west coast of the United States to prove that he was no *persona grata* with the Indian conspirators in that country. The writer may be permitted to add another newspaper report which will be in harmony with the views of this esteemed journal.

"Sir Rabindranath Tagore is not and has not

been since his arrival here in any danger of assassination by Hindus of the Gadar Party.' This statement was made today by Ram Chandra, editor of the *Hindustan Gadar* and head of the party, in reply to the charge made to the local police yesterday that there existed a plot here to murder the Bengali poet and a Nobel Prize winner.

Whether the poet's fears are real or imaginary, they served to drive the venerable man from San Francisco to Santa Barbara last night, after he had canceled one of his lecture engagements here."¹¹

Even after the excitement over the Hindu Conspiracy trial had abated, Tagore, because of the bureaucratic inefficiency in the matter of issuing a public and official exoneration, continued to be the victim of a lying calumny. This is evident from the uncharitable and defamatory reference that a first-rate newspaper in America made in December 1920, when under Topics of the Times it said, "As a matter of fact, such products of British rule as he¹² including the more eminent Rabindranath Tagore, are a strangely ungrateful lot, and in themselves the best proof that the British, instead of being too harsh as masters, have been unwisely kind."¹³

We do not know if our distinguished countryman was ever told that the U.S. Government were satisfied that the allegation against him was unfounded and that the sentiments expressed by the poet in his letter to President Wilson had been vindicated. But posterity should know without any shred of doubt, that the calumny to which he was subjected had no basis.

1. *The Modern Review* for June, 1918, pp. 674-675.

2. The trial was held to bring to book the Indian revolutionaries in the U.S.A. and their German, American and other accomplices who were conspiring to overthrow British rule in India.

3. Volume 20, 1711 (U.S. Exhibit 140) in the trial record.

4. Vol. 43, 3783 (Exhibit 318). The writer is indebted to Prof. Stephen Hay of the University of Chicago who kindly lent him photostat copies of these two documents and also of others used in this article for which the source has not been indicated.

5. *The New York Times*, February 28, 1918, 3 : 3.

6. Majumdar : *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. II, p. 546.

7. Quoted by Stephen Hay in his paper—*Rabindranath Tagore in America*, American Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 3, Fall 1962, p. 451.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 541. Photostat copies of the other letters quoted at length by the writer were kindly lent by Prof. Hay.

9. Stephen May, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

10. Copies of these two letters were kindly lent to the writer by Prof. Hay.

11. *The San Francisco Call*, October 6, 1916, p. 18.

12. Sailendra Nath Ghose who after a brilliant

career at the University of Calcutta evaded the Police, went over to the United States and championed the cause of India's independence. He was incarcerated. Years later Ghose came back to India and was for sometime Education officer, Calcutta Corporation and Principal of two big non-official colleges in undivided Bengal.

The New York Times comments were made in connection with the deliberation of the first annual convention of the Friends of Freedom for India held on December 5, 1920 in New York.

13. *The New York Times*, December 7, 1920, 12 : 6.

CRISIS IN LAOS

By S. V.

The present crisis in Laos is not an isolated episode, being enacted in a far-flung country, with which one could feel unconcerned. It is part of a well-conceived and properly organised armed conspiracy, being hatched in that part of the world (South-east Asia), to further the interests of a potentially aggressive communist movement spearheaded by China. Its manifestations are to be found not only in Laos, but these are even more evident and blaring in the neighbouring South Vietnam. The Communist control of northern Laos (Plain of Jars is situated there) is strategically very important, as it serves as a corridor for the prosecution of Viet Cong guerrilla operations against the non-communist regime of South Vietnam. Hence, the present intensified military operations undertaken by the Pathet Lao (Communist) forces are not only meant to finally bring about the entire country under Communist control, but also to secure firm control of communist supply lines passing through Laos and connecting Viet Cong guerrillas with their base in North Vietnam. This is sought to be achieved by pushing forward Pathet Lao-controlled political frontiers, so as to keep the evils of war away from the communist vital positions.

It may not be out of place here to briefly recapitulate the position regarding political alignments and forces in that strife-ridden country against a background of its political history since the grant of autonomy in 1949.

Two important political factions in the present Laotian crisis are headed by two important leaders of the Lao Issara movement, which was started during the short period of Japanese occupation to resist the return of the French political influence to Laos. When the French granted autonomy to Laos within the French Union in 1949, the Lao Issara movement was dissolved and its leaders, among them Souvanna Phouma, decided to associate themselves with the new Government, that was then formed. Prince Souphanouvong, his half-brother, had earlier left the Lao Issara movement to join the Viet Minh forces, at that time fighting to wipe out the French influence from the whole of Indo-China. Later, Prince Souphanouvong organised the Pathet Lao movement in the North-eastern Laos with the help of Viet Minh, with the avowed purpose of driving out the French. These two leaders are now at the head of two important political factions in the country i.e. Neutralists headed by Souvanna Phouma and Communist Pathet Lao with Prince

Souphanouvong as their leader. By the time, of the Geneva Conference of 1954, which led to the French withdrawal from Laos, the Pathet Lao, with their own private armies, were strongly entrenched in the two northern provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly, and all subsequent efforts towards seeking integration of the Pathet Lao forces into the national Laotian army and make them relinquish political control of their positions in the north-eastern region met with failure. The possibility of a workable political agreement with Pathet Lao was becoming remoter with the appearance of the Americans on the scene; the Americans created a Right-wing pro-American political faction of fortune-seekers headed by General Phoumi Nosavan. This Rightist faction was opposed to any compromise with the Pathet Lao. This has led the Pathet Lao to steadily strengthen, consolidate and improve upon their position in north-east, which has presently brought them into clash with the neutralist forces of General Kong Le, who had once collaborated with them against the Rightists. The military success of the Pathet Lao in 1962 led the Americans to realise that the situation could only be saved through an international agreement providing for the formation of a coalition government representing all the three political factions and having a neutral international orientation. This was the essence of the 1962 Geneva agreement, which has been observed more in the breach. The Pathet Lao, supported by the Viet Minh, now controlling almost two-thirds of the country, are in no mood to seek political partnership with others, when success is almost knocking at their door. They have already cleared the Plain of Jars of neutralist positions. The present crisis, which has led to the expulsion of Neutralist forces from the Plain of Jars and brought the Pathet Lao within 15 miles of Vientienne, the Capital, was apparently provoked by a Rightist coup headed by Generals Kauprasith and Siho. The coup leaders, having been pressurised into accepting Prince Souvanna Phouma as the Prime Minister of the Coalition Government, continued to be the effective political power and presumably, at their bidding, the two

left-wing ministers were forced out of the Cabinet. This was followed by the announcement of the merger of Neutralist and Rightist factions. This led the Pathet Lao to intensify their operations to wipe out the neutralist forces from their positions in the Plain of Jars and thus strengthen their bargaining power in any future political settlement.

The rapid Pathet Lao advances has created an explosive situation, with the U.S.A. threatening military intervention to stop further aggression and France, supported by Russia and India, proposing another international conference of the 14 nations that participated in the Second Geneva Conference of 1962.

The U. S. Government is opposed to the convening of another international conference, lest this may be converted into a political platform to discuss the French neutralisation plan for the whole of Indo-China. They also fear that the Communists may utilise it to condemn and criticise the U.S. policy of active military involvement, especially in South Vietnam. However, the U.S.A. may, under pressure, agree to the revival of the 1962 Geneva Conference of 14 nations, if it is only confined to Laos and subject to withdrawal of Pathet Lao forces to their original positions held by them before the present offensive. The Laotian Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma has accepted the Conference idea subject to the proviso that the Pathet Lao should withdraw to their original positions. The Americans are agreeable a British proposal, which proposes the holding of an ambassadorial level conference of the powers represented at the 1962 Geneva Conference.

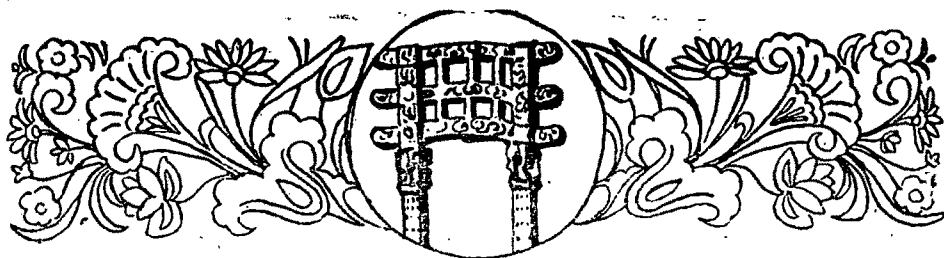
The French Government sincerely believes that there cannot be a military solution of the present mess in Laos and South Vietnam. Hence, they favour a political settlement of this vexed problem, and this, in their view, could only be achieved through neutralisation of the whole of Indo-China. The U.S. Government feels that any acceptance of the neutralisation scheme in respect of South-Vietnam will amount to virtual acceptance of communist domination of that country, resulting in a serious threat

to the entire region of South-east Asia. Moreover, the neutralisation experiment, as tried out in Laos as a result of the Geneva agreement of 1962, has only confirmed the American apprehensions that this is only a cloak to cover up subsequent communist aggression and subversion.

The basic thing to consider is how far the Pathet Lao is in a position to independently make a political agreement, and, having once made, whether it could implement. It must be frankly conceded here that Pathet Lao is not an independent political force, whose main interest would be in visualising everything as it should affect or influence Laos. It has already been said that it is part of an all-comprehensive struggle to serve and suit the interests of an aggressive communist movement, which aims at the destruction of democratic values in the region. China, the leader of this movement, is interested in establishing its hegemony over this region and use it as a spring-board for further aggression. Laos is an important strategic position to further the aims of this movement. The conquest of Laos will secure the logistic link with Viet Cong, operating in South Vietnam, and hence contribute towards the final liquidation of its anti-Communist regime and incidentally, American influence in that part. The capture of Laos and South Vietnam will make Cambodia's position very much vulnerable (it is already playing the Chinese game) and pose a serious danger to Thailand and Malaysia—two strong bastions of anti-communism in South-east Asia. The military conquest of Indo-China will secure for the Communists the granary of this region.—Mekong delta—and thus relieve the serious food shortages, being currently faced in China and North Vietnam. It is

this wider and sinister picture of the future of this region that accounts for much of the political rigidity of the American position. The French surmise is that the neutralisation of this region, resulting in the formation of really national Governments, will reduce their present dependence on the Chinese and thus may create national resistance against their exploitation in the interest of Chinese nationalism. The French may be visualising a united or federated Indo-China, which will be a strong bulwark against Chinese expansion in the region. It may be noted here that the French have not spelled or interpreted their neutralisation plan in such specific terms, but this seems to be the intent and purpose of their scheme. Of course, this also reflects the desire of the present French Government to play a vital and independent role in their former enclaves.

The present stalemate would presumably be broken by the convening of another international conference, which may produce another blueprint for peace-keeping in Laos. But whether another international agreement will finally resolve the problem in the interest of peace in the region, is very doubtful. The problem could, perhaps, have been solved long before, if various political factions, particularly, the Pathet Lao and the Rightists had not been only instruments of wider politics. The utmost danger is now posed by the Pathet Lao movement which is controlled and guided by party cadres from North Vietnam; the Laotian political figures of the movement appear to be only figure-heads. The Communist Party of North Vietnam, in its own turn, is very much subservient to the Chinese Communists, whose game it is playing.



TEN YEARS OF ORGANIZED EFFORT FOR KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(Contributed)

Anything done to secure production in Agriculture, animal husbandry, small-scale and village industries will immediately increase the income of those at the bottom level. This will considerably help integration among the different levels at which our people live.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

THE idea behind the formation of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board and of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission was to bring into existence an organization for formulating and organising programmes for the production and development of khadi and village industries, including training of personnel, manufacture and supply of equipment, supply of raw materials, marketing and research and study of economic problems pertaining to different village industries. The organisation was also to function as a clearing house of information and experience relating to those industries. The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board functioned for four years when it was succeeded by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission in April 1957. The Commission's functions are generally in line with those laid down for the preceding Board. Eleven years have elapsed since the promotion of khadi and village industries was undertaken as an organised effort with financial assistance and other types of aids from the Government. This period does not represent a very long time especially in the field of rural economic development in a country where even the basic facilities are not available. Nevertheless, it may not be out of place to review the work done so far so that steps can be taken for further development of these industries.

Efforts for the development of village industries have to contend with special problems. The worthwhileness of the programme is not judged by production or sale alone, but by the extent of employment opportunities created in the rural areas and the dispersal of the programme to as large a number of villages as possible. There are more than 5,64,700 villages in India, of which 5,60,549 have a population of less than 5,000 each. In point of fact 4,68,765 villages have a population of less than 1,000 while 3,49,568 villages have a population of less than 500, and 1,76,384 villages have a population of less than

200. The villages are spread all over the country. The very large number of villages is a measure of the magnitude of the task that faces those who are charged with the responsibility for bringing about regeneration of the village economy.

LIMITED AVAILABILITY OF FINANCE

The allocation for khadi and village industries during the First Plan amounted to Rs. 14.82 crores which worked out at 0.44 per cent of the total plan provision. A sum of Rs. 84 crores (1.24 per cent of the total plan allocation) was allotted for khadi and village industries in the Second Plan. The allocation for khadi and village industries of Rs. 92.4 crores during the third plan works out at 0.78 per cent of the total allocation. In other words, out of a total allocation of Rs. 21,910 crores, in the three plans, only Rs. 191.22 crores or about .87 per cent was allotted for the development of khadi and village industries. The actual disbursement was of the order of Rs. 143.57 crores up to March, 1963.

FIVE PRINCIPAL CONSIDERATIONS

In evaluating the work of the Board and of the Commission during the past period of more than a decade it is necessary to bear in mind the objects which were expected to be served and to see how far these objectives have been served. Of the several important considerations mention may be made of the following: (1) expansion of production, (2) provision of employment, (3) popularising the programme, (4) extension of financial assistance, and (5) promotion of sales.

During the period of the First Five year plan, khadi was the only industry in which there was, on the basis of an existing scheme of working, a programme drawn up for further development work. There was no similar basis available in the field of other village industries except that

some work was being done in the fields of processing of cereals and pulses, village oil, palm gur, gur and khandsari and bee-keeping. It was only in 1956-57 that systematic work was started in respect of the following industries: processing of cereals and pulses; village oil; village leather; cottage match; gur and khandsari; palm gur; non-edible oils and soap; handmade paper; bee-keeping and pottery. Subsequently, work was started on the improvement of carpentry and blacksmithy, the limestone industry and the manufacture of methane gas and manure.

The difficulties met with in collecting information on rural conditions in general are well-known. These difficulties are experienced equally in the collection of information on khadi and village industries which has to be collected from thousands of small units spread all over the country, many of which do not have the proper

personnel to maintain records in a manner which would make them suitable for being incorporated in a systematic report. The handicaps in this regard are yet to be overcome. It is, therefore, not possible to give figures of production, employment and sales in the field of village industries other than khadi which could present a realistic picture of developments. But available reports indicate encouraging results.

KHADI PRODUCTION UP BY 676 PER CENT

The production of khadi (including silk, woollen and ambar) rose from 115.63 lakh sq. yards in 1953-54 to 896.12 lakh sq. yards in 1962-63 indicating a rise of more than 7 times (676 per cent). It is customary to judge progress by the impact on production. Viewed thus, the record is not altogether discouraging (Table 1).

TABLE 1
Variety-wise Production of Khadi
1953-54 to 1962-63

Year	Traditional Cotton		Self-Sufficiency					
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value				
1953-54	93.34	177.35	10.10	12.98				
1954-55	166.79	309.31	18.17	24.91				
1955-56	219.42	416.03	58.00	82.65				
1956-57	263.82	519.66	130.89	188.15				
1957-58	282.84	521.59	177.11	254.64				
1958-59	338.31	630.86	99.80	144.35				
1959-60	319.44	632.49	95.67	112.89				
1960-61	301.34	582.99	55.48	76.36				
1961-62	346.67	640.40	77.30	173.18				
1962-63	404.72	748.83	78.35	103.90				
					Quantity : Lakh.		Sq. Yds.	
					Value : Rs.		Lakhs.	
					Woollen		Silk	
					Ambar		Mixed	
					Total			
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
					Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
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EMPLOYMENT UP NEARLY FIVE TIMES

Employment in khadi went up from 3.79 lakhs in 1953-54 to 17.99 lakhs in 1962-63, a rise of more than 375 per cent. In 1962-63 khadi and other village industries were providing

employment to 25.35 lakh persons (17.99 lakhs in khadi and 7.36 lakhs in village industries) of whom 71 per cent were employed in the khadi sector. Table 2 below gives details of employment in khadi, traditional and ambar, over the decade :

TABLE 2
Employment in Khadi
(000's)

Year	Traditional	Spinners Ambar	Total	Weavers	Others	Grand Total
1953-54	348.0	—	348.0	19.2	11.4	378.6
1954-55	474.1	—	474.1	29.4	14.1	517.6
1955-56	596.2	—	596.2	43.6	17.7	657.5
1956-57	743.6	45.8	789.4	60.1	31.2	880.7
1957-58	858.6	144.6	1003.2	73.5	59.2	1135.9
1958-59	1007.4	245.0	1252.4	80.3	67.0	1399.7
1959-60	1089.9	321.6	1411.5	119.8	75.8	1607.1
1960-61	1144.4	363.9	1508.3	124.7	81.2	1714.2
1961-62	1163.7	373.4	1537.1	124.7	84.4	1746.2
1962-63	1186.7	377.4	1564.1	149.6	84.7	1798.4

WIDER GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE : DIFFUSION
OF INITIATIVE

This increase in production and employment was not brought by the concentration of efforts in a limited number of centres but, in keeping with the objective of decentralised development, was achieved through the extension of the programme to a wider field in all the States of the Union. The programme has reached a lakh of villages. Geographical coverage apart, initiative is also spread over a large number of institutions and co-operatives.

The number of organisations engaged in khadi industry rose from 186 in 1953-54 to 1,614 in 1962-63, that is, by 768 per cent. Of these, in the latter year, 925 were societies registered under the Societies Registration Act, 15 were State Boards and 674 co-operatives.

15000 CO-OPERATIVES

The policy is to promote the development of co-operatives. From that point of view also progress has not been inconsiderable. More than 10,000 co-operative societies have been brought into existence during the period. Practically the whole of the village industries sector (other than

khadi) is covered by co-operatives. The following table 3 shows the position of co-operatives under each industry.

TABLE 3

Co-operatives in the Field of Khadi and Village Industries as at the end of March 1963

Khadi	674
Village Oil	4,237
Palm Gur	3,016
Leather	2,574
Handpounding of Paddy	1,898
Pottery	1,236
Gur and Khandsari	582
Carpentry and Blacksmithy	444
Soap	399
Fibre	233
Beekeeping	157
Handmade Paper	102
Match	23
Lime	23
Gobar Gas	1

Total : 15,599

Even in the field of khadi where the institutions registered under the Societies Registration

Act have traditionally been active the progress in organizing co-operatives has been encouraging. The number of khadi co-operatives went up from 42 in 1954-55 to 674 in 1962-63. The proportion of co-operatives to the total number of organisations (1614) engaged in khadi which was little over 13 per cent in 1954-55 rose to 42 per cent in 1962-63. The following table 4 depicts the progress of co-operativization in khadi.

TABLE 4

Co-operatives and Registered Institutions in Khadi

Year	Registered Institutions	Co-operatives	Total
1953-54	N.A.	N.A.	185
1954-55	190	42	232
1955-56	244	60	304
1965-57	279	166	445
1957-58	319	236	555
1958-59	392	304	696
1959-60	449	319	768
1960-61	733	419	1,152
1961-62	876	541	1,417
1962-63	940	674	1,614

FIFTEEN-FOLD RISE IN SALES

In a sound programme, growth in production and organizational progress is bound to find reflection in appreciable improvement in marketing, which is dogging the path of every small producer. Here also there was marked progress. The sales of khadi rose from Rs. 129.98 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 2037 lakhs in 1962-63 or a rise of over fifteen times (1463 per cent) in ten years. (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Sales of Khadi and Village Industries Products
(Value in Rs. Lakhs)

Industry	1961-62	1962-63
Khadi	1877.54	2036.78
Handprocessed Cereals and Pulses	272.59	318.35
Village Oil	1495.21	1543.36
Village Leather	131.28	199.91
Gur and Khandsari :		
Gur	N.A.	384.27
Khandsari	—	10.11

Non-edible Oils and Soap	41.77	52.56
Handmade Paper	20.96	26.23
Village Pottery	42.24	68.59
Fibre Products	11.80	30.78
Carpentry and Blacksmithy Products	1.18	2.60
Palm Gur (neera)	23.03	39.43
Beekeeping (Apiary honey)	22.60	24.73
Lime products	—	3.45
Cottage Match	2.56	2.94

3942.76 4744.09

OVER SIX LAKHS TRAINED

An important part of the programme is the training of personnel. In all 6,13,597 persons were trained during the past eleven years under the aegis of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. Of these 5,42,808 persons were trained in khadi and 70,789 in village industries. Further breakdown of the figures shows that 5,25,778 persons were trained under the ambar charkha scheme, while 17,030 persons were trained under the traditional charkha scheme. Since a decision was taken not to introduce the new 4-spindle ambar charkha but to concentrate on renovation of existing charkhas or their conversion to six-spindle units and to organize model centres for raising the level of productivity, there has been reduction in training in ambar spinning.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Finance is among the main problems confronting the small producer. Therefore, one of the urgent tasks before the Commission was to evolve a pattern of assistance which would ensure speedy availability of funds to producers, while enabling the Commission to exercise normal checks in the disposal of the funds. The total disbursement on account of khadi and village industries rose from Rs. 109.14 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 2757.22 lakhs in 1962-63.

SUPPLY EQUIPMENTS

Among the other principal functions of the Commission are : making arrangements for supply of implements to producers and to provide facilities for marketing of khadi and products of village industries.

So far 3,73,341 ambar charkhas have been distributed. No additional charkhas were dis-

tributed during 1962-63 save in hill and border areas. During the year 21,281 charkhas were remodelled and 8,623 charkhas were converted into six-spindle units bringing the total number renovated to 29,904. In the case of other village industries also encouraging progress in the supply of equipment has been made. In the processing of cereals and pulses industry 75,771 ball-bearings, 11,973 paddy chakkis, 26,025 atta chakkis, 623 winnowing fans and 1,012 dhenkis have been distributed. They are all of an improved variety. During 1962-63, 3,407 paddy chakkis, 2,474 atta chakkis, 57 winnowing fans and 51 dhenkis were distributed.

Under the village oil industry programme, 19,858 improved ghanis have been distributed.

Under the village leather industry schemes, assistance was given for constructing or repairing 25698 pits for tanning. They were estimated to have produced goods valued at Rs. 129.45 lakhs in 1962-63.

Under the gur khandsari industry nearly 20,000 bullock-driven crushers were introduced by the end of 1962-63 employing 55,541 persons. Some 389 power-driven crushers were also supplied. Under the village pottery industry, 1,130 wheel attachments, 2,122 new model wheels, 379 chain-driven wheels, 284 mould sets, 59 screw presses, 32 tile presses and 561 bhatti sheds were provided. Under the fibre industry,

batara charkhas, that is a hand-operated machine for spinning higher counts from these fibres and also from grasses, rope-making machines, machines for extraction of fibre from sisal and date-plam leaves, machines for carding sisal jute, ambadi and sann, banana fibre scrapers, and looms for weaving chair seats and matting from sisal jute, ambadi and sann, were distributed.

Nearly 1,700 machines were distributed under the fibre industry of which 1,280 were in Punjab alone. 804 batara charkhas, 1500 carding machines and 150 scrapers were also distributed in Punjab, Kerala and Madras.

PROGRESS IN VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

Encouraging results have been obtained in recent years in respect of village leather industry, the value of production of which went up from Rs. 35.50 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 144.16 lakhs in 1962-63. Other industries in which good progress was observed were village oil and fibre industries where the production went up respectively from Rs. 1,354.70 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 1,628.53 lakhs in 1962-63 and from Rs. 6.56 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 55.17 lakhs in 1962-63 respectively.

The following table 6 shows the rise in production for different village industries between 1960-61 and 1962-63.

TABLE 6
Production in Village Industries

	(Value in lakhs of rupces)		
	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63
Processing of cereals and pulses industry	341.12	395.00	411.68
Village oil industry :			
Oil	1,354.70	1,670.39	1,628.53
Cake	314.42	399.99	352.37
Palm gur	422.80	295.20	475.99
Village leather industry	35.50	91.17	144.16
Non-edible oils and soap industry	65.59	71.94	90.78*
Handmade Paper Industry	24.23	23.99	30.95
Cottage Match Industry	1.43	2.56	5.20
Gur and Khandsari	—	—	394.83
Village pottery industry	41.98	49.08	79.82
Beekeeping industry	17.38	22.60	24.73
Fibre industry	6.56	14.18	55.17
Carpentry and Blacksmithy	—	1.80	2.97
Limestone	—	—	3.21

* includes seed collection, oil extraction and soap making

VILLAGE LEATHER INDUSTRY

Laying of dead animals and recovery of all valuable materials to the fullest extent is the underlying objective of the village leather industry. The effort of the Commission in this direction have met with good response.

At present work is carried on at 244 flaying centres, 11 intensive flaying centres, 209 tanneries and 36 marketing depots. Co-operatives numbering 574 are working under this industry. Employment provided under the schemes has risen from 65 in 1953-54 to 8,168 in 1962-63. The value of aggregate production in 1962-63 was 144.15 lakhs. The production in tanneries was to the tune of Rs. 129.45 lakhs in 1962-63. Financial assistance was given for the construction of new pits and for effecting repairs to old ones numbering 25,698 till the end of 1962-63.

VILLAGE OIL

Production of oil, under the village oil industry scheme, showed a steady increase from 0.76 lakh quintals in 1956-57 to 6.77 lakh quintals in 1962-63. Production of oil-cake more than doubled from 4.94 lakh quintals to 10.58 lakh quintals during the same period.

There are 22,960 registered ghanis, of which 11,233 are improved ones. The industry provides employment to 31,958 persons on full-time basis and to 20,555 persons on part-time basis.

HANDMADE PAPER

It has been possible to start production of varieties of paper like drawing paper, document paper, jacquard paper etc., which were previously imported. Further, with the adoption of techniques used in the Japanese handmade paper industry, the production of stencil paper, tissue paper, artistic wall paper, decorative packing paper and other varieties which have export value has become possible.

The production stands at 1,511 metric tonnes valued at more than Rs. 30.95 lakhs. Of the 265 units of all sizes assisted by the Commission only 134 centres have so far commenced production. The other units which are in the various stages of erection are expected to raise production to 5,500 tonnes when commissioned.

PROCESSING OF CEREALS INDUSTRY

Provision of employment on a large scale in rural areas, and ensuring higher percentage of rice recovery from paddy during dehussing are the basic objectives of this industry which has recorded substantial increase both in production and employment.

Production rose from Rs. 53.96 lakhs in 1953-54 to Rs. 411.68 lakhs that is by more than seven times or an increase of 661 per cent. Employment went up from 4,000 to 57,538 (wages Rs. 27.72 lakhs).

Organisationally, there was steady growth. In 1954-55, 148 co-operatives and registered institutions were functioning. Their number rose to 1898 in 1962-63, that is, increased by nearly 13 times or by 1182 per cent.

PALM GUR

The palm gur industry had covered, by the end of 1962-63, 7,165 villages and there were 3.54 lakh tappers on its rolls at the end of the year; co-operatives engaged in the industry numbered 3016.

Production of palm gur and other products was valued at Rs. 476 lakhs as against Rs. 295.20 in 1961-62. The industry provided employment to 3.54 lakh persons on part-time basis.

NON-EDIBLE OILS AND SOAP

The accent in this industry is on the creation of wealth by collection and processing of non-edible oilseeds which go waste in the countryside. This helps diversion of much-needed edible oils for human consumption the availability of which is deplorably low in our country. Collection of oilseeds, crushing of seeds and soap-making are the main features of this industry. In 1962-63 non-edible oilseed worth Rs. 18.51 lakhs were collected. It deserves to be noted that in this work of collection of seeds the principal beneficiaries are adivasis. Oils of the value of Rs. 21.40 lakhs and soap valued at Rs. 50.87 lakhs were produced.

Organisationally, the number of working units has gone up from 21 in 1955-56 to 609 in 1962-63, that is, by 29 times. In 1962-63, 23,632 persons were employed in seed collection and 5,008 persons in the processing of seeds.

BEE-KEEPING

The primary object behind the programme of the beekeeping industry is to educate the public in methods of scientific bee-keeping and its processes, and to provide technical guidance to bee-keepers. The extraction of honey may become secondary in importance when compared with immense beneficial effects of beekeeping on agriculture.

The industry under the Commission has expanded steadily. The number of colonies rose from 800 in 1953-54 to nearly 1,63,016 in 1962-63, that is, by more than 200 times. The value of honey production rose from Rs. 0.20 lakhs to Rs. 24.73 lakhs in 1962-63. The industry has covered 11,000 villages. There were 53,884 registered bee-keepers on the rolls at the end of 1962-63.

GUR AND KHANDSARI

Gur and khandsari industry which is the largest agricultural processing industry, provides seasonal employment for 4 to 5 months in a year. The production of gur rose from 6.47 lakh quintals in 1954-55 to 15.66 lakh quintals in 1962-63—that is more than doubled—and of khandsari from 10,436 quintals valued at Rs. 8.40 lakhs in 1955-56 to 54,000 quintals—an increase of more than 5 times—in 1962-63.

The production of gur rose from 13.61 lakh quintals in 1961-62 to 15.66 lakh quintals in 1962-63. Khandsari registered a similar rise viz., from 26,000 quintals in 1961-62 to 54,000 quintals in 1962-63. Employment rose from 3,033 to 55,541 in 1962-63, i.e., increased by more than 18 times or by about 1,731 per cent. Wages distributed worked out to Rs. 43.11 lakhs.

There are 20,000 bullock-driven crushers and 389 power-driven crushers. The development programmes of this industry have covered 3½ lakh acres of land accounting for 6 per cent of the 58 lakh acres which are under cane cultivation in the country.

POTTERY

Production under the pottery industry is no less impressive. Schemes were formulated and regular work was started in 1955-56. Production in 1956-57 was valued at Rs. 1.11 lakhs which

steadily increased and in 1962-63 it added up to Rs. 79.82 lakhs—the rise being 6,190 per cent or of more than 71 times.

There are 1,236 co-operatives. The industry provided employment to 23,245 persons in 1962-63.

FIBRE INDUSTRY

The Commission's programme under the fibre industry includes educating the artisans in the countryside to make articles out of fibres some of which are otherwise going waste at present. Specific mention deserves to be made of the manufacture of *bardans* or *bataras* which have made notable progress in the northern parts of Mysore.

The sale of fibre articles amounted to Rs. 11.80 lakhs in 1961-62 which increased to Rs. 30.78 lakhs in 1962-63. Production rose from Rs. 14.18 lakhs to Rs. 55.17 lakhs during the same period. Between 1961-62 and 1962-63 production increased nearly 4 times while sales increased by three times. During 1962-63 there were employed 7,589 artisans and 3,474 families on full-time basis while 450 artisans and 4,844 families got seasonal employment. As at this date 233 co-operatives are functioning under this industry.

CARPENTRY AND BLACKSMITHY

The industry has been taken up only recently by the Commission. Upto the end of 1962-63, 127 units were allotted—10 A type, 2 B type and 115 C type. The production and sales during 1962-63 are respectively Rs. 2.97 lakhs and Rs. 2.60 lakhs. At present 183 persons are employed in this industry.

LIMESTONE

This industry, which is also a new addition to the schedule of village industries has tended to respond favourably to the efforts made during the last one or two years. The programme is implemented at present through co-operatives of traditional lime burners, 23 of which were registered during 1962-63. A major step was taken to bring all the 80 co-operative societies known to be existing in the country within the purview of Commission and to build up an effective organisa-

tional framework for this industry. Most of the 92 production units are in the preliminary stages of construction.

Production and sales during 1962-63 are valued at Rs. 3.21 lakhs and Rs. 3.45 lakhs respectively. One technical extension service centre has started functioning for providing training and technical services. Arrangements were also made to train technical personnel at the research and experimental centre at Poona.

GOBAR GAS (METHANE)

There were 23 registered institutions and one co-operative society functioning under the industry. The Commission has allotted 32 gas plants—18 to Gujarat, 7 to Maharashtra, 3 to Uttar Pradesh, while Bihar, Kerala, Mysore and West Bengal had one each. Of these, 6 plants in Gujarat and 4 in Maharashtra have started operation. The others are still under construction. The gas plants working in Gujarat and Maharashtra produced 270 tons of manure and 9.50 lakh c.ft. of methane gas.

The Commission has organised a small laboratory for conducting research in technical matters. Though the laboratory could not begin its work on a large scale it conducted research in the following directions viz., (a) reduction in the space required by the digester; (b) shortening the period required for digestion; and (c) optimum use of a unit of gas.

RESEARCH

Research is very important for all industries. It is still more so for small industries and village industries because normally in the main research is being done on lines from which the village industries sector cannot derive much benefit, though its results can be helpful to the organized large-scale industries. The problems of the decentralized sector are significantly different from those of the organized sector. It is again difficult to attract talented minds for research in the field of village industries inasmuch as scientific workers find it easier to adjust themselves to the demands of the mechanized sector than to the requirements of the decentralized sector. Even then through intelligent efforts it has been possible to associate a number of qualified scientists with the research projects for different

industries coming under the purview of the Commission. In research, however, it takes time to obtain results and one cannot guarantee in advance any achievement. Liberal grants have been made to promote research. The Commission has also established a Central Research Institute for Village Industries at Wardha which is known as Jamnalal Bajaj Central Research Institute for village industries. The Prayog Samiti of Ahmedabad has been mainly responsible for technical research in khadi. Substantial sums have been spent on research, as a result of which improved implements such as ambar belni, ambar charkha, dhunai modhia, improved ghanis and chakkis have been introduced opening out possibilities of raising the productivity and income of the persons employed.

A technical committee consisting of experts appointed to suggest modifications in ambar charkha so as to secure increased earnings, has found that with certain modifications in the ambar charkha an artisan can earn one rupee by working for 6 to 7 hrs.

PROGRAMME FOR HILL AND BORDER AREAS

The Chinese aggression highlighted the need for developing the economy of hill and border areas. The remoteness of the hill and border areas from the developed regions, their relative inaccessibility and the educational and cultural level of the inhabitants of the hill and border areas render it difficult to develop many units of large-scale industries there. On the other hand, the introduction of khadi and village industries can immediately provide the people in hill and border areas with opportunities for gainful employment. The Commission has thus been making special efforts to take the programme to the hill and border areas. In several border states, state-level advisory committees have been set up with the Chief Minister at the head to advise on the implementation of the programme there. The all-India Advisory Committee helps in the co-ordination of efforts in various states.

PROGRAMME FOR WEAKER SECTIONS OF THE VILLAGE POPULATION

Although the programme for khadi and village Industries is itself intended to help the weaker sections of the village population, it has

been found from experience that the various schemes of aid need to be made more flexible in order to be useful to the backward people in the rural areas. The tribal people and many of the members of the scheduled castes have been unable to take advantage of the programme because of their extreme poverty and backwardness. Therefore the Commission has formulated a special programme for the welfare of the weaker sections of the village population.

GRAM EKAI

Experience has emphasised the need for increasing co-ordination in the efforts for the development of the rural economy which has to be considered as an integrated whole. This realization has made it necessary to correlate the programme for the development of khadi and village industries with other programmes for rural development. *Gram ekai* (literally meaning a village unit) envisages bringing about such co-ordination and integration of efforts in a number of selected areas in the country. The target in the Third Five Year Plan is to set up 3,000 units each with a population of 5,000.

FREE WEAVING SCHEME

A natural corollary of the concept of *gram ekai* is the free weaving scheme which promises to augment the supplies of cloth in the rural areas by inducing more people to take to spinning. Weaving facilities provided free of charge will, undoubtedly, lead to a greater consumption of locally produced khadi cloth in rural areas. Among the several important advantages of the scheme may be mentioned as being the following:

First, it would ensure the supply of cloth practically without any charge to the spinners in villages who also grow cotton. To a very large number of people in the villages who otherwise find it extremely difficult to buy cloth for want of purchasing capacity but who have the time to do work and are willing to do so, the scheme will certainly be a boon.

Second, it would ensure to the spinners in villages who do not grow cotton, supply of cloth at a very nominal charge, say thirtyseven naye paise, per square yard. The significance of this can only be understood if it is considered against the background of the living conditions of the people in the rural areas.

There is no doubt that more and more people in the villages would be attracted to spinning because they would get their cloth just at the cost of their labour.

Thirdly, those in the villages who do not spin would get cloth at a very low price which would be much more competitive in relation to the price of mill cloth than at present. Because most of the yarn spun will be woven locally into cloth which in turn is expected to be consumed locally, thus leading to a saving in transport cost.

There is thus a real possibility of an expansion of the market for khadi in the rural areas under the new scheme and the dependence on the urban market for the consumption of khadi produced may conceivably be reduced in course of time.

Fourthly, in the urban areas, consumers will get khadi at about the same price as they are paying now. There is, therefore, no reason why khadi should not continue to be patronised by the people who are now going in for it.

DISSEMINATING INFORMATION

One of the important functions of the Commission is to serve as a clearing house of information and experience relating to khadi and village industries. The Commission has been publishing two periodicals which are being increasingly read and commented upon, and has also brought out a number of standard publications. So far 178 titles have been published making up for 24,42,313 copies. In addition assistance is being extended to the different State Khadi and Village Industries Boards to bring out periodicals and publications in their local languages.

Efforts are being made to start a systematic campaign for public education in the technical aspects of the industries. It is proposed to bring out small booklets describing the manner in which to approach the setting up of units and run them.

PROPER ORIENTATION FOR PROGRESS

The village industries differ from one another in significant respects and it is not possible to evaluate their progress by any standard formula. The intensity of capital, the skill, the organisation of production and sales and the direction of

research vary from industry to industry. The industries are useful not only because they provide employment and earnings to the unemployed—which they undoubtedly do; their importance lies also in the fact that they add to the national wealth by directly contributing to the production of consumer goods in common demand and thus reducing the strain on the national economy caused with the consumption requirements of a growing population or else the necessity to import from abroad. All these aspects of the industries deserve consideration.

For example, if the local production of handmade paper enables the Government to curtail import of any particular variety of paper, to that extent the industry will deserve encouragement even if it does not provide employment to a very large number of persons. Similarly, in the case of village leather industry if, by a better organisation of flaying and utilisation of carcasses, it is possible to meet more effectively the demands of national defence and popular consumption, the industry should be promoted. In the case of the non-edible oil industry, the collection of non-edible oil seeds which would otherwise go waste, should itself be considered a desirable activity since it will augment the supplies of much-needed oil and provide a useful source of supplementary incomes to the adivasis and other low income groups.

Farmyard manure is perhaps the best type of manure for agriculture. In our country much of this valuable manure is wasted by being burnt as fuel. The introduction of cow-dung gas plants will not only prevent this waste but can also provide an alternative source of power in the villages where the prospects of electrification are, to say the least, distant.

Again, the bee-keeping industry is not only desirable for honey and supply of wax (the importance of which has increased as a result of heightened defence requirements) but it can make

a very valuable, if indirect, contribution towards the growth of agricultural and especially horticultural production. It is well-known that bees are one of the agencies for pollination. As such, wherever bee-keeping is followed on any significant scale, agriculture flourishes.

Housing conditions in rural areas defy description. They are extremely bad. There cannot be any improvement in the standard of living of the people in the rural areas without an improvement in housing conditions. As is well-known, building materials have become prohibitively costly; at any rate so far as the majority of the village population is concerned they cannot afford the price even of very ordinary building materials. It is the duty of all concerned to see that something is done towards improving these conditions. The promotion of village pottery and village limestone industries can certainly be expected to go a long way towards helping the villagers in improving their housing conditions.

MULTIPLICATION OF EFFICIENT UNITS

Efforts will have to be made to explore the different directions in which the potentialities of these industries can come true. The problems of development of village industries are unique. It is not difficult to set up and run a central large scale unit efficiently and profitably. It is, however, far from easy to multiply such units throughout the country with its varying regions, with their uneven distribution of resources and skills and differing popular aptitude, initiative and talent. No formula has so far been discovered to solve this problem of multiplication of efficient production units in lakhs of spread-out villages. Evidently we hope for a way out. But the way can only be found if we keep on persevering. Past experience provides us with enough encouragement to do so.



AMERICAN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY D. C. KAMOJI, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the American Christian Missions in India is a story of Love at work : it is a story of love of man towards man. From the opening of the nineteenth century, American missionaries have come to India and have opened educational, medical, philanthropic, literary and evangelistic missions.

THE AMERICAN BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

Origin :

The American Board for Foreign Missions eventually proved to be the first and one of the largest missionary bodies of the United States of America ; but its origin was as humble as its fame became great. In 1906, a few students of William's College in Massachusetts met under a group of trees for the usual prayer. An oncoming storm drove them to take shelter under a haystack. The students under the haystack discussed the imperative necessity and the proximate possibility of sending American missionaries to the East to spread the Christian message. During this period in America, there was a tide in the spiritual life of the country and the students were not untouched by it.

Society of Brethren :

The prayer-meeting resulted in the foundation of the "Society of Brethren," the avowed object of which was to carry the Christian message to the heathens. Twentyone months later, nine of the fathers of the Church met to discuss the subject with the students. The next day, Dr. Spring and Dr. Worcester drove in a chaise to be present at a meeting of their Church, and as they were driving, the idea of the "American Board for Foreign Missions" was conceived in their minds. They laid the idea before the General Association of congregational Ministers which consisted of eighteen members at the time. Seven

persons in all were prepared to go to the Orient as missionaries, but only four persons, Judson, Mills, Notts and Newell, signed the petition and the other three withheld their names so that the idea of supporting seven missionaries should not appear too much to bear. One of the three, Gordon Hall, had already made up his mind to go to the East whatever the decision of the General Association.

Raising Funds :

The next step in the life of the American Board was raising the necessary finances to support the missionaries. Judson was sent to England to negotiate for help but it was soon evident that they had to depend on themselves. But on 6th February, 1812, an incident occurred in the old Church of Salem in Massachusetts which almost amounted to a miracle. The Church was crowded to its fullest capacity on the day to witness the consecration of five men as missionaries. Before that day, only a quarter of the expenses required for maintaining the missionaries for only one year was collected. The effect of the Church service and the consecration on the minds of the people gathered was so great that before the missionaries sailed off for the East, huge amounts of money came pouring in and all the immediate expenses were met with.

Missionaries to India :

In February, 1812, Mr. and Mrs. Judson, Mr. and Mrs. Newell, Mr. and Mrs. Nott and Messrs. Gordon Hall and Rice sailed for India. On 11th February, 1813, Gordon Hall and Mr. and Mrs. Nott arrived at Bombay harbour where they had to face disappointment, opposition and sickness. They were told by the British authorities that they will not be allowed to work in the territories under the dominance of the British. The missionaries consequently appealed to the Directors of the East India Company in London for permission. In the meanwhile, Mr. and Mrs.

Judson and Mr. Rice broke away from the rest and the American Board to join the Baptist Communion on grounds of conscience and conviction. This caused much convulsion in the hearts of the missionaries. To this was added the sorrow of sickness among them. Yet, the missionaries lived in sufferance in Bombay till November, 1815, when they were told by the officials of the Company that their appeal had been placed before the Directors in London and that the Governor was at liberty to allow them to work in Bombay. When the opinion of the Directors was received in Bombay, Sir Evan Napier, the Governor, communicated to the missionaries: "I can now answer you that you have my entire permission to remain here, so long as you conduct yourselves in a manner agreeable to your office. I shall feel no difficulty in allowing you to go to any part of this Presidency and I heartily wish you success in your work."

Gordon Hall :

From 1814 onwards, the streets and the temples of Bombay became increasingly familiar with the appearance of Gordon Hall, who was only 23 when he came to India. On one Sunday, he would preach in nine different places and the next day he would take up his stand in six new places; he would sit on the floor of a hut reading to a dozen persons something of a sermon; he would haunt the precincts of the temples and accost the people in the streets; he would go to the burning ghats of the Hindus and visit the burial grounds of the Muslims; and he would see the Sadhus and meet the Jews to talk to them about someone called Jesus. He worked hard at learning Marathi and Sanskrit and two years later he began the study of Marathi; he translated most of the Gospel of St. Matthew and prepared a small tract. He also worked at Gujarati and Hindustani; besides all this, he found time to supervise the schools.

Tracts and Books :

Hall, Newell and Bardwell wrote tracts and books, bought paper and set the type themselves to print the books. They procured a printing press in 1816 and the next year were printed the two scripture tracts and the Gospel of St. Matthew. The "First Book for Children" in Marathi was probably prepared by Messrs. Hall and Newell. "A Help in acquiring the English

Language" in English and Marathi was prepared by Mr. Hall which ran to the fifth edition by 1828. Text books in Astronomy, Geography and Arithmetic also were produced by these busy missionaries.

Death of Gordon Hall and other Missionaries :

The hot climate of India, over work, food unsuited to their taste and lack of success hastened the death of many missionaries. During the short period of five years, 1821-1826, four of the six American men missionaries died: in 1821, Newell died of cholera, in 1824 Nicolls died of fever, in 1825 Frost died and in 1826 died Gordon Hall also of cholera. The latter had gone to Trimbakeswar and Nasik, where cholera was raging, to distribute medicines and books and to minister and preach. On his way back to Bombay, one night he halted at Dodi Dapur and at 4 a.m. the next day, he began to prepare for his journey. Suddenly, he was seized by cholera and within eight hours he was no more.

In 1827, there were four American missionaries and the health of all of them was giving way. Of the thirty children, born in American missionary homes before 1832, eighteen died. In spite of this heavy cost in human life the number of missionaries coming to India remained steady and later gradually increased.

George Bowen :

The next missionary belonging to the American Board who attained some prominence was George Bowen. The Christian influences in Bombay increased when, in 1849, George Bowen arrived in Bombay. He was born in a rich family and, when twenty-six, fell in love with a woman, Emma Morris, who died soon after. Her dying gift to George Bowen was a copy of the Holy Bible with a plea that he read it everyday. To fulfil his promise, he began to read the Bible and attend the Church. Soon, the Holy Bible produced its effect on him and he was baptized. He declared his intention to become a missionary in a foreign land. After a few years, he was sent to Bombay as a missionary and on February 1, 1849, he decided to do away with the salary of the American Board and support himself by giving tuition to the children of an Anglo-Jewish family. His life was extremely simple. He preached in the streets, took part in

the Church services, visited regularly some half a dozen vernacular schools, taught children and did all that he was generally asked to do.

George Bowen was a firm believer in, and a great exponent of, street-preaching. His views on religion and education were so much respected that Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor, used to consult him repeatedly on these subjects.

Growth of the American Board :

The American Board had sent missionaries to North Ceylon before A.D. 1833. Before that year, India was practically closed for the foreign missions due to the rulings of the East India Company, but in 1833, the memorable Charter of 1833 was passed which allowed the missionaries to work in any part of India. Soon after this, the missionaries in Ceylon crossed over to India and opened their work first in Madura in 1834, then in Dindigal in 1835, in Trivandrum in 1838, in Pasumalai in 1845, in Periacoppam in 1848, in Mandapasalai in 1851 and in Battalagundie in 1857.

Soon the American Board also established its stations in Madras where it has rendered conspicuous service. Mission centres were founded at Arni in 1854, at Vellore in 1855, at Palmaner in 1859, at Madanapalli in 1863 and Tindivanam in 1869. The Dutch Reformed Church of America took over the management of the centre of Tindivanam. At Vellore, the members of the Scudder family have rendered unforgettable service at the Medical Institution and due to their persevering and zealous service, the Medical Institution there holds still its own place of honour in the history of medical work in India. In 1851, the American Board had 22 missionaries in India.

The American Board also extended its fields of activity from Bombay. In 1831, they came into contact with the Mahars and Mangis in Ahmednagar. In 1842, the centres at Sirur and Satara were opened, at Wadal in 1857 and at sholapur in 1861.

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS

Schools of the American Board :

On year after the missionaries of the American Board came to Bombay, they opened

their first school which was attended mostly by the Anglo-Indian boys. In 1820, the American missionaries were running seven schools in Bombay, seven in Mahim and its vicinity, two in Thana and five in the mainland, altogether claiming 1050 pupils.

Girls' Education :

The education of the girls was not neglected entirely. In introducing education to the girls, the wives of the missionaries, along with the missionaries, played a prominent role. In 1826, the American missionaries had nine girls' schools with 200 pupils, and in 1828 twelve girls' schools with 400 students. It was during 1825-1830 that the first Indian woman teacher was appointed.

A Difficulty of the Schools :

During 1828-1830, the schools faced many difficulties due to a cause of little importance. It was the practice in the schools that when the schools opened everyday, a prayer was held during which the non-Christian teachers were asked to stand up. This the non-Christian teachers resented and deserted the schools leaving them either to be closed or to be managed without teachers. In spite of it, it is gratifying to note that, by 1828, the American Board had 12 girls' schools and that the Brahmans, though reproached and condemned for their action, were willing to teach in the mission girls' schools.

In 1835, the American missions had seven schools for boys with 353 students and eighteen girls' schools with more than 400 students: this was, though encouraging, hardly sufficient in view of the population of the day.

An Educational Institution under George Bowen :

Under the encouragement of George Bowen of the American Board an educational institution was founded in Bombay in 1854 and George Bowen was placed at the head of it. He had foreseen great possibilities of doing good through this Institution. But its life was pitifully short: a delegation of some members of the American Board, to which the Institution belonged, came in 1854 to Bombay and ruled that the missionaries should exclusively concern themselves with preaching. George Bowen, there-

fore, could not work in the Institution any more and the Institution, of course, came to be closed.

Schools in Orissa :

In 1873, the American Baptists had at Midnapur in Orissa forty-nine Santali schools with 987 Santali children among whom 62 were girls. There is also the Santali Training School training Santali boys in various arts and trades. An "Industrial School" of high standard also exists at Balasore.

Mr. and Mrs. Hume :

In 1875, two young missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Hume came to Bombay. Mr. Hume was the son of Rev. R. W. Hume, the member of the American Marathi Mission. At Mazagon, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Hume started a Boarding School for Christians. In 1877, the School, was removed to the Mission House at Byculla.

American Marathi Mission :

The American Marathi Mission has co-operated in the work of Willson College at Chowpatty, Bombay, which during the early part of the twentieth century has produced many outstanding leaders from within its walls. The increasing co-operation of the American Marathi Mission manifested itself in the growth of the Willson College and in 1907 a new storey was added to the college and five years later a second residency for men students, later known as Mackichan Hall, was begun.

MEDICAL MISSIONS

Prejudice against Western Medicine :

Those were the days when the prejudice against the use of Western medicine ran high. The sick in need of surgical operation refused to take chloroform and shrank from the idea of undergoing a surgical operation; women refused to allow themselves to be medically treated by a western medical doctor because they had to allow themselves to be touched by the doctor during the treatment; young wives too denied any desire to be medically treated during pregnancy and delivery. Even during such a dark

period, the American missions did not, for long, restrain from sending medical missionaries to India, to save the lives and minimise the sufferings of the sick. So much prejudice prevailed against taking medical treatment under the western male medical missionaries by the women that soon it became apparent that the sick among the women could be treated only by the women medical missionaries.

American Board :

But, the Society that took prominent lead in sending medical missionaries to India was the American Board. To Madras it sent Dr. Steele who worked there during 1837-42, Dr. Charles Sheldon, who worked there during 1853-67. Dr. Henry Scudder worked with his father in the Arcot district from 1851.

Dr. Otis Bachelor :

In 1840, the American Baptists sent Dr. Otis Bachelor who worked for many years in Balasore and Midnapore districts in western Bengal. Still, in 1858, the number of fully trained medical missionaries was as low as seven.

Women Doctors for Women :

Medical aid was rare for men and non-existent for women. Women were closed up in zenanas and the weight of customs and traditions rendered them inaccessible to men doctors. At the most, the women patients could be treated only by the women doctors. So a voice was raised which soon was heard in America: "We must have women doctors!"

Dr. Clara Swain :

Soon, in 1870, the American Episcopal Methodists wrote to their first woman missionary, Dr. Clara Swain, who was already in India since 1857, to start medical work in Northern India, under whom, later, was opened a Women's Hospital at Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh, on land donated by the Nawab of Rampur.

Dr. Sara Seward :

In 1871, another American medical woman missionary, Sara Seward, arrived at Allahabad, sent by the American Presbyterian Mission.

The American Presbyterians :

The American Presbyterians had sent out Dr. John Newton in 1858, Dr. Carleton in 1881 and Dr. C. W. Forman in 1883 for medical and evangelistic work. Later, they sent out women medical missionaries for women at Ambala and Jagroan near Ludhiana. The American United Presbyterians opened hospitals for women at Jhelum in 1890 and at Sialkot in 1887. The American United Presbyterians in co-operation with the Church of Scotland also opened hospitals for woman at Chambala in 1894 and at Jabalpore in 1899. In India, Punjab has become a favourite ground of medical missions.

Medical helpers :

In the hospitals for men as well as for women, native medical helpers are needed to serve the patients in the hospitals day by day, to dispense the medicines for the patients and also to supply the need for competent and trained medical helpers whenever a new hospital is founded or an existing one is extended. To fill this need, many mission hospitals have often introduced training classes in their hospitals to train some men and women as medical helpers. Even though such training was started during the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the number of men and women could not be large, for obvious reasons. In the direction of such efforts also, the American missions took a leading role. From 1847, the American medical missions began to train medical helpers in their own hospitals, and among such efforts, those of Dr. Dease of Bareilly of the American Episcopal Methodists may be mentioned here.

Remark of a woman :

Soon the trained-women medical-helpers and missionary women-doctors began to alleviate the sufferings of the sick. Such medical work of the women missionaries was evidently closely linked up with the Christian religion. A poor Indian woman, who saw the women missionaries doing the medical work of curing the sick, made this characteristic remark: "your God must be a good God indeed to send us a woman doctor; none of our Gods ever sent us a doctor!"

A Leper Woman Missionary :

Miss Mary Reed was a woman of great piety who spent most of the later part of her

life among the lepers, in helping them as well as she could, and denied herself the pleasure of living aloof from them in ease and comfort which would otherwise have fallen to her lot. She was born in the village of Lowell in Ohio. In youth, she felt a desire to become a missionary and, in 1884, she came to Cawnpore as a teacher under the Episcopal Methodists. There, her health gave way and she was transferred to the Girls' Institution at Gonda, with a view that her health might improve. But her health broke down still more and, in 1890, she was compelled to go back to America. There, she was entered the Deaconess's Hospital, which belonged to her Church at Cincinnati. In spite of expert medical examination and treatment, her health did not improve. She underwent many surgical operations in vain. Then one day in April, it occurred to her that her malady might be the early stages of leprosy. She consulted some books on medicine and ascertained herself that her fears were true. Immediately, she sent for the Secretary of the Women's Missionary Society of which she was a member and disclosed to her the idea. The Secretary arranged for the immediate examination of her disease by the most distinguished medical practitioners of New York and London and found that—she was a leper.

At Chandag :

She did not disclose this matter to her parents: only her dear sister shared the secret. During her stay in India, she had visited, during the holidays, the Leper Hospital at Chandag, and Miss Mary Reed decided to go there and live among the lepers: possibly she might prove of some help to them. She came back to India, and only after she had reached Bombay, did she write to her parents about her plans. She remained in the Leper Hospital at Chandag from then onwards. There she was almost cured of leprosy: yet she continued to remain in the neighbourhood, in the mountainous regions of Kumaon, and worked among the people on the frontier of Tibet.

Ludhiana :

During 1890-1900, when the Medical School at Ludhiana was opened, two doctors of the American Presbyterian Mission were asked

to give an hour's lecture to the students every-day

Vellore :

In south India, a Medical School for Women was founded at Vellore, west of Madras, under Dr. Ida S. Scudder of the American Arocl Mission.

PHILANTHROPIC MISSIONS

Famine of 1876-1879 :

During 1876-1879, a terrible famine shook the social and economic stability of all eastern and northern India. Hundreds of thousands died due to the lack of food while the government and the missions joined their hands and resources together in alleviating the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. Many starving people were helped by the missionaries but as a rule no one was baptized during the famine. But a great number of people went over to Christianity during the days of 2nd, 3rd and 4th July, 1878, in the Ongole Mission; 3,536 adults were baptized and the number of the baptized rose to 9,606 in a short time. The missions which most energetically worked in saving the famine-stricken people were the Methodist Episcopalians in United Provinces, the American Congregationalists (American Board) in the Ahmednagar district and the American Baptists in the Telugu country. The American Baptist missionary, Rev. J. Everett Clough distinguished himself for his practical ability and useful philanthropy. He took on himself the responsibility of constructing a canal, three miles in length, which was to unite Madras with the Krishna estuary. It was an alleviating measure during the famine and with the help of the teachers and the catechists, Rev. J. Everett Clough was able to complete his task satisfactorily.

Mass Movement :

During the famine of 1876-79, there was a mass movement towards Christianity among the people of the Mala and the Madiga castes in the Telugu country. Thousands came over to Christianity and the task of educating their adults and children assumed enormous proportions. But the

missions accepted the challenge and did their best to cope with the demands on their resources and activities.

Plague and Famine, 1896 :

In the autumn of 1896, India was attacked by the deadly Bubonic Plague which killed many thousands. Missionary work almost came to a standstill: bazar preaching and evangelistic tours were stopped; zenanas were closed; and the civil life in cities and villages was dislocated. But there was plenty of work for the missionaries in caring for the sick and burying the dead. The missionary and Christian doctors and helpers distinguished themselves by their self-sacrificing and devoted service among the sick and the dying. Mrs. Gilder, a lady missionary, met her death while engaged in such work.

In Bombay :

Bubonic Plague wrought much havoc and brought in its train famine and rioting. In Bombay, it caused feverish dislocation of industrial life causing much poverty and the closing, at one time, of seven hundred schools, in the Bombay Presidency.

American Marathi Mission :

When the famine attacked western India with all its vigour, the American Marathi Mission raised in America vast sums of money for the relief of the afflicted in India. The Congregationalists alone collected and sent about Rs. 375,000 while the total contribution of America in 1900 amounted to a very great sum. Some of the money was used in constructing a Church at Vadala, twenty-six buildings at Sholapur and a School building at Rahuri and in paying for the labourers.

Dr. Louis Klopsch :

Dr. Louis Klopsch, the indefatigable editor of "The Christian Herald" of New York, a German, appealed through his press to the people of America to contribute generously for the relief work in India. Not content with this, he secured 200,000 bushels of corn and, with the help of the American Government, sent them to India.

Dr. Klopsch also sent 100,000 blankets for the poor. The American missionaries in India busied themselves in rescuing as many homeless, starving and deserted famine orphans as they could from the streets of Bombay.

Mr. and Mrs. Hume :

Over 3000 children were rescued from famine and on the last Sunday of 1897, Mr. and Mrs. Hume saw the baptism of 93 children. Some blind children were also rescued at this time and a home was established for them which later grew out to be the School for the Blind.

Deaths among Christians :

During the famine and plague, it was observed, the death rate among the Christians was low : this was undoubtedly due to the more humane aspect of Christianity and the greater cleanliness and neatness of the Christians. In the students' hostel of Wilson College, not one had plague.

Samuel Rahator of Bombay :

Before the plague and famine had come to a close, measures were to be taken to improve the conditions of the famine-stricken people. The missionary agencies in Bombay took up the task in their own hands before the Government had the time to launch upon such measures. An incident of starting and running of an orphanage by Samuel Rahator with little or no money on hand can be narrated in this place.

During the famine, Samuel Rahator took three half starved children from the streets to his own home. Then he met with two more such children whom he carried with him, one under each arm, four miles away from the city, to the Methodist Chaplain at Colaba where he got the assurance of the support of the two. The five soon grew to thirty and later to fifty-five. Then arose the problem of housing them but, at last, near the sea at Mahim, a house was found for them. Here the orphanage continued for many years. "Without a thought of himself, of how he would shelter or maintain them, he faced this responsibility with a buoyancy which startled most of his English friends—" writes his biographer. He gave the children food and clothes, and

when there was not enough to go round, he went without himself. He taught them to read and write and how to use their hands and live . . . Once being in need of money, he had spent the whole night in prayer : the next day in the morning the Secretary of the Bombay Relief Fund knocked at the door of the Methodist Chaplain asking the latter to direct him to Mr. Rahator as he had money spared for his Orphanage, three pounds per child for fifteen children.

Julian Hawthorne :

During 1897, and the years following, India faced her most disastrous food shortage. "In the summer of 1897 at least 3,000,000 men, women and children had died of famine and pestilence—" wrote Julian Hawthorne, whom New York had sent to India.

The Christian Herald :

From January, 1897, *The Christian Herald*, the newspaper, published in every issue heart-curdling accounts of rib-protruding, sunken eyed, and starving men, of pitiful child-mothers reduced to skin and bone, and of children with swollen bellies.

Several agencies including the Missionary Society of New York and the Mennonites appealed to the public for funds. In *The Christian Herald* such appeals as "India's Dying people," "Plague in Bombay is slaying thousands of People," and "India's Bitter Cry" appeared in every issue along with such letters as, "Although I am a poor working girl, I would like, to add my mite toward the relief . . . Enclosed find a dollar . . ."

From Chicago :

To spur the public opinion, Klopsch, Talmage and Margaret Lettsch, a missionary of seventeen years' service in India, appealed to a vast meeting at the Chicago auditorium and as a result, a big sum of money and twenty-five car-loads of corn were pledged.

To a big audience in America, Klopsch told that he believed heaven could be found on earth: "it consisted of helping one's unfortunate neighbours." In such meetings the strings of the purse were opened generously.

Rev. R. G. Hobbs :

Rev. R. G. Hobbs sailed to India with a cargo of corn, wheat and beans and delivered it to the Committee of the American Missionaries in India at Calcutta and Madras. Articulate Indians expressed warm thanks. Indians associated with the Tamil Mission in Madras wrote : "We feel profoundly touched with that love which has prompted you to raise in America such an enormous quantity of grain and a magnificent sum of money to feed the hungry in a foreign land like India"

In 1899 :

In November, 1899, again there was a famine in India. Klopsch persuaded the Secretary of State, Mr. Hay and the Secretary of Navy, Mr. Long, to provide transport and, this time, the government at the cost of a big sum chartered the ship "Quito." Its cargo included 200,000 bushels of corn and substantial quantities of seed suitable for sowing in India.

Klopsch in Bombay :

On arriving in Bombay in May, 1900, Klopsch, after interviews with the Governor of the International Missionary Committee, cabled the sad story of the desperate need in India. Roving into the interior, he sent *The Christian Herald* heart rending accounts of the death and suffering that he saw. In July, *The Christian Herald* cabled some money. When the famine relief ended, the unexpected balance was applied to the support of 5,000 famine orphans in sixty missionary stations.

Thousands were saved during the famine by means of soup-kitchens, road making, church building and many other expedients resorted to by the missionary societies. The American Lutherans collected a sum of amount and to this was added the big sum collected by Dr. Klopsch from his readers. He undertook to support 5,000 orphans for five years.

Order of Kaisar-i-Hind :

Quite a number of missionaries were honoured with the newly created Order for public service "Kaisar-i-Hind," for their service to India during the famines. In 1900, Dr. R. A. Hume of Ahmednagar who belonged to the American

Board received the gold medal of the Order and Julius Lohr of Bistrampur who belonged to the American Evangelical Synod and other men and women missionaries received the silver medal. Dr. Abbott of the American Board who worked in Bombay was also awarded the golden medal of the order.

Orphanages and Widows' Homes :

Much interest was taken by the missionary societies in helping the widows and the children and new orphanages and the homes for the widows sprang up like mushrooms during the famines of 1896-97 and 1900. A Widows' and Orphans' Home was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Lawson of the Episcopal Methodist missionaries at Aligarh in United Provinces who cared for 1300 widows and orphans. Mr. and Mrs. Lee of Calcutta, who were also Episcopal Methodist missionaries, similarly founded an orphanage for boys and girls and cared for 280 children. In Ahmednagara, the American Board cared for 2,845 orphans and distributed seed rice to 24,665 small farmers besides assisting, 1,514 others in obtaining oxen to plough their land.

PANDITA RAMABAI

To England and America :

Born in a Brahmin family, Ramabai travelled widely during her twenties with her parents and suffered great difficulties during the famines of 1876-1879. She was well versed in Sanskrit and had the burning desire for improving the lot of neglected widows, girls and women. In 1883, to England she went to secure a training which would help her in emancipating the women of India and she was baptized there. Then she went to America where she remained for two years and a half where she studied the Froebel system, wrote for vernacular schools and issued her first book in English "The High Caste Hindu Woman" in which she narrated the sorrows and the silent agonies suffered by the Hindu women. Her book roused the interest of the American people in the sufferings of the Indian women which culminated in the formation of the "Ramabai Association" in Boston. It aimed at promoting education among the High Caste child widows in India.

In India :

When she sailed from San Francisco, she was promised that all the necessary expenses for establishing and running, at least for ten years, a school for High Caste Hindu widows would be supplied to her. On 1st March, 1889, as a result, Ramabai opened the "Sarada Sadana," the Home of Widows, at Chowpatty in Bombay. At the end of the first six months there were five widows as boarders in the Sarada Sadana, and three as day scholars, while the total number of pupils in the School was twenty-five. In November 1890, the School was transferred to Poona where the cost of living was less and where the conditions of life were healthier.

Sarada Sadana :

But for the help and encouragement offered to Ramabai by England and America there would not have been a "Sarada Sadana" and there would not have come to light a 'Ramabai' who walked in the Way of Jesus Christ for twenty six long years, helping the poor, succouring the sick and emancipating the oppressed.

"Home of Salvation at Mukti :

She rescued innumerable persons from starvation and death during the great famine of 1896 and established her Home of Salvation at Mukti where she had, by 1900, nearly 2,000 inmates. She translated the Bible into Marathi. She lived day and night a life of loving service and selfsacrifice. He can truly be said of her :

Herself, her story and her sufferings won,
Homage from men, as if she came from heaven,
In whose stout hearts she left a little leaven,
Whose sacred working may outlive the Sun.

LITERARY MISSIONS

Translating the Bible :

Along with educational and medical missions went on the literary aspect of the mission work which had its far reaching effects. In 1826, the missionaries of the American Board published a translation of the Bible. The translation of the Bible into Telugu was also being carried on by the missionaries of the various missionary

societies of different countries. But the task proved very difficult due to the differences in the language itself in different places. Among the American missionaries, who co-operated in the task, may be mentioned the name of Messrs. Chamberlain of the American Reformed Church and Lewis who belonged to the American Baptists.

Pamphlets and Tracts :

The missionaries produced pamphlets and wrote books the ideas contained in which slowly infiltrated into the minds of the people. The people had in those days, no others books than those written by the missionaries or published by the Christian Tract and Book Societies. This situation particularly was helpful in diffusing Christian ideas among the people. The American Marathi Mission published pamphlets and small books and in 1834 the American press produced 1,13,746 copies of books, tracts and Gospels. The work of translation and publication of the Scriptures was always in view. Mr. Graves, the only survivor of the early American missionaries, was translating the Bible at the time. Though the pamphlets and tracts written in these days were lacking in human interest and readable taste, they supplied the only reading material available at the time which encouraged the growth of literature and cultivated among the people the habit of reading.

EVANGELISTIC MISSIONS

The evangelistic aspect of the work of the missionaries of the American Board suffered much disappointment in the early stages of the work. Evangelism stood high in the list of their desired duties but the missionaries had no opportunity of seeing even the remotest possibility of the fruit of their labour in this direction. In spite of it, with exemplary tenacity, the missionaries held their ground and continued the work of evangelism. But later, gradually evangelism began to yield fruit.

A characteristic feature of evangelism during 1880-1889 was a high tide of responsiveness to Christianity among the Muslims. Mr. Abbott, the American missionary, writes : "The largest audiences recently have been among the Muslims." When asked as to what was the cause of it, the Muslims would reply : "Street preaching"

MISSION CENTRES

The American Marathi Mission began its activity in Ahmednagar in 1831 where it started its educational and evangelistic mission. In 1838, the American Free-will Baptists began their work at Elasore, in 1840 at Jellalpur and in 1863 at Midnapur and Santipur. In 1840, the American Baptists began their Telugu Mission with Nellore as the centre and, in 1841, they started their Assam Mission beginning at Sibsagar and Nowong in 1841 and at Gauhati in 1843. In 1848, the work of the North German Missionary Society amongst the Telugus at Rajamahendry was passed on to the American German Lutherans. In 1865, the work of the mission at Rajamahendry was shared between two separate yet harmoniously working American Lutheran societies, of which the Lutheran General Council opened its headquarters at Rajamahendry, and the other, the General Synod, established its headquarters at Guntur. In 1855, the American United Presbyterians began to work in Sialkot in agreement with the Established Church of Scotland. In 1868, the German Protestant Synod of North America started its work in the north-east corner of the Central Provinces on the upper Mahanuddy. It established its stations at Bistrampur in 1868 and at Raipur in 1871. In 1882, the American Adventists established themselves at Madras to work in the Tamil country along with the missions in Madras which were already working there. In 1882, the followers of Campbell, the well-known missionary, also called the Disciples of Christ, who came from North America, opened mission centres at Bilaspur, and Mungeli in the eastern part of the Central Provinces. In 1894 some of

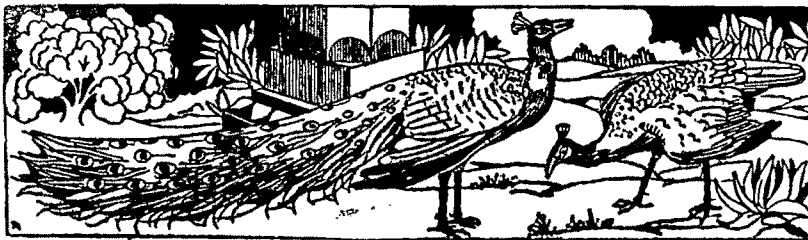
the missionaries of the Leipzig Tamil Mission separated themselves due to some dogmatic reasons and joined the Missouri Society of North America. The latter made good use of this and soon established new mission centres : at Krishnagiri in 1895, at Ambar in 1896 and at Vaniyambadi in 1898. Since 1898, the American Mennonites were working at Dhamtari in the Central Provinces.

Unattached Missionaries :

There were other missionaries who carried on missionary work but who did not belong to any missionary society. They came to India at their own initiative and worked in a region of their own choice. North Berar with its large and scattered population has proved to be a favourite field for unattached missionaries. The American Methodist, A. Norton, first settled here at Ellichpur and later at Baesdehi. At Ghoom, near Darjeeling, has worked the Himalayan Branch of the "American and Scandinavian Alliance."

CONCLUSION

The American Missions have been the forerunners of the welfare movement in India. Dr. Ida S. Scudder's mother had introduced, in 1870, weaving and spinning in the Mission School at Ranipet, long before Gandhi popularised Khadi cloth. In 1910, the Christian organisations were running hundreds of dispensaries, hospitals, primary, middle and high schools, industrial training centres, orphanages, widows' homes and educational institutions of higher learning all over India.



ROLE OF MASS COMMUNICATION IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Sri P. C. ROY

The desire to communicate ideas, thoughts and feelings is as old as creation itself. It has acted as a great catalytic agent in breaking down barriers in human society and building up a complex machinery for transmitting information to a sizable and diversified audience. The figure that the pen is mightier than the sword has now been modernised by social observers, who claim that "the mass media are more powerful than the atom bomb." Others may differ but there can be no doubt that the media for communication with the masses have been indispensable tools in the hands of those, who have exercised power and authority from the days of remote antiquity. With the passage of time the media have changed their form, very often beyond recognition, under the impact of science and technology. But there have never been the slightest abatement in the desire or the need to communicate with the masses on the part of the administrators. If Asoka had to take resort to inscriptions on rocks and pillars to convey to the people at large the message he had for them, the rulers of the world today are making constant appeals through the press, radio and television to give wide publicity to their views to a larger audience at a given point of time. If the administrators have to face today the challenge thrown up by the advance in communication techniques, it has at the same time opened before them an opportunity which their predecessors could never think of. The remarkable increase in the use of under-sea cables, high frequency radio stations and television indicate the direction towards which the wind of change is blowing while the space satellites have begun to hold out the promise of stepping up world-wide mass communications. Mr. Blair, the Director of Space Commission in the United States, echoed a universal sentiment, when he said that we had indeed moved very far since "man tapped a hollow

log and communication by sound was born, since speedy messengers carried messages over distances greater than those covered by drum or smoke signals."²

The administrators have been quick to respond to the challenge they faced from the growing media of mass communication in a changing society. The rising level of literacy combined with the demolition of barriers has created a situation which even a totalitarian regime has to reckon with. In the battle for winning the mind of the people a dictator with absolute power does not lag behind others in making effective use of the mass media at his disposal. Only at his own peril he can afford to ignore the ideas, which run counter to his own.

To talk to the people has become an essential function of the government, particularly in a democracy, which is based on the consent of the governed. Mr. Emery-Ault-Agee has said :

"To be successful, a political leader must convince the voters that he represents the view-point of the majority or that his policies are wise and should be endorsed by the voters."³

The representatives of the people, who run the administrative machinery in a state, work under an obligation to redeem the pledges given to the voters at the time of election. To remain in power, it is not enough for them to act according to the pre-election programme. The voters have to be told how far the administrative measures correspond to the promises made to them on the eve of election. But the media of mass communication operate in an atmosphere of freedom in a democracy. Generally they are not at the disposal of the State.

The exaggerated criticism of the Government in a free press often compels the Administrators to develop their own agencies for publicity. Sometimes an individual reporter of a news agency fails to analyse correctly the steps taken by the Government.

The complex process of decision-making in a bureaucracy tends to obscure the factors which go into the making of a decision. In such an eventuality the information officer under the employ of the State is in a better position to clear up misapprehensions and supply the right facts and perspective. He can for example, make more people appreciate why industrial location is largely determined by geology and how the benefits of a plant of national importance are indeed spread equitably throughout the country.

The lack of information is indeed one of the greatest obstacles in the successful working of a democracy. The free flow of adequate and up-to-date information to the public has long been accepted as the primary requisite of a democratic Government wedded to the philosophy of political freedom, the dignity of man and the right of individuals to differ from others. The mass media of communications play the most important role in disseminating information in contemporary society. It has been observed that they "illuminate the social fabric of the nation and influence the shape of its patterns. They are essential to the continued development of the economic fabric in a modern industrial state. And they continue to fulfil their historic role in protecting and improving the political fabric of a democracy."⁴

The danger inherent in a democratic society is that the flow of information may be tainted at its source. In an economy of free enterprise, powerful business interests begin to own and control the mass media which enable them not merely to advertise their wares but also to reinforce exclusively their own point of view at the cost of other elements in society. When a few commercial houses, for example, own a chain of national papers, it is extremely difficult for the small and medium sized papers, holding independent views, to survive the uneven competition which they have to face. A democratic Government working genuinely on the principle of "let hundred flowers bloom" can not stand aside when the mass media are monopolised by a few trading interests. It is within its rights to take recourse to restrictive measures to prevent the process of concentration of ownership

and regulate, limit or suppress discussion prejudicial to public interest. In justification of Governmental intervention Professor Chafee says :

"If we think of the flow of news and opinions as the movement of intellectual traffic, the restrictive action is like the removal from traffic of reckless drivers, gangsters and other objectionable persons. But the Government can also try to widen the channels and keep traffic moving smoothly."⁵

Supply of newsprints at a moderate price and issue of advertisements by the Government to the small and medium sized newspapers go a long way to ensure their financial health. The information departments of the Government can also make freely available to them for use feature articles, photo-blocks and other materials which they need badly but can hardly pay for.

There are again certain spheres of activity in which the commercial establishments generally have no interest to transmit information, ideas and attitudes. The production of newsreel and documentary films broadly fall under this category. The commercial interests are reluctant to invest their money in such enterprises as they are not likely to yield a handsome profit. The approach of a welfare state is widely different. The Government in such a state launches various schemes of social welfare. It considers investment in human resources more important than reaping profits in the way of trade and commerce. The Government makes extensive use of the powerful medium of film in order to create among the people the urge for a better living and foster a feeling of national integration even though such a visual representation brings no immediate monetary return. The digging of a canal in a desert area, drilling operations in search of liquid gold, construction of a dam or a thermal power station are not likely to attract film producers. But here in India the Government makes the best possible use of these events in the newsreels and documentaries produced by one of its media of publicity—the Films Division. The wisdom of such a step is never in doubt. In a country, where only 23 per cent of the population is

literate and only four out of a thousand have radios, the film alone comes somewhere near a 'mass' medium. It can easily attract the people to whom seeing is believing. The screen can project, demonstrate and explain the country's progress on the basis of positive facts, which carry conviction and evoke enthusiasm. It would be wrong to suppose that the Government of India is alone in this field of mass communication. Even in a prosperous country like Canada the Government makes provisions for the National Film Board to enable the organisation "to give to millions glimpses of the varied life and culture of the Canadian people and present visual reports of some major happening."⁶

In developing countries or countries that have attained freedom recently the media of mass communications have become an essential part of the developmental process. No traditional or transitional society can gather the necessary momentum for a breakthrough without the active support and participation of the people for whom the developmental programmes have been envisaged. A democratic development requires that the individuals and groups in the society will have to chalk out for themselves new lines of advance and work continuously to reach the targets in different spheres of planning in education, agriculture, health, social welfare and industrial development. It seems likely that a large section of the people are largely uninformed regarding many problems on which they are expected to take decisions. They have to be informed clearly, and in some cases persuaded to adopt new views and lines of action. This point has been emphasized in a report of the study team which made last year a survey and analysis of the use of mass communication in fostering and facilitating India's large-scale development. It says that "efficient communication is as essential as any other aspect of development, because it has the power to mobilize human resources and thus speed the process of growth and change."⁷

Better media of information also means better education of the people. The lack of developmental consciousness among the people underlines the need for more sustained efforts on the part of the mass communi-

cation media to convey to the people the importance of the Plans. A good deal of dissatisfaction against the Government can be traced to the absence of a medium of communication, which may be called "mass" in the true sense of the term. If the developmental benefits are to go to the less privileged section of the community, who are many in number, a democratic Government has to impart educative information on the various aspects of planning, intended to check the concentration of capital and ensure the even distribution of the national income among the citizens. The increase in the number of enlightened public depends very much on the development of the press, the expansion of broadcasting, the increased production of films and newsreels and the introduction of television. The Government has not merely to exploit the media of mass communication, it has also to help the media to grow to make them effective instruments in the field of publicity. In underdeveloped regions media like press, radio or film have not only to be aided, sometimes communication agencies like television have to be brought into being. Manufacture of newsprints, production of low cost radio sets, setting up of raw film factory, institution of film awards and provision of training facilities to professional men in all the media, are some of the aspects of physical development in which the Governments in the developing regions are vitally concerned. In any developmental plan it has, therefore, been rightly suggested that "every Government must provide ample funds for building up what may be called the 'basic structure' of information media."⁸

In an emergency the media of mass communications assume an overwhelming priority. A whole people has to be informed of the crisis that has overtaken the nation and told how best to meet the situation. The media must have the power to bring within the orbit of the written or spoken word the different sections of the community. No one can be immune from the necessity of making supreme efforts to tide over the crisis, whether he is a comfortably placed urban intellectual, civil servant, thriving merchant or an illiterate villager, because his own survival will depend on the adaptation of

the entire people to this emergency. As Miss Jean Joyce puts it :

"In short, people at all levels in Government and in private life would have to reach, and be reached by, the mass of the people not with a single fact but with a series of ideas, facts and instructions over a period of time, about a national issue, indeed about national survival."⁹

Such a crisis has overtaken India in the wake of the Chinese invasion in October 1962. It has put the problem of mass communication in the sharpest focus. The various media of information run by the Government have altered the complexion and content of their programmes in accordance with the requirements of the emergency to disseminate authentic information, counter rumours and Chinese propaganda, sustain the people's morale and promote national unity, emotional integration and patriotism. The challenge of Chinese aggression has revealed that in spite of a notable growth of the conventional modes of communication since independence, the mass media are not really 'mass' in the true sense of the word. There are still wide gaps in the communication service with which India is supporting her programme of counteracting the clever propaganda of her deceitful neighbours. The mass communication media cater as yet largely to the educated, the urban, even perhaps only to the fairly well-to-do because of their cost and scarcity besides their dependence on the low level of literacy, obtaining in the country. A report of the mass communications survey made by the Osmania University gives the information that as late as 1963 there were villagers living only 10 and 16 miles from Hyderabad city, who never heard of India's border dispute with China although it was not unnatural to expect that the news of Chinese hostility with its high

emotional content would sweep through the masses rather easily. The report sadly concludes that it is "as if there are two worlds, existing side by side but without enough things in common for effective communication."¹⁰ The Ford Foundation experts, as mentioned earlier, had a look at the facilities available in India for purposes of communication. The recommendations of the team, which the Government of India is going to implement in many respects, have a significance beyond the present emergency. The fuller use of radio, the introduction of television in India's larger cities, the fostering of a rural press and of the newspaper industry in general and of the motion picture industry have a vital bearing not only on the task of economic development but on forging together a well-knit nation and guarding it from separatist tendencies.

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2. Claude M. Blair : *The challenge of technology in communications*, Journalism Quarterly Summer Supplement 1963, p. 419.
3. Emery Ault-Augee : *Introduction to Mass Communications*, p. 14.
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5. *Government and Mass Communications* Vol. I, p. 2.
6. J. C. Mathur : *Press, Radio, Films in under developed lands*, Yojana, April 1, 1962, p. 7.
7. *Report of the Mass Communication Study Team*, Sponsored by the Ford Foundation, 1963, p. 5.
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TRANSPORT AND POWER BOTTLENECKS

By R. N. BANERJEE,

Asstt. Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

OF late, problems of transport and power bottlenecks have assumed serious dimensions which are on the verge of halting industrial growth as envisaged in the Third Plan. These shortages are by nature legacies of the past, and as such, cannot be removed overnight. But certainly something can be done from short period points of view and on this score the Government must adopt certain concrete measures.

In order to make a proper appraisal of transport and power shortages, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry convened a Conference in September 1962. This Conference sought to probe into the specific causes of the stupendous problem by presenting a number of proposals to the Government. It must be admitted on all hands, that, in essence, these shortages are the results of incomplete co-ordination between the different sectors of the economy which primarily have arisen because of underdevelopment of coal and steel production and lack of alternative transport facilities besides railways.

It is obvious that what is urgently necessary is long-range planning specifically on power and transport. It might be observed that for this purpose more funds should be made available in the Third Plan on this score and plan targets on transport and power should be raised a little upwards which should be scrupulously fulfilled.

It is generally believed that in regard to transport, railways have yet to be developed more fully with introduction of improved Rolling Stocks. In this respect the following factors are important: (1) operational efficiency, (2) development of line capacity, (3) electrification or dieselisation, (4) movement of coal.

In a developing economy, railways alone are not capable of handling the traffic on a vast scale. It must be supplemented with other alternative transport facilities such as, road transport, coastal transport and inland water transport. On the question of road transport the most essential pre-requisites at the present moment are a very large addition to the number of lorries and

trucks and immediate programmes of building new national highways, road links and bridges. Other important factors which are impeding the optimum development of road transport are, intra-state and inter-state restrictions, burden of taxation, nationalisation, lack of credit facilities to intending purchasers of lorries. Development of coastal shipping with provisions for additional berths and ports would also relieve the pressure on other modes of transport. To improve the transport situation, inland water transport should be facilitated wherever possible. In West Bengal, it is hoped, that after completion of Farakka Barrage navigability of Hooghly river would be improved.

As regards power shortage, the consensus of opinion is that a precise assessment of aggregate demand should be made well ahead of supply position. Especially, recent crisis in electricity in Calcutta must have hit hard the eastern region industrial belt. In the present circumstances, it is urgently necessary that the Planning Commission should make a thorough survey of the supply and demand positions of electricity for the Fourth Five Year Plan. In this respect it might be mentioned that the Sachdev Committee which recently examined the question in some details has estimated that even after taking into account the additional capacities of new schemes sanctioned for the Third Plan, the overall shortage of power in West Bengal would be as much as 128 MW by the end of 1965-66. In this connection, it might be suggested that a proper appraisal should be made about the suitability of Hydel Plants and Thermal Plants in supplying power which is conditioned by the supply of coal and adequate transport facilities.

It is obvious, that in such context the supply of coal is of vital importance which is greatly interlinked with transport bottlenecks. On the question of coal attention of the Government might be drawn to the following points: (1) Gradewise raisings and despatches to various categories of consumers, (2) measures for improving quality of coal through setting up of

coal washeries, (3) unsatisfactory licensing policy in private sector, (4) adoption of a reasonable price policy.

In order to obviate the present difficulties in generating power, it might be suggested that immediate steps should be taken to grant licenses to private investors to set up thermal power generating units. This was unfortunately turned down by Mr. Nanda on the plea that power expansion fell within the jurisdiction of the public sector in pursuance of the Industrial Policy Resolution, and therefore no such licenses can be permitted to the private sector. But in fact, at this juncture of power crisis, the fundamental question is stepping up of supply and not any ideological considerations. It is also unfortunate to note, that on the same plea Mr. Nanda turned down some specific proposals of manufacture of power generators and electrical equipment in the private sector. Mr. Nanda boldly responded to the question of encouraging an increase in private generating capacity by amending the Electricity Act which keeps returns pegged to only 2 per cent above Bank rate.

With regard to the question of coal, shortages could be alleviated by alternative fuels like furnace oil, lignite etc. Also loading of coal for consumers other than steel works and washeries should be improved and on this question a central body should be set up consisting of members of government, consumers and industrialists.

Mr. Nanda, of course, accepted the very reasonable argument that, in essence, power shortage is inextricably linked up with transport difficulties, which requires long-range planning. Recently, the Planning Commission has announced the setting up of a eight-man Committee on transport policy which would be supplemented by a three-man technical group. But a similar interim report has been submitted by a Committee headed by Mr. K. C. Neogy which should be co-ordinated with the report of the present Committee. In this respect questions of industrial location is of paramount importance because this is related to the problems of goods traffic. Since 1952 the average load for goods traffic has risen by more than 20 per cent, largely because of coal movements which account for 32 per cent of all freight traffic. But opinions and co-operation of businessmen are urgently necessary on the question of industrial location

as the decentralisation of industries is largely the function of the private sector.

It is to be admitted at the present stage of the Third Plan that transport bottlenecks cannot be removed solely by railways development programme, which must also be supplemented with a road development programme. But even in the railway sector, the development programme seems inadequate which is widely accepted now. The target of additional supply of 242 wagons per day in the first year of the Third Plan remains unachieved. Lukeworm policy should be avoided if industrial growth is to be accelerated.

What is now necessary in this regard is a well-defined road transport policy and motor-vehicle industrial policy, apart from railway development programme. Sir L. P. Misra has opined that 70 million tons of traffic would move by the end of the Third Plan, against less than 20 million tons in 1960-61. According to his estimate, the existing fleet of 200,000 vehicles should be stepped up to 500,000 in future. This is only possible if the target of 60,000 lorries set for the Third Plan is raised considerably. It must be realised that the road transport system can be developed much more quickly and with much less fund than railways. Therefore, from a short period point of view, more stress should be laid on this aspect and in this respect the Neogy Committee might be of considerable help. It is suggested that restrictions on inter-state movements of trucks should be removed in order to relieve the pressure on railways in the Bengal-Bihar region of the Coalfields.

As regards power shortage in West Bengal the latest situation is that recently six Czechoslovakian "package" power plants ordered by the State Electricity Board have arrived in Calcutta and four of these are being immediately diverted to the Coalfield areas to relieve the acute demand there. With a capacity of 1.5 mW each, these plants have been obtained on rupee payment basis at an estimated cost of Rs. 15. mill.

The Agarwal Committee appointed by the Union Government in January 1962 to assess the power needs of coal mining industries in India has estimated the current year's requirements for West Bengal Coalfields at 40 mW. In the next three years of the Third Plan the requirement is estimated to be 49, 61 and 66 mW. The present production in the area was about 35 mW—13 mW from the generating units of collieries and 22 mW

from DVC. The current year's deficit is likely to be met largely by the package plants; but after this the prospect is dismal. To overcome this danger the Agarwal Committee suggested the diversion of the surplus production from Rihand in U.P. to the Coalfield areas and requested Hirakud Project to review its production in such a manner as would enable it to supply part of its power to the Coalfields in West Bengal and Bihar.

We should not, however, be pessimistic about the bleak situation of power shortage. It is gratifying to note that the Government lately has applied its mind to an reappraisal of the entire situation of demand and supply conditions in the context of perspective planning. With this object the Central Water & Power Commission had prepared a perspective plan (1966-1981) and draft outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan. The draft outline envisaged the addition of 11.46 mill. KW of power. A planning group consisting of representatives of the Central Water and Power Commission and the various Ministries concerned has been set up for this purpose.

With a view to giving concrete shape to the contemplated programmes of power development,

the Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power has now drawn up tentative plans to increase the installed capacity for power generation during the Fourth Plan period by 11.46 mill. KW. By 1966, it is expected that the country's present capacity of about 5 mill. KW will have been raised by 7 mill KW. The new plans, therefore, will mean that power generation will be virtually double during the Fourth Plan. The rise in the installed capacity during the Fourth Plan period is expected to be completed at a cost of Rs. 2,230 crores and the construction of the power plants for the purpose is expected to begin in the last two years of the present plan. Part of the requirements of power plants and equipment needed for the purpose will be met by the three heavy electrical plants in Bhopal, Hardwar and Hyderabad which are expected to go into operation in the next few years.

It is, thus evident that although power and transport bottlenecks are serious, they are not altogether devoid of solution if the Government moves forward with some such concrete measures and realistic plans with all earnestness, keeping in view the country's evergrowing demand for more power and transport in future days to come.

MIGRATION OF POPULATION IN MAKING CIVILIZATION

BY PROF. BINOD SANKAR DAS, M.A., L.L.B.,

THE Problem of migration of population in the birth and development of human civilization in all ages is an important subject of study. This problem is connected with two other co-related problems. First, the problem of searching out the original abode of the civilizations or, rather, it may be more preceisely put like that, whether a common centre of human civilization can be traced from where successive waves of influx had been made in ancient times. The second problem is rather a challenge to the Hegelian concept of the march of civilization from the east to the west. Even if it is accepted that human history endeavours to unfold man's consciousness and

to bring it from darkness to light it cannot possibly be accepted as a historical truth that this process of development starts from Asia to Europe from a long before the pre-Christian era to the modern times.

In ancient times the birth of civilizations took place in the river valleys and in the coastal territories. But it may be contradicted that racial immigrations had always taken place through water routes. The paucity of relevant materials but availability of learned conjectures make one point clear that there is no common land of origin from where the racial movements had taken

place resulting in the birth and development of human civilizations throughout the world.

About four thousand years before the birth of Christ civilization dawned in the Nile valley not by the original settlers of the soil but by an immigrated people of the semitic stock from Asia and by the transplanted people from Punt which stands for the modern kingdom of Ethiopia. This people gave to the world a solar calendar and an irrigation system and curiously enough a conception of the Hereafter which found expression in the three gigantic pyramids of Khufu, Khafre and Menkure.

Rapid tribal wanderings also took place in the Tigris-Euphrates river valley, in the Mesopotamian Sumer and Akkad, in the city states of Ur, Kish and Lagash. If the Pharaonic civilization of Egypt offered to the world the hieroglyphic script, the Babylonian civilization was responsible for the birth of a cuneiform script. The kingdom of Sarrukin paved the way for the well-administered empire of Hammurabi and these had all been possible for the easy tribal mobilizations and transplantation of populations which were so frequently taking place on the eve of the Iron Age.

The great influx of population which completely revolutionised the civilization of the ancient middle east was the advent of the Hittites, Syrians and the Phoenicians from an unknown land. The learned historians had their arguments to prove that these Hittites, Mittanians and the Syrians or the Assyrians were hailing from the common Aryan stock. But the result was the growth of a civilization of war centering round Nineveh. A long line of war-lords including Sennacherib carried fire and sword into the land but incessant warfare and forced transplantation of population throughout the Empire resulted in the collapse of the Assyrian military might in a single stroke of battle and the consequent rise of Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar. The same Aryan-Hyksos impact was felt in the pharaonic Egypt too. But this resulted in the monotheism of Akhnaton and the empire of Thutmose-III. The immigration of the Hebrew Jews from the bondage of Egypt, i.e., the Exodus was a marvel in history as it has been made immortal by the Old Testament. This immigration resulted in the settlement of the Jews under Moses, the law-giver of Israel. But the people could not live there happily for a long time. The

prophecy of their learned divines came to light when they began to travel throughout the world leaving their homeland with the advent of the Persian invasion and the consequent decay in the Phoenician commerce.

In India centering round the river valleys civilizations had dawned and their growth had been stimulated by frequent intermixture of immigrated races, linguistic groups and tribes coming from outside. This non-Aryan civilization which had its birth and development about two thousand five hundred years before the birth of Christ, was the genesis of Indo-Aryan civilization of the early Christian era.

The advent of the Iranian military might had synchronised with the dawn of the Iron Age in Asia and Europe and it also witnessed the decay of the monopolistic commercial enterprise of Phoenicia in the Mediterranean region. This period witnessed the invention of fire which resulted in the fire and sun worship as the source of all human energy. Human endeavour also turned in this age to domesticate the wild horse which gave them force and a certain velocity that converted tiny city-kingdoms into ever expanding empires. And lastly, this period witnessed the invention of iron and its application to human life and completely revolutionised man's eternal struggle against nature and human beings.

It has been noted previously that the advent of the Iranian Empire had synchronised with the decay in the Phoenician commerce. The Phoenician merchant class was responsible for introducing money-economy to the Hellenic world. This money-economy changed social relationships, led to the emergence of a rich burgher class in the cities of Athens and Piraeus, Corinth and Megara and this also paved the way of the democratic movement for the change of oligarchical governments. It also brought a change in the scale of warfare so much so that the emphasis on hoplites or the heavy-armed infantry was transferred to the navy and to some extent on cavalry. This was significant as it pointed to the fact that henceforth naval warfare had replaced land battles. The results were many, such as expulsion of the Persian military movements and Europe was forever saved from their onrush only to produce a political vacuum which was later on filled up by the mighty Romans. It also paved the way for the rise of the Athenian Empire from the nucleus of the Confederacy of Delos. The

Empire was, of course, lost in the Peloponnesian war but a great influx of the Hellenic population took place in Asia towards India during the reign of Alexander of Macedonia and afterwards.

As soon as Greece ceased to expand and her population movements stopped, the political vacuum which was thus created was captured by the Roman war-lords. The expansion of the Roman city state and its eventual absorption of Carthage, its monopolistic business in the Mediterranean region, contradict the long-prevalent theory of peaceful co-existence of equally strong powers in the same place. The history of expansion of a single city-state of Italy, *i.e.*, Rome, throughout Europe in each stage unfolds its march from republicanism to the Empire. It became a power of the world and a conquerer of Asia. The Assyrians could not conquer Babylon. The Romans also failed to subdue the East for a long time. Christ, the son of God, was an answer to the God Emperor, the Augustus, and he was crucified. With the spread of Christianity and a new Christian community in Europe the eclipse of the Empire in the West took place. Similarly Buddhism and Jainism were also answers of the warrior-caste to the process of Aryanisation of eastern India. In India also with the fall of the Maurya Empire a new influx of population of the Eu-chi tribe, of the Heung-us peoples from Central Asia took place. For the time being the Imperial Guptas endeavoured to maintain the unity but successive invasions of the Mongols, Tartars and the Turks, brought India face to face with a new civilization and a new type of challenge from the outside world.

Medieval Europe also witnessed the same type of challenge from the rising Islam and from the invasions of Moslem Persia, from the Abbasid Caliphs, the Seljuk Turks and from the Mongols. It is known to all the students of history how the crusaders in the medieval period led to the easy movements of populations and intermixture of different European linguistic groups. The major event of medieval European history, *i.e.* Investiture Contest or the struggle for

power between the Emperor and the Pope was no less shaped by the outside forces at work. The impact of Islam in Asia and Europe brought on an unprecedented influx of population in those two continents as well as in Africa. The threat of Islam to the disunited Christendom of Europe and Hindustan of India produced the same synthesis of cultures between the East and the West. The Renaissance in Europe and its attendant Reformation movement and the cultural rapprochement during the reign of Akbar took place in the same 15th and 16th centuries. It gave way to the geographical explorations and a new scale of immigration of the European peoples to the non-European world. The history of this penetration of the whites in the non-white lands is a well-known story of exploitation, bloodshed and tyranny. This story may here be closed with the mention of a very interesting event of Midnapur and the adjacent jungle and nimki mahals to illustrate the point how rapid transplantation of population took place throughout India with the immigration of the British population here. This was the migration of the landless labourers from the revenue-paying to the non-revenue paying neighbouring tracts of the marathas. The large-scale immigration of labour-class, frontier incursions, so clearly manifested in the then records, produced a headache to the British rulers. The battles and wars which were waged here between the British rulers and Indian Chiefs were not military in character but rather economic and political. And what was the ultimate result? This was, in the language of Firminger nothing but the overpowering of the native military potentiality by the British military might.

In the Post-Second World War period new types of exodus of population had ushered in a new age. Divided Germany and India, creation of Pakistan and the impact of socialism in Asia and increasing pressure of the Chinese population in South-East Asia have produced new problems the solution of which lies in the future course of events for which the students of history shall have to wait.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK THEATRE

By Dr. JOSEF DVORAK

One of the most important elements in Czechoslovak culture is the theatre whose future evolution is well supported by a great tradition.

The Czech theatre had a renascent and revivalist character already in former days and also today it desires something more than merely to entertain its audience, for it aims at educating the public's artistic taste and showing the way to a better life.

The theatre receives full support from the State and all-round care is devoted to it as testified both by the thick network of theatres (the densest in the world; 73 professional theatres) and the rich subventions. Theatre tickets in this country are very cheap and so the theatres are not self-supporting despite their great attendance (more than 13 million tickets are sold every year, while the total population is also nearly the same).

Today, the greatest attention is devoted to the Czechoslovak theatre and especially to dramaturgy. The repertoire comprises not only classic and contemporary Czechoslovak plays, but also plays by many foreign authors both from the East and the West. The plays selected from foreign production are of a high artistic standard with contents which express humanist ideas, call for world peace and racial tolerance, and seek to develop man's moral and ethical qualities. Very popular are, for example, the plays by the American author, A. Miller; the English author, Osborne; the Swiss, Durrenmatt; the French, Sartre, the German, Brecht and the Italian author, Filippi. The plays of these and similarly thinking writers acquaint the Czechoslovak public with the life and problems in the author's country. Both Russian classics and plays by contemporary Soviet authors are also presented in the Czechoslovak theatres.

Modern New Plays

An important place in the repertoire is held by domestic production. The aim

of the Czechoslovak theatre today is to present modern new plays which fulfil the social function demanded by the public with a high cultural standard. This is no easy task and the playwrights are coping with it with more or less success. Nevertheless, within recent years many plays have been presented in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which satisfy these requirements. They attempt to solve the problems of our times, to criticize all that is wrong, and to teach people to appreciate all that is beautiful and good. Pessimism and defeatism have no part in these plays, some of which have met with success abroad. Pre-eminent Czechoslovak playwrights are Stehlik, Kohout, Drda, Karvas, Blazek, Pavlicek, and others.

In addition to the permanent theatres also diverse experimental and avantguard theatres appear in Czechoslovak towns which are founded by young enthusiasts who cultivate various small theatrical forms. Some of these have later become professional theatres as, for example, "Na Zabradli" ("On the Blaustade"), a small theatre whose leprellos philosophize on life and the world around us. Also the pantomime ensemble of this theatre which is led by L. Fialka, is well-known abroad through its numerous successful tours. In this way also originated the Prague literary cabaret "Paravan", the "Rococo", a theatre specializing in political satire, the "Semafor" known for its songs, theatres of poetry, etc.

A kind of synthesis of stage and film art is the "Magic Lantern", whose live artists and motion pictures are integrated in the dramatic action. The "Magic Lantern" has travelled widely in Europe and evoke lively interest in this new art form.

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, where the greatest care is devoted to children, it is only natural that also the theatres for children and young people are of a high standard. There are puppet theatres with various kinds of puppet techniques and

regular children's theatres with actors. The Spejbl and Hurvinek Puppet Theatre, whose spiritual father was Professor Skupa, is world famous.

Also the "black" theatre where invisible actors move phosphorescent puppets and masks is popular both in Czechoslovakia and abroad.

Opera and Ballet

Seventeen of the seventy-three theatres which form the main theatrical cadre have, in addition to their dramatical, also operatic, ballet and operetta ensembles. Prague has two specifically operatta theatres.

In addition to the traditional classic repertoire these theatres also present contemporary novelties whose contents and form impart a new character to this branch of the theatre.

As elsewhere in the world, opera is trying to achieve a higher histrionic standard. This depends in the first place on the directors and then also on the singers themselves. No longer is it solely a question of achieving beautiful tones, but also a cultivated histrionic expression and the new works in this field further support this new trend.

Not only do the ballet ensembles of the Czechoslovak theatres co-operate with the opera and operatta but, when possible, they also give independent ballet performances. Apart from classic ballets such as *The Swan Lake*, *"The Sleeping Princess"*, *"Gisela"*, etc., also novelties from home and abroad are performed. Because the majority of them take their inspiration from folklore (in Czechoslovakia *"Victoria"* by Vostrak, *"The Wedding Shirt"* by Novak, and Soviet ballets such as *"Gajane"* by Khatchaturian and *"Youth"* by Chulaki) it has been necessary to find a new form of dance language, and so the basic classic technique, combined with modern dancing and folk elements, is taught at the dance conservatoriums which will soon be changed into 10-year dancing schools.

Most pressing of all is the problem of

modernizing operettas. Side by side with the classic operettas presented in Czechoslovakia for their fine musical qualities (Lehar, Strauss, Offenbach, and Kalman) are appearing contemporary works which demand modern interpreters who are at the same time actors, singers, and dancers. The lack of good musical plays which would satisfy the criterions of dramaturgy and suit the tastes of an educated public is a serious problem. The Czechoslovak public is no longer satisfied with cheap commercial comedies. It wants to see clever, witty plays which would entertain them in their specific way by criticizing human faults and outmoded ideas.

Amateur Clubs

Speaking of the theatre we must not forget to mention the 11,000 dramatic clubs, the more than 10,000 cultural clubs, and the 7,000 works clubs which unite all would be Thespians who devote their free time to the theatre. In addition to amateur theatrical performances the rural audiences in Czechoslovakia also enjoy professional theatrical performances. Visits to permanent theatres are organised and touring theatres perform in Houses of Culture whose numbers are rapidly increasing. All these performances are held before packed houses and so, through the co-operation of professional theatres and folk art—whose ever-higher standard can be seen during the annual festivals and competitions and which is participated in by increasingly greater numbers of people from year to year—the theatre in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is now enjoyed by all Czechoslovak citizens.

Before World War II, Czechoslovakia had a total of about 30 permanent theatres, which were ruined by Nazi occupation. After the liberation in 1945 (this year on May 9, Czechoslovakia celebrates the 19th anniversary of her liberation), theatres also got revived as part of the general plan for national reconstruction and soon the number of permanent theatres reached 73 with 105 companies (dealing with drama, opera, ballet, puppetry, mime etc.) and four dramatic schools.

INDIAN UNIVERSITIES TODAY

By GOPAL CHATURVEDI

At present there is a great deal of discontent against the higher abodes of learning namely the universities. Some deplore the falling standards while others designate these temples of learning, as factories manufacturing curious products of frustrated hopes—the educated unemployed. Teachers are accused of neglecting their duties, students are condemned for ignoring theirs. Platform and press join in the attack, illiterate leaders lend the political weight of their loud voices to the same cause. Some ascribe the present prevalent evils of the universities to the general cultural deterioration after the collapse of the traditions of Indian liberalism and the wiping out of the memory of European humanism. What has emerged as a consequence is "The culture of puerility" wherein intelligence is rapidly being replaced by intrigue, seriousness by servility and mediocrity or the worship of the obvious, intrinsic eminence by propaganda, persuasion by force and the rule of law by the rule of whims and caprice. How can this parochial self-contained universe of small minds and crushed egos produce quality? But is all this outcry justified? Who is responsible for this sad state of affairs when slogan raising and strikes have become all too common occurrences? These are pertinent questions, simple in appearance but complex in nature. Had they been merely academic some scholarly treatise would have solved them. Had they been only political, our shouting demagogue would have answered them. But these problems, besides being academic and political, are cultural and economic as well, and hence their complex nature.

The twentieth century, whether we like it or not, is overwhelmingly an age of politics, in the same sense as the Middle Ages were the age of religion. The use of political methods, of forming parties, the faith in securing of ends to the subordination of

means, and ruthlessness in obtaining them, only confirm the above statement. Specially such political obtrusiveness is witnessed in newly independent countries with backward economies, undergoing the inevitable industrial revolution in a hurry. The reasons are not far to seek. All revolutions are caused by the co-operation of intellectuals as they are the most vocal and volatile section of the community in any society. The Indian freedom struggle has been no exception and the intelligentsia made no little contribution to bringing it to a successful conclusion. The nascent industrial societies are motivated by the idol of success; in its worship moral considerations are contemptuously set aside and in the process old moral values are slowly undermined. Hence periods of transition witness spurts of unscrupulous political activity and dominance. Perhaps, Indian Universities suffer from this deeper malady of crisis in values. We have before us the example of the successful application of political methods in the past, we conveniently forget that the goal to be achieved through them was a noble one—the winning of India's Freedom. The teacher politician applies the same methods to secure not so noble aims. They are fascinated by the halo of publicity that surrounds politicians, they envy the petty principalities every Minister carves and controls. Instead of the cloistered activities of the quiet study room or the hum-drum task of delivering dull routine lectures, they take to the interesting pursuit of positions of power in the academic world. Contesting elections for the University-bodies, seeking ministerial favours becomes veritably their full time activity.

In another sense, also the politicians prevail. Universities have, as a matter of fact, ceased to be autonomous bodies. From the appointment of the Vice-Chancellors down to that of Lecturers, dependence is on

the benediction of political powers that be. It will be interesting to count the number of outside Vice-Chancellors; those who had no connection or even remote contact with the academic profession, till they suddenly reached the top. The engineering departments and institutes are controlled by experienced engineers; medical colleges and hospitals are headed by competent doctors but the post of Vice-Chancellors, the highest academic honour and distinction, may go to any retired judge of High Court or defeated minister. A few years back the Education Ministry of Madhya Pradesh created a unique precedent of bureaucratic arrogance when it appointed the Divisional Commissioner of Indore, a promoted officer of the I.A.S., to act as the Vice-Chancellor of Vikram University.

Similarly, subservience to politics may be demonstrated by another trend peculiar to the Universities of this country. Most of the convocation addresses are delivered by pampered politicians instead of erudite scholars, most of the functions that are held are usually presided by the same species of talking machines. But this tragedy has its comic relief too. A so-called leader while giving away the prizes after the annual games, also invented a new game, of course, inadvertently when he began his speech by saying—"games are good, especially team and outdoor games like Cricket, Football, Hockey and tournament". However, once somebody starts seriously considering the implications of such apparently venial mistakes, their frequency gives them a new dimension of magnitude. And consequently they assume the form of the fatal flaws of our national life. The sooner the humiliating practice of inviting politicians on such occasions is stopped the better for the honour and dignity of our homes of learning. Why not call upon those seekers of truth and missionaries of knowledge who have shunned the lime light, to exhort and inspire the students with their precepts and example.

Another form of political interference has more to do with students. Following the adage "Catch them young" many political parties are active among the students.

They work through the notorious "professionals," a class of students whose sole aim is to stay in the University Unions as long as possible, fomenting troubles, organising strikes and staging demonstrations. Such tendencies are especially rampant among the universities of the North. It is impossible to expect the political sheep to abstain from grazing off such rich and tempting pastures as the universities offer. Only political maturity achieved through years might provide a solution to this menacing problem.

Falling academic standards are a cause as well as an effect of the prevalent political intrusion. Lack of interest in studies results in students seeking other channels to expend their energies—and this probably is the consequence of political pulls and pressures determining university appointments, merit being relegated to the background. Problems of discipline never arise in the classes of those who know their job well. But the "Old-Guard," who were devoted and proud of their profession, have vanished. The new-comers have neither their zeal for learning nor their sincerity to the profession. They come to university jobs in this age of success-seeking and status-craving, as spring-boards for administrative services or lucrative private firms. If they succeed they desert. "For a handful of gold. If they don't, frustration like a cancerous growth, consumes and saps away their scholastic abilities. Indulging in University politics remains their only diversion and sole vocation. From bad teaching we come to an outmoded system of examination, by virtue of which parrots top and mediocre dominate. Like Indian agriculture it is a gamble of chance. Examiners are appointed not because of any particular eminence in their field of study, but for the compelling considerations of mutual adjustment in the form of barter. "Cash payment is not the sole nexus of man with man," Carlyle, after all, was correct!

The infusion of the principles of large scale industry in the sphere of the examinations, results in a huge pile of answer books to be valued and they are examined by proxy; either by senior students or by

research scholars of the Professor concerned. The worst victims in this merry-go-round of money making are the meritorious students as there is no proper judgment in the indifferent cursory surveys of those who are forced to undertake the task of valuation. Such an examination system results in the production of keys, cheap bazar notes and guides, based on expected questions. Finally, the indiscriminate opening of universities, relaxation of rules of admission in the name of democratisation of education, coupled with monetary considerations as shown above put a premium on lack of quality. The only resultant progress is the progress in numbers.

Our education system has failed to develop useful attitudes. It merely provides a training of abilities. Even for the latter proper opportunities are lacking. Social needs accord with social dynamics. Unfortunately, in the sphere of education this has not been possible. What Macaulay devised was good for the needs of the "British Raj" with its growing requirements of white-collared babus. Besides, his system created a peculiar class of hybrid 'sahibs'—Indian in complexion and name but Western by mental attitudes and habits. Now those days are over. We should conceive clear goals and in accordance with them, plan and devise a national system of education. It is paramount to observe a clear distinction between literacy and education. The concept of universal education, laudable at primary or even at secondary stage, becomes ridiculous when applied to

the Universities. This is what is happening today and hence the inevitable fall in the quality of knowledge, total absence of mental independence among students, and long queuing up for clerical jobs. Education, specially at higher levels, should be a preserve of an aristocracy of talent. Only those with proper aptitudes and abilities should be permitted to avail of it. Piling up degrees is the least socially useful task; wasting the prime of life in indifferent and unwilling encounters with outmoded examinations is even worse.

But can we succeed in transforming the universities by merely criticizing them? At least such an effort gives us a clear picture of the enemy positions and enables us to launch an effective attack upon them. Will our political and academic leaders rise up to the challenge or sink under its weight, is a mute question on the answer to which will depend the destiny of this country. Restlessness on the part of the student community provides us with some hope. Strikes indicate a blind groping towards some purpose. They are dangerous portents of impending change. Also they manifest vitality. There is some moving of waters. But the time is not far off when these slow streams will gather strength and turn into irresistible torrents and cross the dams of lethargy and patience. The nation expects effective leadership in the sphere of education, warnings and examples of history demand it; let us hope it is provided as man lives and has been living on hope and hope alone.



RASHTRABHASHA AND THE SYSTEM OF OUR EDUCATION

BY PROF. PRIYA GOVIND DUTT, M.A., B.L.

THE political events that occurred some time ago at Jabalpur, Aligarh and other places, as well as in Assam, have probably been an eye-opener to our Prime Minister and those who are at the helm of political affairs of India. So time has come when every well-wisher of India should calmly think over these events and ascertain the basic cause of this unrest. To me it appears that the basic cause of this unrest is the hasty confirmation of Hindi as the Rashtrabhasha. I say so because it has given birth to violent communal feelings and the feeling of superiority in the heart of those whose mother-tongue is Hindi. Much money is being spent on the publication of Government reports, speeches, proceedings and notices in Hindi. May I request our authorities to ascertain how many read and utilise these publications, and how many sincerely prefer them to their English version? A great section of our reading public consists of the members of the legal profession and the people associated with them. They not only use English in most of their activities but prefer it to Hindi unless otherwise forced.

The technical terms of the different subjects have been translated into difficult Sanskritised words never current in the last two centuries, and the easy current words have been mercilessly abandoned for what purpose, God knows. Once in the local post office I was advised to say "Antaradesiya Patra" instead of simply "Inland" which is being used by most of the persons including women and uneducated people. The Arabic numerals are being used in all the offices and banks, but such is the fascination for Hindi that the Hindi forms of these numerals are being used not only by the merchants but also by the State and Central Government. All the School authorities have been ordered to use the Hindi forms of these numerals. But the Hindi forms of eight and nine are being written in many ways creating difficulty for the Non-Hindi people. In the days of kilograms and decimal coinage is it not idle and irrational to retain these Hindi

forms of Arabic numerals? It does encourage the people of other states to write these numerals in their own way. The Roman form of the Arabic numerals should be made forthwith compulsory in all the schools and colleges and a definite date in some near future should be fixed for making it compulsory for all including merchants and businessmen. This will make the inspection of their account books easier.*

Another amusing and instructive outcome of the Rashtrabhasha has come to my notice. Previously the students of Bihar used to translate English words into Hindi in order to get a clear idea of these words. They were unfortunately never taught in the inductive method and were never encouraged to think in English. But after the introduction of Hindi as the Rashtrabhasha, Bihari students are being found to translate the important words and phrases of the Rashtrabhasha into English in order to understand them. Yet we are hopeful that a time will come when Hindi will be able to oust English completely from all the spheres of our activities? But can we reasonably hope that our factory workers will ever give up their simple current English words and adopt the new difficult words introduced by the Rashtrabhasha?

Once a Principal of a Government college claimed that he could efficiently teach the plays of Shakespeare as he was an Englishman. At this Dr. P. K. Ray, the University Inspector, asked him whether an English cobbler could teach English. Similarly it is being claimed that everyone whose mother-tongue is Hindi can teach Hindi. So the moment English was removed from the lower classes of High Schools and from the M. E. Schools, it was thought that every Bihari could teach Hindi, and so all the ill-qualified relations of the Secretaries and the Headmasters were appointed as teachers in all these schools. The result is that the standard of

* How can we hope to have a universal language all over India if we fail to have uniformity in writing these simple ten digits?

teaching has frightfully deteriorated. Our teachers do not know that the basic principle of learning is reflective understanding and not cramming.

A girl student of a Government High School sent up for the School Final Examination was found unable to read a sentence of her English Text-book. She had learnt how to transcribe a given passage in English. She pretended to read a passage in English though in fact she fixed her eyes on the passage and reproduced from her memory that particular passage.

The introduction of the assessment system was suicidal, both for teaching and for learning. Our teachers found no time for teaching as they had to examine a large number of assessment copies. Students were asked to write out some marked portions of their books as answers to some given questions or copy out answers from some note book. Thus students were kept very busy in copying out answers from note books and guess papers and found no time for learning anything at home or at school. In this way the pious intention of the assessment system was completely frustrated. Our teachers did not know how to work out this assessment system. The result was that our students failed to read any book, failed to learn anything from any book and failed to write the alphabet correctly. Happily the present Minister of Education has abolished this harmful assessment system. But we should be very careful of those teachers who are the products of this system. There are many professors who will deceive you by borrowing a large number of books from the library and quoting a large number of authors yet they fail to learn anything from books and they fail to derive any joy out of reading any book. They have not the patience to go through any book and critically examine its contents and ascertain the message of the book.

About pronunciation the less said the better. *God* is often pronounced as *Goat*. A professor was found to say '*Bake from Patna*' and another said *cemetry for cemetery*. When a well-known foreign scholar came to deliver a learned lecture in English, many of our college teachers absented from the lecture as they failed to follow him on account of his unusual pronunciation. Equally, if not more difficult is to read, remember and pronounce the harsh outlandish words that have been thrust into the current easy Hindi used by the Hindi speaking people. I doubt whether any of the ministers of the Central and State Govern-

ments know all the new words of the *Rashtra-bhasha*. When we go through these words we seem to be so many Alices lost in the world of *Dam and Dee*. If these be so, what is the good of having these gymnastics with the *Rashtrabhasha* and compelling the innocent clerks and teachers murder the innocent people of our hard times?

Very few people know how our professors are teaching their students now-a-days. In our days every professor of English read and explained every line of the plays of Shakespeare prescribed for our studies. In explaining them he demonstrated the dramatic emotions hidden in it. It was customary for the students of the Calcutta Scottish Churches College to stage a play of Shakespeare. Our Scottish professors joined hands with students in staging such a play. This enabled the students to have an insight into the spirit, beauty and excellence of these plays and into the mind and art of the master dramatist. We derived great joy in going through these plays again and again and found no difficulty in reading and understanding any book written in English. But now-a-days the method of teaching has changed altogether. Books are not read and explained in the class. Professors finish a play of Shakespeare in five or six lectures and thereby finish their students as well. In the first lecture they speak about the life and time of Shakespeare. In the second lecture they speak about the works of Shakespeare, his style, craftsmanship and place in world literature. In the third lecture they speak about the story of the play and in the remaining three lectures they discuss the various characters of the play. Thus in six lectures they finish the trouble of teaching a play of Shakespeare. Students are not encouraged to read any play and derive joy out of it. They are rather advised to get by heart some selected cooked up answers given in some note book. The nature of these answers are sometimes ludicrous. The question was : Account for the greatness of Hardy in creating female characters. The learned professor claimed to be the author of a popular key brought out by a well-known Patna firm begins his answer as follows :

I do not admit that Hardy was a great writer. He was much inferior to the great Victorian authors like Tennyson and Arnold. Besides, Hardy's English is defective. He has used the split infinitive at different places, etc.

These grand-motherly criticisms and lectures

are leading our innocent students into blind lanes where they are failing to have any illumination, enlightenment or inspiration. Thus books written in English have come to be a terror to our students and instead of reflective understanding most of them are relying on guess papers and the cramming of cooked answers. Students of schools and colleges now prepare their Text-books in English by reading the Hindi summary of the books. They never take the trouble of reading the English text-books. They have deteriorated to such an extent that they fail to read and understand the questions printed in English. Students generally rely on the legalised system of getting grace marks and the effort of the university not to lower the percentage of success. By cramming the selected answers given in guess papers they want to qualify for the grace marks.

Students also rely on the questions set on grammar. Invigilators find it very difficult to prevent our examinees from taking unfair means in answering the questions on grammar. I fail to understand why there should be separate questions on grammar. Is it not reasonable to test the knowledge of grammar and spelling, phrases and idioms by going through the answers to non-grammatical questions? If this be done examinees will not be lured to take any unfair means. For stopping all sorts of cramming and for encouraging real learning no critical questions should be set on any book, and only passages for critical explanation should be set. Learning and not cramming should be made the object of all teaching, otherwise our educational system will be a bogus system.

The standard of education has been going down on account of the bad text-books that are being departmentally produced and prescribed for schools and colleges. Our authorities should know that no good book can be had by commanding a number of good scholars to write it out. Yet our educational authorities are going to have

good text-books through these impossible means. I found sixtyfive blunders in the Free India Readers—Primer, and more than one hundred blunders in Free India Readers—First book. It is a wonder that as yet no committee of experts has been appointed to go through the various text-books prescribed by the Boards and the Universities. Nobody cares to go through the proofs of these books at the time of printing them. Many such books contain colossal historical and geographical blunders. Some of them contain wild innovations. For instance our Bihar University published a book on Poetry Selections in which, instead of using the current spelling of English words their old spellings were given. We all know how shaky our spellings are. This old spelling introduced by the University has made our students believe that English words can be written in any way as no spelling can be called correct.

We are fully acquainted with the Indian method of pronouncing English words. Even our radio-speakers show how wonderful are the ways of speaking English. Some of them try to surpass the speed of the Toofan Express in running to their journey's end. But I am probably criticising the big guns of the Radio Station through my ignorance. Standard language and pronunciation can be taught now-a-days through the radio. Yet this opportunity is being neglected by the masters and builders of our nation. We want to have a standard uniform Hindi as Rashtrabhasha all over India, yet we are eager to use a local dialect whenever we find an opportunity. There is one Hindi for our women-folk, another for the market place and a different one for the University Examinations and journals. Even our M.A.'s in Hindi carelessly disregard grammar while speaking. Scholars of Hindi should try their best to abolish the gender of the names of inanimate objects with a view to win the love of the non-Hindi speaking people of India and make the language easier and rational.

PLANT DISEASES AND THEIR SYMPTOMS

By D. CHATTERJI, M.Sc.

Plant pathology is that branch of Botanical science which deals with the diseases of the plants. While there can be no doubt that diseases of plants and in particular of cultivated plants have manifested themselves from time immemorial, it is only within recent years that their study has been taken up in an organized and scientific manner. The application of scientific methods generally to the study of practical agricultural problems is in itself a development which is scarcely older than the 19th Century and it is from this combination of science with practice that the modern applied science of plant pathology has arisen.

Plant diseases have been known since the dawn of history. From the earliest times domesticated varieties of plants grown for food or for economic purposes have been subject to the attacks of diseases and early reference to the terms **blight** and **blasting** show they obtruded themselves on the minds of the cultivators long before their true nature was known.

The epoch-making discovery of Pasteur of the true nature of the process of fermentation and development of germ-theory of diseases marked the true starting point for modern pathological studies both for animals and plants. The first proof that specific plant disease was due to the invasion of the tissues of the plant by a definite parasitic organism was furnished by the German scientist Anton de Barry (1853) who is thus properly regarded as the founder of modern plant pathology at least in its theoretical aspect. de Barry's pioneer researches prepare the way for a host of other workers at first in Germany and later in all the civilized countries. The 20th Century has witnessed extraordinary activity in the study of the problems, most strikingly perhaps in the U.S.A. The economic importance of the subject as a branch of scientific agriculture is being increasingly recognised and the prosecution of researches in plant

diseases is being more actively pursued by the agricultural departments of all countries whose agriculture can claim to be progressive.

Diseases in plants may be defined as variation from the normal as expressed either by checking or by interruption of physiological activities or by structural changes which are sufficiently permanent to check the development and cause abnormal formation or lead to premature death of a part of the plant or of the entire individual or failure of the plant to produce a commercial product of satisfactory quality and quantity.

SYMPTOMS OF DISEASES

The study of symptoms is the first step in the examination of diseases. By symptoms one means the total modification shown in the plant as a result of disease. In other words the symptoms of disease are those marks or evidences which indicate a diseased condition in the plant. The most common symptoms are listed below. The plant when diseased may show any one, two or more of the symptoms described as under.

Change of Colour

Plants, like people, frequently look pale when they are sick. Nutritional disturbances such as lack of iron, excess of lime, excess of alkali, presence of virus, fungoidal or bacterial parasite, lack of light or low temperature may prevent the production of chlorophyll and cause normal green structure to become pale green or yellow.

Leaf Spots

Discoloration instead of being general or diffuse may show as more or less definite or circumscribed discoloured spots or areas. They form one of the commonest symptoms of disease. These spots are very varied in

colour according to the plant and parasite concerned, and also often change colour at different stages in their development. In some cases the colour is not uniform but zones or bands of different shades may alternate.

Shot Hole

This name is given to the perforations in the leaves. At first a brown spot appears but the diseased tissues are soon cut off from the rest of the portion leaving a hole in the leaf. They are common in fruit trees, such as peach and plum and are found in tea and some other plants but rarely in field crops.

Damping off

This name is applied to the sudden collapse of seedlings, which are attacked at the base of the stem and fall over from weakening of the tissues at this point. It results from the rot caused by several fungi, e.g., **Pythium**, **Phytophthora**, **Rhizoctonia**.

Wilt

This name is applied to those cases where a whole plant collapses more or less suddenly and is the result either of the blocking of the water transporting channels in the stem or the roots or of some injury to the absorbing system which lowers the rate of intake of water below that of the out go due to transpiration.

Necrosis

In some diseases death of special parts or organs of the plants as leaves, stems or twigs, buds or flowers is the first symptom of the disease. The affected structures generally assume the characteristic dark or brown colouration of dead tissue and the accompanying disease is characterized as blights.

Scab

This is a condition caused by cracking of the outer layer or fruits or tubers or sometime they become corky. The scabs of Potatoes, Apples and Peaches are caused by

fungi. Citrus scab which is very severe in Assam and prevalent also in other parts of India is caused by a bacteria. Eel worms may cause scab of tubers.

Canker

Open wounds often of a spreading nature and sometimes surrounded by raised tumours like margins are found on woody stems and even sometimes on annual herbs like pigeon pea. They are caused usually by parasites who attack the bark and extend as far as there is cambium. The raised margins are the results of efforts to repair and is a product of cellulose which may again be attacked and destroyed before healing has progressed far.

Dwarfing or Atrophy

Either the entire plant or special organs such as leaves flowers or fruits may be greatly reduced in size suggesting such common names as 'Little leaf disease of Apple' or 'little Peach' with fruits of reduced size. The whole plant may remain stunted from early attacks of mildews, rusts and other fungi or viruses. The leaves may be atrophied as a result of action of some rusts or species of synchytrium.

Increase in Size or Hypertrophy

Abnormal outgrowths of the most varied character are often found on the herbaceous parts of plants and also sometimes on woody stems, and on roots, leaves, fruits and tubers. They may vary from tiny warts, involving only one and or a few cells to the rounded tumours, several inches across of the maize stem. Hypertrophied roots are well illustrated in the club root or finger and toe diseases of cabbage and other crucifers. Hypertrophied leaves in the well-known leaf curl of peach, hypertrophied flowers or flower parts as in the white rusts of the crucifers.

Transformation of Organs

This is found chiefly in flowers and results in the change of one kind of floral

leaf in to another some parts of the flowers may become hairy as in green ear disease of bajra or the ear may become leafy in the head smuts of maize.

Alternation in symmetry and habit

Some plants which under normal conditions are more or less prostrate or creeping become ascending or even erect when attacked by fungus parasites. The short unbranched stem with radical leaf of *launea asplenifolia* become elongated, much branched axis with cauline leaves when infected by *puccinia butleria*. Leaves may be changed from simple to irregularly lobed, single flower may be altered from regular to the irregular symmetry and vice versa.

Dropping of Leaves, Blossoms, Fruits

This is, of course, to be considered as symptom of disease only when it occurs prematurely or in excessive amount. The shedding of leaves from the action of parasites may be noted in the leaf spot of groundnut. The shedding of blossoms may be illustrated by the non-parasitic blossom drop of tomato and grape.

Rot

Rot is a condition resulting when the cells, wall and contents are broken down and more or less consumed by enzyme secreted by the attacking organism. In some cases only the middle lamellae are digested, thus permitting the cells to separate and the tissues to disintegrate. The rotted tissues may be soft or hard, dry or wet and either odourless or of offensive odour. The colour of the rotted tissue also varies. Succulent or woody stem and roots, fleshy leaves, flower buds or fruits may be effected by rot. Rot is often caused by *pythium* and *phytoththora* where the green parts are chiefly affected by such fungi as *rosellinia* where the roots are concerned, by *rhizoctonia* where the region affected is usually discoloured. Many wet rots are due to secondary saprophytic organism, chiefly bacteria and moulds which follow in the track of the parasites.

Fluxes

Several tree diseases are characterised by exudation from the bark of the stem. The nature of exudation varies in different cases. In the stem-bleeding disease of the coconut, colourless or brown and somewhat viscid liquid, rich in sugars and products of decay of the tissues, oozes out from cracks in the stem. In rubber canker there is an exudation of latex in the older stages. Resin is poured out in conifers attacked by various fungi. Gum is found on the surface of the diseased parts in foot-rot of citrus tree.

Mummification

The transformation of fruits into shrivelled structures called mummies is a very characteristic feature of the brown rot of stone or pomefruits. Other typical illustrations may be found in the bitter rot and black rot of apple and grape. Mummies are dried up shrivelled fruits containing the mycellium and sometimes the spores of the parasite; they remain hanging in the tree or fall on the ground.

Development of dormant or new Organs

The development of dormant or rudimentary structures of entirely new organs or structures either similar to or entirely unlike any normal parts of the host, are symptoms which are associated with certain diseases. Dormant buds may be started into growth; stamens which are rudimentary may grow to full size, extra petals may appear or an entirely dissimilar out-growth may be formed. New shoots are formed from the base of the rice plant attacked by *sclerotium oryzae*. The rudimentary stamens in pistillate flowers of *lychis dioica* become fully developed when attacked by *ustilago ovialae* except that pollen is replaced by spores of the fungus.

Malformations

The following abnormal formations may be included under this heading :

Galls or Localised Enlargement

On various organs in the form of small pustules or warts, larger tubercles, tumours or masses of cells making a morbid outgrowth of either fleshy or woody nature, in which host tissues and parasites in the plant, stimulate the cells to abnormal activity instead of killing them. A familiar example in this group is the small or large tumours of maize smut.

Intumescences: pustule like distentions of tissue occurring most abundantly on leaves but also on stem or fruits due to the abnormal elongation of groups of cells.

Rosettes or closely grouped clusters of leaves caused by the failure of axes to make normal elongation. This should not be confused with normal rosette habit of certain plants.

Witches

This is a condition of closely grouped clusters of fine slender branches, generally arranged more or less parallel to each other and frequently originating from enlarged axis. It is a dense bushy growth resembling a broom made of twigs. It is chiefly caused by *exoacacoe* and rusts, common examples being those on berberry bushes caused by *aecidium monotenum*.

Proliferation

By this is meant the continued development of a part after it has reached the stage at which it normally ceases to grow. It occurs in the ears of bajra and setaria attacked by *sclerospora graminicola*, the central axis of the flower growing on into a stunted leafy shoot, surrounded at the base by the glumes and stamens.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

GREAT SANSKRIT PLAYS IN MODERN TRANSLATION : by Professor P. Lal, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, manufactured in the United States of America (1962-63) published by James Laughlin, New Directions Book Co. also by Mc Clelland and Stewart Ltd., Canada.

Professor P. Lal earned a reputation, solidly based, after years of conscientious work as a teacher of English at the St. Xavier's College, Calcutta which granted him a year's leave for serving U.S.A. as a Visiting Professor at Hofstra University, New York whence he visited several centres of creative writing and Comparative Literature in different Universities from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, covering Middle West, St. Paul, Minnesota and Chicago where he lectured winning a large number of American boys and girls and veteran teachers and lecturers. They will help Prof. Lal to expand his circle of friends, limited so far to Calcutta, to embrace the reader and progressive publishers of the U.S.A. English—his forte—apart, now Prof. Lal enters a new field. Sanskrit Drama which, thanks to his lucid and convincing English version, will now bring India closer to the U.S. public ; for drama is an inter-national medium of psychology and aesthetics, as Prof. Lal has well established in his convincing Prefaces to *Sakuntala* and *Mudra Rakshasa*, *Vasavadatta* and *Uttara Rama Charita* and *Ratnavali*—gems of Sanskrit drama

which Prof. Lal very wisely presented to the audience of the New world.

He significantly calls these New English **Transcreations** (not mechanical translations) of Sanskrit Plays. Prof. Lal has for years been comparing notes with many veterans of Sanskrit like Dr. Raghavan of Madras and Prof. Sadhan Kumar Ghosh of Calcutta and Prof. J. Van Builennen, Sanskrit Department, Chicago University. The typography and illustrations together with his helpful notes, add to the usefulness and attractiveness of the book and we hope, with the learned author, that in this Fourth Centenary of the birth of the World-Dramatist William Shakespeare, when Tagore's India and Shakespeare's England are celebrating the festival, Prof. Lal rendered a national service by presenting a readable and playable half-a-dozen Sanskrit Plays to the vast English speaking world. Their appreciation is manifest from the enthusiastic notices in some of the leading literary periodicals of U.S.A. and Canada where Sanskrit Plays would make their first epoch making **entree**. We congratulate Prof. Lal and his friends for this significant gesture and hope to keep the Indian public alert through the pages of the *Modern Review*, Calcutta which served the cause of **comparative literature** for over half a century.

Dr. Kalidas Nag
University of Paris

THE ASUR : By K. K. Leuva, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, 1963. Rs. 17/50.

Who are the Asurs? Is it sufficient to describe them as a tribe living in Ranchi District? Have they got any relation with the neighbouring tribes? Do they descend from the Asurs as described in our Sanskrit literature? These are the pointed questions taken up by Dr. K. K. Leuva. He has adroitly dealt with the subject and quoted source books right from the Vedic literature to the latest publication on anthropology. Of course, had he not been holding a high Government post in tribal affairs, it would have been a remote possibility for him to attain such a thorough knowledge about the Asur.

What is most striking in this book is the author's doing away with the popular belief that the Asura is a branch of the Munda, the famous Proto-Austroloid tribe of Chotanagpur. He has, on the contrary, driven home a hitherto unknown fact that the Asurs have a close affinity with those appearing in the lore of Sanskrit literature. Dr. Leuva has traced through a long track of Indian history to show how the Asura of the Vedic period has passed on to this stage of the Asura in the compulsion of events. The Asuras have been a problem due to their tradition dating from the beginning of Indian history. Their mission in India's race-assimilation and culture-fusion is historic. The Asuras, as a people, according to some scholars, precede the Aryas and probably Dasas of India.

The archaeological finds of Ranchi District provide a ground of similarity with those of Indus Valley Civilization which some eminent scholars attribute to the Asura

of Sanskrit literature. It is still a question of debate as to who were the authors of this mighty civilization flourishing in the pre-historic age. The Asur sculpture and architecture attracted the attention of the giant scholar, Sarat Chandra Roy, who, 'during his field studies on the Asuras of Ranchi in the twenties of this century, had come across certain remains of the Asuras which indicate that the inhabitants of this area had attained a degree of civilisation which has remained a standing wonder.' (p. 10). Even while working among the Asuras, the author surprisingly came to know that the Asuras of Netarhat still claim descent from the ancient Asura' (p.11). The main fact that prompted Dr. Leuva to the study of the tribe is the craft of iron-smelting which was, of course, in later periods almost forgotten by them due to imposition of forest laws by the Government.

How deeply the author feels for the Asuras is reflected in the chapter 'Future of the people' where he outlines some invaluable suggestions, as to how they should be provided with facilities to grow in the line of their tradition and genius. He declines to support the view of the anthropologists who favour the idea of preserving the tribesmen as specimens, types and cases for experimental studies. Rather he considers the tribesmen like ourselves in all fundamentals, because their ultimate human needs, aspirations, loves and fears are **exactly the same** as ours. As such this book, in the opinion of the present reviewer, will be of great help to those who work among them to upgrade their precarious way of life.

Narayan Kundu



Indian Periodicals

Consumer's Voice Must Be Heard

Writing in the *Yojana* in its issue of June 7 last, what Sri G. L. Malhotra has to say on the *life and death* problem of "planning for raging prices," for that is really what planning, shorn of its glamour and accoutrements, has come to mean in actual terms, sails very close to the wind of recent official thinking but would hardly seem to point the way to a practicable solution :

Never was the consumer so oppressed as he is today. The prices of the essential commodities are rising, adulteration is rampant, corruption is at its highest and malpractices have become the normal state of affairs in trade.

The consumer, who is the buyer and user of goods and services, is helpless. He is disgusted with the exploitation he is subjected to. He has no voice in anything that concerns him. The Governments adopt measures without consulting him : the mills fix prices without taking him into account, and the traders sell commodities without bothering about his needs. In the matter of price control, it is the trader who is consulted and not the consumer. The location of fair price shops is decided to suit the convenience of the trader and not that of the consumer.

Only recently it was discovered in Delhi that a commodity like bicycle tyres was concentrated in the hands of a few traders who preferred to group their shops in one locality rather than spread them out in distant colonies where the consumer could really benefit. In the pricing policy of cloth, the consumer has no voice. It is the manufacturer who has to take a decision on this and have it endorsed by officials who sit behind closed doors and with whom the consumer has no contact. Consumers' co-operatives sell what the authorities provide for them and not what the consumers want. The Chambers of Commerce discuss matters relating to profits, and not the benefits of consumers.

What, after all, is the significance of a consumer ? He is the backbone of the country's progress. His satisfaction symbolises the progress of the country and his discontent is the discontent of the nation. He is a citizen, in fact *the* citizen. Unfortunately he is unorganised. He has feelings but he has no platform to express them. He has grievances but he has no means to ventilate them. His voice is a voice in wilderness. Alone he

suffers, alone he feels frustrated and alone he cries.

But it is individuals that make a nation. Individual disgust sooner or later turns into a mass disgust. If corruption and profiteering are said to be surging high it is because the consumer is being exploited and in his helplessness, he offers gratification and gets the job done. It is true that he is as much to blame but he sees no alternative. If he complains he becomes the victim and if he does not he continues to be exploited. He sees no justice being done to him and he accepts illegal acts as matters of fact.

His food is a problem. Profiteers wangle stocks, fix movements and prices. He is a helpless watcher of this drama. Meetings and deliberations, speeches and demonstrations, flags and buntings, receptions and honours are the daily routine of those who profess to advocate his cause. But matters stand where they are and his suffering sees no end.

Even in advanced countries like America, the consumer has traditionally had little direct voice in the formation of public policies that affect his relationship with the seller. An individual buyer may occasionally rise in righteous wrath and take something back to the store. But most likely he or she keeps his or her gripes to himself or herself or shares them with a couple of neighbours. Occasionally he or she may be sufficiently outraged by a dramatic exposure or a scandal, such as high drug prices, and join in a public demonstration.

There are notable instances of consumer organisations and actions for specific purposes, as in the co-operative movement. But the consumer, as a political force, or as a member of a group that makes itself felt as an influence on public policies affecting consumer interests is conspicuous by his absence. A consumer may be invited here and there only as a matter of grace, but not as a matter of right. He has no direct representation in the Government itself and the Government too has no specific department which looks after the consumer interests.

THE KENNEDY MOVE

The late President Kennedy of the United States sent to the Congress the first Presidential Message in history on a "Consumers' Protection

and Interest" programme in March 1962. The Message proposed a forthright "Bill of Rights" for the consumer with the following major points:

(1) *The Right to Safety*: to be protected against the marketing of goods hazardous to health or life.

(2) *The Right to Be Informed*: to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful or grossly misleading information, advertising, labelling or other practices and to be given facts needed to make an informed choice.

(3) *The Right to Choose*: to be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices, and in those industries in which competition is not workable and Government Regulation is substituted, an assurance of satisfactory quality and service at fair prices.

(4) *The Right to Be Heard*: to be assured that the consumer interest will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formation of Government policy and fair and expeditious treatment in its administrative tribunals.

But, to most consumer groups, President Kennedy's proposal was a disappointment. The arrangement was for neither a special Consumer Council nor a Department of Consumers. Instead the President directed that a 'Consumer Advisory Council' be set up by the Council of Economic Advisers.

President Johnson of the United States recently remarked in a Message to the Congress: "As a worker, as a business man, as a farmer, as a lawyer or a doctor, the citizen has been well represented but, as a consumer, he has had to take a back seat. That situation is changing. The consumer is moving forward. We cannot rest content until he is in the front row."

President Johnson followed this up by proposing the formation of a Committee of Consumer Interests consisting of representatives of a number of Government agencies along with consumer interest programmes. This Committee will

have a direct liaison with the President. Statutory authority for a full-time paid Consumer Council and staff is a further objective.

If an advanced country like America, where the citizens are better educated and more aware of their rights, realises the importance of consumer satisfaction, it is high time our own Government paid attention to this important aspect of citizens' rights.

BEGINNING IN INDIA

The Planning Commission, it is gratifying to know, has made a first move in this direction. A Working Group has already taken a decision to organise a National Consumer Service. This Service is to be operated through non-official voluntary organisations, and the Bharat Sevak Samaj is playing a leading role in its development. The objectives laid down for the National Consumer Service are:

(i) Organisation of consumers' councils at the national, state and district levels;

(ii) Promotion of a consumers' co-operative movement;

(iii) Research into consumer problems;

(iv) Market intelligence, price collection, case studies in consumption patterns, in factors contributing to price fluctuations, hoarding, artificial scarcity, transport and other bottlenecks, licensing procedures, permit system, controls etc.;

(v) Training of social and other workers in consumer research, consumer contacts and consumer difficulties;

(vi) Quality control, investigation of methods of prevention of adulteration;

(vii) Prevention of malpractices in trade—weights and measures, etc.

Consumer education, however, remains the basic point because, unless the consumer realises his responsibilities and rights, he cannot have an effective voice. Consumer power has a potential which has not been fathomed.



Foreign Periodicals

Democracy Analysed

The following book reviews from the **Saturday Review** indicate a new viewpoint for surveying democracy in the U.S. By Hans J. Morgenthau, Albert A. Michelson Distinguished Service Professor of political science and modern history at the University of Chicago.

Who governs us? Most certainly, it is not the people, you and I and the man next door. We do not participate in the decision as to whether the war in Vietnam should be expanded, continued on its present scale, or liquidated, or whether the Civil Rights Bill should contain a public accommodation clause and how far it should go. "Government by the people," in the sense in which democratic folklore thinks of it, is an illusion, and it has always been one, short of the rare instances of direct democracy where the Aristotelian requirement of face-to-face relations among the citizens could be fulfilled. Men have always been governed by elites, that is, by minorities who have special claim or a special ability to govern.

What distinguishes a democratic elite from others is its responsiveness to public opinion. In a democracy, the ruling elite is confirmed in power, or else replaced by a new one, by the majority of the citizens in periodic elections. Thus an elite must rule in accordance with the preferences of the majority of the citizens if it wants to keep itself in power. Democracy, then, is distinguished from other forms of government not because the people rule but because elites rule with the consent of the people.

The reality, however, is more complicated than that. For our society contains elites that govern without being accountable to the citizenry and use the elected representatives of the people to do their bidding. These representatives, instead of

being responsive to the preferences of the people, become the tools of hidden or half-hidden rulers, and the democratic process becomes distorted and corrupted.

Traditionally, we have considered certain economic interests to be our hidden rulers. In the nineteenth century it was the bankers, the utilities, the railroads, and the "trusts" in general. Since the beginning of the twentieth century it has been an article of faith among us that our Latin American policy has been "dollar diplomacy," i.e., determined by and pursued on behalf of private commercial interests. (How often have I not been asked, with the expectation of an affirmative answer, whether our Middle Eastern policy was determined by the oil interests!) After the First World War, it was the "munitions makers" and the House of Morgan, for the sake of whose investments our government was supposed to have intervened in that war. Fascism and Marxism have elaborated on the theme, and it is a basic tenet of their philosophies that parliamentary democracy is a sham manipulated by economic forces for their interests. The "warmongers of Wall Street" have become standard equipment in communist propaganda.

In our day, two new elites have risen to prominence, baffling and disquieting us: the military and the scientists. Of the two, the military baffle us less. For from the beginning of the Republic we have regarded them with misgivings as a threat to democratic government, and they fit easily into the stereotype of our political folklore as the highly effective and virtually unassailable manipulators of our seemingly democratic institutions. As such, they simply take the place of the economic elites of the past. The "merchants of death" of forty years ago have been succeeded by the "purveyors of death" or a combination of the two. That kind of argument has the addi-

tional advantage of requiring but a minimum of intellectual effort. You just substitute one devil for another, and while you cannot tell what to do about him, you have at least the satisfaction of knowing who he is.

Tristram Coffin's *The Passion of the Hawks: Militarism in Modern America* (Macmillan, \$5.95) and John M. Swomley, Jr.'s *The Military Establishment* (Beacon \$6) embrace the "devil" theory of the military. Coffin does it with unrestrained gusto, while Swomley looks at the military with the distaste and the premonitions of the pacifist. Neither author seems to be aware of the similarity of his method of argument to that of all witch-hunters, whether of Right or Left: to personify unintelligible and unmanageable substantive problems and to generalize from isolated experiences. Some retired officers indeed play a prominent role in ultra Rightist organizations, as do business men, dentists, and ministers of the gospel. But what of the retired generals and admirals who have served successive Administrations faithfully and effectively in high civilian positions? And what about the overwhelming majority of retired officers who are Republicans or Democrats like the rest of us? What can be proven by Mr. Coffin's list of members of Congress who hold reserve commissions in the armed services, whom he characterizes as "the leaders of the Pentagon's loyal legion on Capitol Hill"? Anybody who knows anything about Congress will realize that most of the real militarists are not on that list, and that many of those who are included can by no stretch of the imagination be so classified. In a word, the methods used a decade ago to discredit the State Department are no more legitimate when they are applied to the Pentagon.

The Pentagon as the center of untrained and irresponsible power is a myth. What the Pentagon is and what it is not Jack Raymond makes admirably clear at the level of factual reporting in *Power at the Pentagon* (Harper and Row, \$6.50). The military are indeed a new center of power, due to new international and technological conditions, competing with other centers of power, old and new, for the determination of the policies relevant to its tasks. But,

far from being a single-minded colossus, it reflects within itself the same variety of philosophies and policy commitments that characterize American opinion in general. There are advocates of preventive war and of disarmament and of all kinds of strategies and tactics within the Pentagon, as there are without. The determination of policy within the Pentagon is a result of the same kind of pluralistic competition and conflict that we find in the Department of State, Congress, and American society at large. And, most importantly, the arbiter of these contests is not a military man but the Secretary of Defense and, ultimately, the President of the United States.

Contrary to popular assumptions, the power of the military *vis-a-vis* the civilian centers of power has steadily declined in recent times. It reached its apogee during the Second World War and the immediate aftermath, primarily because of the vacuum that existed at the top of the civilian hierarchy. Professor Samuel P. Huntington, in the fall 1963 issue of *Daedalus*, has called attention to the factors responsible for the decline of military influence since that time. Today civilians determine military strategy and the allocation of resources among the armed services. To give only two recent examples, both the multilateral seaborne nuclear force and the extension of the Vietnamese war to North Vietnam have been devised and prompted by civilians outside the Pentagon.

Why, then, is it that the image of the military as the sinister rulers of America persists in our consciousness? Aside from the traditional mistrust of the military referred to above, it is, so it seems to me, the irrationality of the policies to which the military are committed that makes us uneasy in their presence. The man in the street tries to come to terms with the paradox, felt rather than understood, of his government wedded to traditional modes of thought and action in the face of the conditions of the nuclear age calling for novel modes of thought and action commensurate with the novelty of those conditions. He witnesses an enormous military machine consuming every year about 10 per cent of the gross national product for the purpose of preventing a war which, if waged, would

destroy us all. Unable to understand the historic reasons for so enormous an undertaking of such staggering irrationality, he unloads his resentment upon the military, holding them responsible for what he fears.

A similar incomprehension marks our attitude toward the new scientific elite, only that attitude is one of awe and deference rather than resentment. We tend to take it for granted that scientists decide, by

virtue of a monopoly of competence, what weapons or delivery systems we shall develop and what kind of space policy we shall pursue. The man in the street tends to regard the scientist as the guardian of the "arcana imperii," the secret remedies for public ills. Thus the scientific elite is surrounded with an aura of both infallibility and secrecy, a kind of priesthood endowed with a monopoly of truth.



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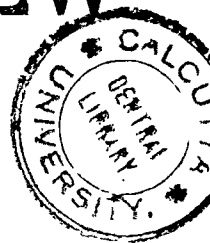
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NOTES

The World

Last month was chiefly remarkable because of two Conferences, one in London and the other at Cairo. The first was the eight-day long Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, which was a meeting usually attended by the Heads of State or the Chief Executives of eighteen countries from all over the world that are included in the membership of the Commonwealth. It is called The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, but this year, apart from the Presidents of Pakistan, Ghana and Tanganyika and Zanzibar, India's Finance Minister, The Foreign Affairs Minister of Cyprus and the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister of Jamaica represented their countries in place of their Prime Ministers. The other twelve member countries, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malayasia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Kenya and Malawi—known as Nyasaland, a part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nagaland in Central Africa, prior to independence—were represented by their respective Prime Ministers. Malawi became independent on July 6, 1964, and attended the Conference from July 9, after admission to the Commonwealth membership was acceded to by the other members on July 8.

Amongst the African States the two propositions most vehemently put-forward were that of economic sanctions and arms-embargo against South Africa and that of

denial of the grant of independence to the South Rhodesian State unless the existence of sufficient representative institutions were assured and the elections were conducted on a straightforward basis of equality amongst all the peoples of Southern Rhodesia, irrespective of colour or creed. No definite steps were agreed upon regarding South Africa beyond the vague condemnation of the policy of apartheid. In regard to South Rhodesia, Britain assured the other Prime Ministers that the British Government would not recognize any unilateral declaration of independence and that the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be made a condition precedent to the grant of independence.

Pakistan tried to "sell" amity and peaceful intentions for and on behalf of her newly found Soul-mate, Red China, but without any success. She was successful, however, in scoring a tactical point in her propaganda campaign against India, thanks to the crass ignorance of our Finance Minister in such matters and the total lack of alertness and gumption as displayed by his advisers from the External Affairs division. The Parliamentary circles at New Delhi were much exercised by the inclusion of a paragraph in the final Communique issued after the conclusion of the Conference, which ran as follows :

"The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the friendly public statements by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India and expressed their hopes

that the problems between their countries will be solved in the same friendly spirit."

The paragraph immediately following the above contained a veiled offer of "mediation" by member countries,—which could become a menace in the hands of those skilled in diplomatic legerdemain—which however was qualified by a clause containing the provision regarding the acceptance by the parties concerned of such mediation.

The President of Pakistan and his Foreign Minister did their level best to bring the question of Kashmir into the discussions of the Commonwealth Conference. This was too obvious a move, even for our representatives, who firmly opposed it. Failing that the supporters of Pakistan's absurd claims against India, brought in the above supposedly innocent statement. The further move for mediation, which would have given the wily British diplomats a handle to lever India out of her firmly based position has been partially stalled as indicated above.

In any case it has been amply demonstrated that the present British Government is prepared to aid her erstwhile henchmen of Pakistan in every way in her nefarious attempts to make India's stand on the Kashmir question intolerable in the comity of nations, despite the fact that Pakistan's claims are untenable. Our representatives cannot escape censure for being so unwary about the implications of such masked attempts to put Pakistan's totally unjustifiable claims and contentions on the same level as India's undeniably just rights.

The "friendly public statements" of the President of Pakistan are luridly contrasted by the continuous armed raids by Pakistani armed forces across the "Cease Fire" line in Kashmir. These grossly hostile acts are being "supported" by Pakistan by brazen lies accusing India of such violations and by trying to pass off the incursions of her armed forces as acts of self-defence. We know the truth; the U.N. observers have openly given their verdict against Pakistan; so there can be no question about the British and the U.S. Governments being well aware of the truth, and then comes this blether about the

"friendly public statements" in the Final Communique!

There were many other items on the agenda for discussion and a few that were not on the agenda cropped up in the course of discussions. The only item worthy of note was that of examining the possibilities for the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat, "which would be available inter alia to disseminate factual information to all member-countries on matters of common concern; to assist existing agencies, both official and unofficial, in the promotion of Commonwealth links in all fields, etc. etc. This secretariat, being recruited from member-countries and financed by their contributions, would be at the service of all Commonwealth Governments and would be a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth."

The other Conference was that of the Organization of African Unity, and was held at Cairo. This meeting, also known as the African Summit, was the second of its kind and was attended by the heads of 32 African States. Prominently absent was any delegate from the Congo. It was proposed by Congo that the recently appointed Prime Minister Moise Tshombe would represent that state. Morocco's King Hassan and Algeria's President Ben Bella telegraphed that they would not attend the Conference if Moise Tshombe, who is regarded by many Africans as an imperialist stooge, showed his face at the Summit meeting. When this was intimated to the Congolese authorities, they refused to send any delegate at all to the Conference.

What transpired at this Conference or Summit meeting is not fully known because the final session, on July 21, was held in camera. The actual Conference, which started on July 17, was preceded by a two-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the attending States to prepare an agenda and to have draft resolutions ready for the heads of States. The financial details of the budget of the Organization of African Unity has caused headaches.

This O A U is the pet project of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the stability

that this legendary figure of royalty has given to his 3000 year old Empire, has provided a foundation to the project of which the first meeting was held at Addis Ababa, the Capital of Ethiopia.

In his opening address on July 17, President Nasser laid stress on the four dangers threatening African countries: (i) disappearance of leaders, (ii) loss of popular drive (iii) slowing down of liberation movements and (iv) return of imperialism. He also cited the U.S. Civil Rights Law as being a very important measure which deserved an important resolution at the African Summit. He said the result will not be in the letter of the law but in the spirit and that is why the UAR prefers to define a spirit rather than a Constitution.

According to some observers at the meeting, it was apparent that while Arab Africans have identified themselves with black Africans in their grievances such as racialism, there is no clear sign of any reciprocity forthcoming from the latter. Of course in theory some, like the President of Ghana, think of much wider ideals, such as an unified continental Government with a common President and a common central secretariat. But in actuality nothing tangible seems to be in the offing. It is evident that as yet the political interests of northern African States and that of the Sub-Saharan and Central African States have not come to any common focus. The North African States are far more politically conscious, where the population is concerned.

This Summit Conference also discussed South Rhodesia and South Africa and they discussed the Portuguese African territories where Portugal is still practising Colonialism of the most virulent type, suppressing all aspirations of the peoples of those areas with brutal repression. She does this because she feels safe so long as Britain and the U.S.A. give her tacit support. All references to her colonial possessions she rejects under the cynical claim that those areas are extensions of continental Portugal!

There were speeches galore, even an 85-minute speech by Philbert Tsiranana, President of the Malagasy Republic who remarked "All I hear is blah, blah, blah. We all talk

too much and we must purge ourselves of this disease." One of the few that were to the point was that of President Nyerere of Tanganyika-Zanzibar who attacked Ghanaian President Nkrumah's proposal for a Federal African State. He described the proposal as being a "series of absurdities" and likewise cynical and ridiculous. He also accused Dr. Nkrumah of refusing to support the African Liberation Committee out of petty jealousy and of unjustly branding Tanganyika with the stain of imperialism. The points made by President Julius Nyerere are given below from report in **The Statesman**:

Making a fervent plea to drive "Portugal out of our country," Mr. Nyerere said Africa was strong enough to do so, but fine words alone would not do. They caused greater harm to the prestige of Africa if not followed up by action, he said.

Mr. Nyerere began his attack by noting that Dr. Nkrumah's failure to support the nine-nation Liberation Committee, formed last year at the Addis Ababa Summit to co-ordinate aid to African "freedom fighters," was because Ghana was not included on the committee.

"This is a petty position, which prevents an African country from contributing funds to our suffering brethren in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea," Mr. Nyerere said.

Criticizing Ghana for its lack of respect and concern for the rest of Africa, Mr. Nyerere quoted Abraham Lincoln to the effect that "you cannot fool all the people all the time."

He said Tanganyika was totally committed to African unity, but "it has not been given to human mortals to simply wish something into existence. Unity would have to be achieved step by step. What is needed is more practice of unity and less preaching about unity," Mr. Nyerere said.

Speaking of the recent Commonwealth Conference in London and of Britain's pledge not to give independence to Southern Rhodesia until the African majority controlled the Government there, he said: "We left the conference convinced that necessary action will be taken."

In his remarks on Portugal, Mr. Nyerere pointed out that while Britain recognized that she had colonies in Africa, Portugal refused to admit her colonial position in Africa. "Portugal claims

she extends into Africa. Thus our talks here are not to persuade Portugal to take action which would lead her colonies to independence. Our task is to persuade Africa, to persuade ourselves, to take necessary action to free Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea."

Mr. Nyerere said that Dr. Nkrumah had at first opposed and described efforts to form an East African Federation as Balkanization, which should be resisted. But now he (Dr. Nkrumah) cited as examples in support of his plea for a united Africa the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, which had started with the union of a few States, joined by more States later.

He also differed with Dr. Nkrumah on the very conception of African unity. He ridiculed the idea of a Union Government of Africa with none of the States losing its sovereignty.

To have a Government of Africa, said President Nyerere, there should be a single State, and the essential attribute of a national State which had an international personality, was sovereignty. This meant that component parts should surrender their sovereignty to it, for then alone did it become a sovereign State.

Mr. Amilcar Cabral, leader of the nationalist guerrillas in Portuguese Guinea, said bitterly that African assistance to his movement had been weak and inefficient.

He proposed a programme of organized assistance to refugees fleeing across the borders of embattled territories and called for the issuance of special travel documents to exiled political leaders to permit them free movement around the world.

The report of the last days of the Conference was vague because the closing session was held in Camera. It runs thus:

Cairo, July 21.—The African summit tonight called for effective boycott of both South Africa and Portugal and specifically suggested the barring of passengers to and from South Africa travelling by ship, aircraft or any other means of transport, from passing through the territories of the member countries.

It appealed to all oil producing countries to stop as a matter of urgency their supply of oil and all petroleum products to South Africa.

An official spokesman said all African countries except one or two will attend the second non-aligned conference.

It is understood the conference—whose closing session was being held in camera today—decided to set up a body to co-ordinate measures to boycott South African goods.

It is understood that the creation of a special committee to go into the question of an African Union Government, which Ghana wanted set up immediately, is to be considered by the various conference commissions. The special committee will study President Nasser's suggestion to set up such a Government stage by stage, steadily increasing co-operation among the African nations, particularly in trade.

M. Diallo Telli, Guinea's Chief permanent U.N. delegate and Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, was appointed permanent Secretary-General of the unity organization, according to official sources. The conference also voted to hold the next session at Accra, Ghana.

The conference decided to send a memorandum to the secretariat of the organization of Afro-Asian countries requesting that the next meeting of those countries—a second Bandung conference—be held in Algiers. No date for this meeting was given by conference sources but it is understood to be tentatively scheduled for early next year.

In conclusion we may remark that the London Conference of the Commonwealth's Prime Ministers clearly indicated how India's case is going by default through the crass obtuseness of our External Affairs Ministry. The fact that in International Politics—whether you call it Real politik or well politik—efficient machinery for counter-propaganda is a **must** and likewise that for propaganda. Regarding Africa, it is evident that Emperor Haile Selassie has at least enabled the new African nations to look realities of today in the face—with both eyes open.

In the United States race-riots flared up in the North, where the racial issues have not been so acute as in the Southern areas. The whole area of Harlem, the quarter where the Negro population of New York has been segregated so to say for the last 60 years, erupted into a wild frenzy of riots following the apparently wanton killing of a 15 year old Negro boy named James Powell by a dimwitted Police-lieutenant

named Thomas Gilligan when he chanced on a side-walk brawl in which teenagers were mostly involved, while he was off-duty. The accumulated resentment against the unfair and sometimes inhuman treatment meted out to these Cimmerii dwelling in the richest city of the world over the years, has exploded into wild rioting in New York and Rochester, a city lying 250 miles to the north-west of New York. It is a sad and tragic interlude between the passing of the Civil Rights Law and the acceptance thereof by the white majority.

The U.S. has got fully involved in the fight to clear South Vietnam of the Viet-Cong guerrillas who have stepped up their offensive now that the monsoons have converted the land into a chain of morasses. More military "advisers" have been sent from the U.S. with full equipment and the campaign is being stepped up. Red China has threatened that she will not be a silent spectator if the campaign spreads into the territories of North Vietnam. Meanwhile the South Vietnamese have started an agitation for the "liberation of North Vietnam, which has the tacit support of the heads of the new regime in South Vietnam led by its Premier, General Nguen Khanh, which has placed the U.S. Government in a dilemma. General De Gaulle has repeated his declaration that the only way out of the problems facing the countries that were the territories of the former French Indo-China, can be attained by the "neutralization" of the entire area. He has not mentioned how this "neutral" status is to be maintained in the face of Red China's aggressive expansionism, and the U.S. has refused to accept his proposal therefore.

U.S. papers term this new declaration by De Gaulle as another step towards his plan for discrediting the U.S. But as yet they have not stated their opinion regarding a similar attempt by a much lesser man, namely President Ayub, who on a similar mission to capitalize on the involvements and distractions of the U.S. Government, recently met the Turkish Premier Ismet Inonu and the Shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, at Istanbul. The participants said it was a purely economic and cultural

confabulation, but the political significance was plainly visible in the contradictory statements by Ayub and the other two participants.

But the most ominous situation of the present-day is at Cyprus.

The island of Cyprus, particularly in the areas where the Turkish Cypriots are faced by armed Greek terrorists, is in a state of brooding hostility, the active intervention of the U.N. peace force on many occasions having prevented a flare-up on a mass scale. The U.N. has sanctioned the presence of U.N. troops for another three months from the end of June, but there is little evidence of the U.N. negotiations coming to a successful conclusion.

The little island of Cyprus with an area of 3572 sq. miles and a population of 580,000 is by itself hardly important enough to cause World-wide anxieties or tensions. But it is of vital import where the Western Bloc of powers are concerned because the conflict between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots has caused intense repercussions in the respective homelands of the peoples of the opposed parties.

The Greek Cypriot majority, which forms four-fifths of the population desires union with Greece, whereas the Turkish moslem minority numbering about 100,000 resists this movement and as a consequence has been subjected to organised violence from well-equipped and trained terrorists of Greek origin, who are bent on either subjugating or on totally annihilating them. Turkey is only 40 miles from Cyprus and naturally the Turkish Government and the Turks of the mainland are deeply concerned at this organised slaughter and destruction perpetrated by the Greek Cypriots. There is a clamour in Turkey for armed intervention and that movement has been reflected violently in Greece. Things are ominously moving towards an open armed conflict between Turkey and Greece, which would lead to the disintegration of the vulnerable South-eastern flank of the NATO. This in its turn might lead towards the creation of a situation that would be very advantageous to the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Government is deeply con-

cerned over this critical turn of the situation. President Johnson has sent a clear message that there must be no war over Cyprus and that the U.S. is prepared to take certain measures to prevent hostilities between the two countries. The Turkish Premier Ismet Inonu and the Greek Premier George Papandreou have both visited Washington at the invitation of the U.S. President. The results are indeterminate as yet so far as a lasting settlement is concerned. For despite the intervention of President Johnson, Greece and Turkey are both infiltrating armed forces and arms into Cyprus. And to cap all, Archbishop Makarios, the natural dictator of Cyprus, has appointed General Grivas, who conducted the bloody underground war against Britain prior to the island's liberation, supreme chief of the irregular and regular armed forces of the Greek Cypriots.

The latest news indicate that in Greece itself orders have been issued to concentrate Greek armed forces in Thrace, along the border of Turkey, and the navy has also been ordered to be ready for action. Turkey is also clearing for action according to some reports.

Incidentally Turkish resentment against the U.S. "stems"—to use an Americanism—from the lack of all-out backing from the U.S. in their dispute with Greece over Cyprus. Similarly Iran is "unhappy" because the U.S. has cut off aid from some extravagant forms of economic projects. And these are the tensions that President Ayub has tried to utilize in the Istanbul meeting—which was very transient as the three disgruntled ones departed to their respective domains within twelve hours of their arrival at Istanbul. Ayub's resentment is the fiercest as he thinks that the U.S. "betrayed the alliance" when it gave "military aid" to India after the Chinese invasion. This aid, however limited, gave China some food for thought about the consequences of a prolonged war in which she would not get any munitions or military equipment from the Soviet Bloc. This coupled with the prospect of prolonged war at long distance and over very difficult communications with a determined and

united India, made her call a halt. Pakistan, which had evidently assured China that she would effectively block any military supplies flowing to India from her "allies," in return for the privilege of playing jackal to the Chinese tiger, is fiercely resentful being thus baulked—as she imagines—of her share of the "loot."

The three are strange bedfellows indeed! Pakistan is holding on to that part of Iran which the British grabbed on the plea of safeguarding their telegraph lines and renamed it Baluchistan. This is the Pakistani territory where some of the worst atrocities have been perpetrated by the present regime in Pakistan. And Iran and Turkey, why, even Haji Baba of Isfahan termed the Sultan of Turkey "the Khonkhor", the "Blood drinker"!

Meanwhile Indonesia is stepping up the guerilla warfare against sparsely populated Malayasia, which has a total population of 10 millions against Indonesia's 110 millions.

Food Grains, Oil-seeds and Unaccounted Money

The powers-that-be, at New Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and at most State headquarters, seem to be awakening to the fact that some few hundreds of possessors of "Unaccounted Money" are "playing with the lives" of a few hundred millions of the nation's peoples. We find that such awareness as yet has not led to much beyond vague threats against the principals in this evil conspiracy, though action of a sort has started in New Delhi with regards to hidden hoards of food grains, particularly wheat. We are told that some 90,000 maunds of foodgrains have been seized there in one day's drive, chiefly through information being given by the people of Delhi. The hoards were not in warehouses or grain-storage godowns but were mostly stocked in out-of-the-way places in residential areas, clearly indicating the evil intent of the hoarders.

Together with this piece of news, we were given the report of some 550 Jan Sangh workers starting a "24 hour fast" in the capital as a protest against "what they

called the Government's failure to check the rising prices. We are also informed that 600 workers had gone on a similar fast on the previous day on the same issue. We confess that we are not at all that much impressed as we would have been if these very same "workers" had helped the police to unearth those hoards of food grains. But we hope that some popular movement will start to persuade our custodians of the common man's life and property to take drastic action against such anti-social and illicit organizations of evil minded persons, and that action would be directed against the principals and not their tools or henchment.

The Union Food Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam is reported to have remarked, on being told that his threats against hoarders etc., were being pooh-poohed by Big Business, that "we mostly hiss, but we can bite" for something to that effect. We only wish he could prove his statement by an actual bite on a Big shot of the Underhand Gang with the Unaccounted Money bags that is carrying on with this evil conspiracy. We have used capitals in the previous sentence because the Big shots we have in view are just those who provide the capital—in the terms of crores for these underhand transactions.

We find that the term "unaccounted money" is being used by the Ministers at the Centre and the States. We are well aware of the meaning of the phrase "tojour la politesse" but although we deem it only proper that our Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, Home Ministers and Food Ministers should eschew impolite language, still we think that it is carrying matters too far when money obtained through illicit channels by underhand means is called "unaccounted money" in this fashion. Fraud is fraud and moneys obtained by creating artificial shortages, inflated bills and short deliveries of inferior goods and other dishonest means and hidden away to evade taxes should not be called "unaccounted money" or any other fancy name. The Food Minister has justly accused the possessors of such "black" moneys of being the prime movers in this conspiracy to defraud honest people by raising prices of vitally necessary food

grains etc., to unconscionably high levels through creating artificial shortages. At Bangalore on July 29, while speaking at the Indian Labour Conference, Mr. Subramaniam said: in spite of the country having this year produced three to four million tons of food-grains more than last year, such a critical situation had been brought about. It was, therefore, the duty of the Government to see that the whole of the hoarded quantity was made available to the community. This was a task facing the Government today.

The stocks held by the traditional trade was very little and so the stocks must be somewhere else. "We find that generally producers; particularly bigger producers, have stocks in villages. By themselves to hoard it is not possible. It is only with the combination of traders that stocks are being held by producers. In this, unaccounted money also comes into the picture."

It was easy to trace the hoarded stocks by enforcing the Defence of India Rules. But one should see why the stocks were being held on. This was with a view to amassing wealth during lean months. That was why the Government was thinking in terms of removing this temptation of hoarding stocks by the fixation of maximum price.

Mr. Subramaniam said administration of the price policy was also necessary. Therefore the Centre was impressing on the State Governments the necessity of having an efficient enforcement machinery.

The Government had prepared the ground for taking action against hoarding and profiteering.

The problem was a national problem and should be tackled in a national way so that the needs of hungry millions were met.

Food debates were going on in several States at the time of writing these. In West Bengal Assembly, on July 30, the Chief Minister Mr. P. C. Sen is reported (Hindustan Standard) to have announced a number of "very bold measures" to assure the members that the Government was not "going to be a silent spectator in the present food crisis."

The proposed measures are: State trading in foodgrains on a large scale from

early next year; introduction of full rationing in the Calcutta industrial area and its extension to all urban areas in the districts; and bringing the deficit rural pockets under Modified Rationing. There was also a possibility of the Government taking over the entire output of rice mills all over the State and also of direct procurement of paddy from cultivators, Mr. Sen said.

Outlining the steps already taken for effectively controlling the rice price, Mr. Sen informed the House that the Government made two simultaneous drives, one against the hoarders and the other against the profiteers all over the State particularly in and around Calcutta. "This is how we have met and are still meeting the challenge thrown by the hoarders at all stages," said the Chief Minister.

In his prepared statement, which was circulated among the members long before the two-day food debate began the Chief Minister dealt with all aspects of the price situation to explain the need for controlling the rice price in order to lessen the pressure on the prices of other essential commodities.

For commodities which come to the State from outside the Government was moving the Centre for fixing selling prices in the supplying States, Mr. Sen said adding that the Government had successfully moved the Reserve Bank of India for restricting bank advances against mustard seeds and mustard oil.

But the people's patience was being tested to the point of breaking, and in opening the debate after the Chief Minister's statement a C.P.I. "leftist" member deplored the Government's complacency when profiteers were fleecing the people. Hoarding, he held, was at the root of the present food crisis and alleged that the Government was nursing the vicious circle of hoarders and profiteers for raising funds. Strangely enough we are constrained to say, this member's statement fairly reflected the consensus of public opinion!

We say "strangely enough" because usually representatives from that brand of politics indulge in statements that either magnify molehills into mountains or else they pass off foreign anti-Indian propaganda

as the undiluted truth. But in this particular instance the public has begun to express its exasperation at the extreme inadequacy of the executive action against these "anti-social" elements which is in strong contrast to the thunder of the brave statements by our Minister. The Police and the Enforcement departments are doing their best when these "anti-Socials" are hauled up before the benevolent gentlemen who are there to dispense condign punishment to them, the public finds that the punishment is very far from being drastic or deterrent—indeed it is farcical most of the time!

It is about time our Chief Executives woke up to the fact that even the elder and thoughtful sections of the public are beginning to think that the only explanation of this knock-kneed and lackadaisical procedure adopted by the Government to check the criminals—"anti-social" is an inadequate expression—and to bring their leaders to book lies in large-scale corruption, that must have spread beyond all reason, both in the Congress and in the administration and that "party-funds" etc., are just shields to hide corruption in the Congress itself.

And what about "Unaccounted money"? The Government has been treading the easy and slippery path downwards while dealing with these fraudulent financiers. The procedure followed by the Central Cabinet after the findings of the Varada Chari Commission on tax-evasion was handed over to it, was lax to the point of criminal negligence of duty. It is true that the Cabinet was dominated by persons in those days, who had very poor and inadequate ideas about such things as dealing with corrupt financiers and crooked businessmen. But were they so unaware of their obligations to the nationals of this country as to under-estimate the danger of letting such large scale fraud go not only unpublished but left in possession of their ill-gotten gains for ten, fifteen or twenty years? Those were the periods of time given to those found guilty of tax-evasion to repay the amounts they had evaded payment and over those years these moneys and the profits accrued thereon have brought about the present—crisis.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

PRICES AND THE FOOD CRISIS

II

We offer no apology for reverting to the subject of prices and the continuing food crisis so soon after discussing the matter almost threadbare in these columns only in our last month's issue. For one thing, our apprehension that the feeble measures said to have been agreed upon between the Centre and the States discarding the earlier more vigorous programmes of the Union Government, would not be able to make the slightest dent upon the situation which, it was universally acknowledged, was critical enough as it was, and might, conceivably, even worsen further has proved, in the meanwhile, to have been all too prophetic. Government, as yet, seem to be still groping about in the dark with a problem the essential nature of which their apparently feeble intellect and imagination seem to be unable to realistically comprehend and assess. They are also, apparently, far too apprehensive that their administrative and enforcement resources would be far too weak to effectively deal with a fast snow-balling situation of truly titanic dimensions.

One could hope for some eventual result if, however, there was perfect unanimity of thinking on the essential nature of the problem and the measures which could be expected to deal with it, between the Centre and the States. Apart from seeming to hold the Centre responsible for making up deficiencies in supplies of food grains to which the Centre, in their turn, appear to have committed themselves at the last Chief Ministers' Conference, the State Governments seem to be determined to go about the business in their various and varying ways. Even at the Centre there does not seem to be any very sustained co-ordination between

different Ministries that are vitally concerned in the problem; thus, for instance, the Finance and the Food Ministries seem to be pulling somewhat in opposite directions while the Agriculture wing of the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry appears to have been contributing fresh elements of panic to a situation which has already been seriously muddled and confused by playing down the figures of crop yields last year while at the same time playing up the figures of minimum food grains consumption requirements to widen the gap between the two. Thus, it is now averred that total food grains production in 1963-64 has not been of the order of 81 million tonnes as earlier announced but was actually 79 million tonnes, or 2 million tonnes less than earlier envisaged. The country's minimum requirements have been assessed at 90 million tonnes at the 1960 level of consumption, disclosing a deficit of 11 million tonnes. Of this some 6 million tonnes could be covered by imported food grains by, running through, in the process, the entire amount of the Government's buffer stocks, leaving a net deficit of 5 million tonnes. Funnily enough, with a gross production in the country during the previous year of 76 million tonnes, supplemented by imported grains of a gross quantity of 4 million tonnes, the country's requirements appear to have been fully and more or less satisfactorily met. In any case, the price of edibles, especially that of food grains, did not rise to the present critically high levels ther! There must be something fundamentally and, we apprehend, wilfully wrong in these glib dealing out of statistical data by the Government agencies. They may, perhaps, seek to offer some sort of an explanation for the Government's failure to hold the price line, but they do not, we are afraid, reflect the truth!

Edible Prices : A Facet Of A Larger Problem

Even at the risk of having to repeat ourselves, therefore, we must reiterate that the present crisis in food prices—and supplies—in the country is a reflection, necessarily to a far more obstreperous degree than in the other sectors of the economy, of the larger problem of fast spiralling inflationary pressures or the price structure which would appear to have assumed a considerably accelerated momentum since last year when the suddenly supervened requirements of considerably widened defence efforts caused a great deal of money to be pumped into the economy in addition to the already widening employment of funds related to the Third Plan investments and progressively spiralling expenses of administration. When the Chinese invasion was launched in October 1962, we clearly visualized the eventuality and suggested the formulation of an immediate tax budget to mop up, as far as possible, the inevitable effect on the price structure of the huge Government outlays on defence that would be unavoidable in the circumstances. The then Union Finance Minister would not, however, listen to counsels of wisdom and caution, even though our suggestions in this behalf were supported by a school of eminent economists who, in a statement issued exactly eleven days after our recommendations were published in these columns, reiterated what we already had to say on the subject. Even when the Union Finance Minister eventually formulated his tax budget some four months later—truly described as an unprecedentedly massive one—the manner of formulating the same followed lines of least resistance in easy revenue gathering and contained inherent inflationary potentials which were all too quick in yielding the most undesirable results in a corresponding acceleration of the general price pressure of which the present food crisis has been an inevitable and a far deeper symptom.

Plan Outlays And Failures

What has quite apparently contributed to a further aggravation of the situation in

this respect has been the outstanding failures, now frankly and officially admitted, of Third Plan implementation. The gaps between investment and implementation of related Plan projects have been far too wide to admit of any other description and the element of wasteful employment of funds in addition would seem to have been very substantial indeed as would be clearly reflected in the slow utilization of foreign aid leaving quite a wide gap between appropriations and utilization. All these have been additional factors in the pressure build-up on the price structure that have, in progressive stages, contributed to the emergence of the present situation.

One does not deny that a certain amount of inflationary pressure is an inevitable corollary of a heavy and rapid development programme entailing the creation of a wide-based key industries sector where the time lag between investment and production yield is somewhat longer than elsewhere and where, moreover, the employment potential causing corresponding dispersal of purchasing power, is severely limited. But care has to be employed to ensure that this inevitable inflationary pressure is not allowed to get out of hand and establish a vicious spiral or else the very process of development will itself be bound to become correspondingly attenuated in its achievements. According to the famous Prof. A. C. Pigou of Cambridge, while a 1 per cent inflationary outcome in a rapid developmental process involving the creation of a wide-based structure of capital-intensive key industries might be regarded as inevitable and quite legitimate, anything beyond a 2 per cent inflationary incidence must be regarded as both a galloping inflationary situation and would be bound to prove materially retarding to the developmental process. In a recent pronouncement, Mr. Chasher Bowles, U.S. Ambassador to India, was reported to have opined that those that hold that in the hurry to arrive at the take off stage of development any underdeveloped country could completely ignore the claims to balancing development of consumer industries, would be bound to reap the bitterest harvest of galloping inflation and retarded growth. It

must be recognized that the growth process cannot be accelerated beyond certain paces which must be set by the environmental conditions of the economy as a whole without seriously inviting the risks of a sudden break-down of the process in mid-term. That is exactly on the brink of where we appear to have arrived at the present time.

Agricultural Shortfalls

And one of the most important factors in any massive developmental process is agriculture which must keep pace to maintain the dynamics of development. Agriculture, until recently, has been the most neglected department of our developmental efforts so far. According to a recent statement by a member of the Planning Commission, investment in agricultural development upto and including the Third Plan has comprised a little less than 10 per cent of total Plan investments. Progress in agricultural development in the third Plan except during the current year has been virtually negative. Some improvement appears to have since been achieved, especially in terms of the harvest yields of the 1963-64 crop season. But this appears to have been more the fortuitous gift of a kindly season than the yield obtained from planned developmental efforts. This view of the fact would seem to be underscored by the recently voiced pious official wish that the seasons may be kinder still and that food grains yield during the coming harvest may exceed last year's by some 5 million tonnes or else the country would be faced with an even worse crisis than now. We do not, however, accept the recent official version of food grains deficits in the country, although it must be admitted that the yields have only just been marginally adequate without leaving any sizeable surplus to fall back upon in a bad year. The position, admittedly, does need to be corrected with as much expedition as the employment of scarce resources and skills and concentrated human effort may permit, but there is no reason to doubt that the present price crisis has not, most definitely, emerged as the result of a deficit in physical supplies so far as available resources are con-

served, but by an artificially boosted scarcity which has been made possible by the general price situation in the country.

Unaccounted Money

We said a great deal about how that unaccounted sector of not openly discoverable or employed money in the economy appears to have been operating to create a critical level of pressure on food grains prices far beyond the levels in the general over all price situation in the country which also is undeniably too high. It is not possible to arrive at any substantiable estimate of the actual size of this money market, but some idea of its undeniably very large size would be indicated by certain factors. **Legitimate money**, if we may be permitted to use the expression in the present context, cannot be employed in the present conditions of the money market and in view of the monetary and fiscal disciplines of the State for speculative operations beyond certain comparatively nominal extents. In West Bengal, for instance, the official estimates of monthly rice consumption is placed at an aggregate of 400,000 tonnes or roughly 4,800,000 tonnes for the whole year. The joint yield of the **aman** and **aus** crops at the last harvest has been officially and finally estimated at a gross 5,200,000 tonnes. In addition there have been imports from Orissa and some subventions from the Centre. And, yet, within the first four months of the last harvest, all rice appears to have more or less wholly disappeared from the market. If the State has consumed all of the estimated 2,000,000 tonnes of locally produced rice within the first 5 months of the harvest, ignoring, of course, the quantities received from Orissa and the Central Government, there should still be a balance of 3,200,000 tonnes left within the State. Assuming that as many as 20% of our cultivators have ample resources to indefinitely hoard stocks and assuming further that between them and self-consuming cultivators account for even as much as 50% of this balance stock of rice, something like 1,500,000 tonnes, must have gone into concealed hoards in the State. To finance such a stock something like very

nearly Rs. 100 crores would have to be employed. And rice is not the only commodity subject to such speculative hoarding. Sugar (perhaps only to a very limited extent now), pulses and grams, mustard and other edible oils, and various other kinds of edibles, all enter into the process. To finance operations in these fields in West Bengal alone something like Rs. 200 crores would have to be employed and this money would not certainly be available from the legitimate credit channels? And there is, of course, the rest of the country where much the same thing has been happening. It is essential to force out this money into the open without delay. Various suggestions have been made towards such an end. One was to declare an amnesty to the tax-dogers and profiteers if they will come out in the open. This is not likely to entice them. One eminent daily newspaper suggested that this money should be made "less active by more production and by reducing wasteful expenditure" which would, likewise, seem to be a mere counsel of perfection. The only way is to completely freeze it. It should be possible to unearth huge stocks of consumable commodities with a little more purpose and honesty of application than Government appear to have been capable of so far. One prime requisite may have to be to widen the field of concurrent powers of the Central Government. The need may be a little distasteful but unavoidable in present circumstances. Otherwise Government's very bona fides must be seriously suspect.

Assessment of Essentials

In the interest of clarity of understanding and an appropriate assessment of the true and essential nature of the problem, therefore, it is necessary to realise that the present crisis in the supply and price situation relating to essential edibles is not just an isolated or a self-exclusive single-factor problem. It is a facet, undeniably a most vitally important facet, of the more wide-based and over-all problem of prices and we have endeavoured in the foregoing paragraphs to as clearly and objectively state as possible, the causes which, in our view, have

primarily contributed to the emergence of the present price crisis. Its symptoms have, naturally, assumed far deeper accents so far as the price structure of edibles are concerned simply because they are far more vulnerable than other consumables and consequently, far more easily susceptible to speculative price pressures. The fact should be easy to understand when regard is had to the fact that even under a normal price situation, for more than eighty per cent of the country's population, food alone absorbs well over seventy to seventy-five per cent of their total disposable income. The additional pressures on the price of edibles compared to the general price levels are, undoubtedly, man-made and artificially engineered, but the conditions enabling such deliberate and substantially additional pressures on edible prices to be generated—in this connection it is necessary also to take note of the interesting and unprecedented fact that in the present instance it has not merely been food cereals like rice and wheat which have been registering the pressure but that it has, in more or less degree, spread out over all kinds of edibles leaving nothing out; this would seem to reflect a new pattern in price speculations: when the pressure is laid upon cereals in the largest measure the most vulnerable sections in the community are the primary victims, the country's poor, comprising well over sixty per cent of the population; but when this pressure spreads out to cover other edibles like edible oils, fish, meat, eggs, green-grocery of all kinds etc., it should be regarded as evidence that the tentacles of the price speculators' avarice have been foraging upwards for the blood of comparatively more affluent (less poverty-stricken should, perhaps, be the more appropriate expression!) victims—are without question derived from the general price situation in the country. The factors which have, in our view, been primarily responsible for the present galloping inflationary pressures on the general price structure have been reiterated in fairly extensive details in the foregoing paragraphs. There have also been certain other additional factors which have considerably added to the pressure.

Wages and Prices

One of these has been the pricing policies followed in the public sector as well as the policy which seeks to link wages with the cost of living index. In a large area of public sector enterprises—in pricing policies followed in state-owned public transport systems for instance—compensation is often sought to be achieved by upward revisions of wages and by correspondingly raising the price structure. This inevitably vitiates any possibility of ever arriving at a level of stability and only ends in establishing a vicious and endless spiral by each of these progressively contributing to further corresponding rises in the price level. The recent additional compensatory dearness allowances granted by the Central Government to certain categories of their employees, although not quite fully linked to price rises, has been another similar case in point. Similar expedients have also had to be employed in wide areas of the private sector, all of which have had the result of creating corresponding pressures on prices. It is absolutely essential that prevailing policies in this regard—these are more indicative of a negative escape rather than that of a vigorous and positive policy in this connection—are re-examined and fresh policies framed to enable the present vicious spiral to be broken at some point or other. That the present spiralling inflation has been completely dislocating the basic social objectives of planning and development is entirely without question and this, more than anything else, in fact more than a combination of all other factors together, has been materially responsible for the progressively increasing concentration of economic gains and corresponding economic and political power—and this latter is of even more crucial importance—which is being so widely deprecated. If the inflationary spiral is seriously intended to be broken, fresh policies in respect of wages must be evolved which would have the effect of obviating the need to provide monetary compensation to the wage earners to cushion the impacts of rising costs of living. Needless to add that the primary

attack must be concentrated upon obviating the various basic causes that have been obviously creating the continuing pressure on prices.

Long And Short Term Measures

As already indicated, a variety of measures would need to be evolved and formulated if the present situation has to be effectively dealt with. One of the primary needs in this connection would, obviously, have to be more realistic endeavours than hitherto, in development planning. Apart from the essential and urgent need to correlate plan investments more realistically with actual implementation enabling investments to be more adequately and expeditiously reflected in production yields within pre-specified time limits, there must also be more realistically balanced adjustment of priorities as between different key producer industries, between capital-intensive key producer industries with their usually long periods of gestation before capacity production-yields can be expected and their comparatively low employment potentials and the more quick-yielding and comparatively labour-intensive consumer industries with their higher immediate employment potentials, as well as between industry as a whole and agriculture. That priorities have obviously been all wrong so far would be evident from the fact that there is a substantial and continuing lag between already laid down industrial capacity and their full utilization on account of lack of adequate power to fully operate them. There is, likewise, a still continuing although fortunately considerably reduced lag than before between production and transport capacity to move the produce. Similarly, while industrial production in the key producer sectors has registered a fairly steady improvement, especially during the Second Plan, progress in consumer industries has been far behind creating inevitable inflationary pressures and progress in agricultural production has only been marginal, thereby contributing additional substantial pressures on the economy generally over successive

plan periods and which has eventually yielded to the present overwhelming speculative pressures that have now emerged in the nature of a national crisis. Only by a thorough and courageous revision of priorities—to own up and correct past mistakes and defaults inevitably calls for a certain measure of courage and boldness—could a trend of balanced development be inaugurated and this is a need which, we feel, cannot be repudiated without the risk of jeopardising the very fundamental bases of development planning. Alongside of these measures policies must also be formulated to obviate the inflationary pressures inevitably generated by other important factors. The taxation structure has long needed constitutional revision and those elements in it with obviously inflationary contents eliminated. This can only be done, it must be conceded, in progressive stages and over a period of time. But a beginning has to be made without undue delay which calls for a thorough re-examination of the entire field of taxation potentials in the country as well as a re-statement of taxation objectives, not merely of targets alone. Taxation is not, it has to be recognised, a mere exercise in expedient revenue gathering but has certain well defined and specific social and economic objectives to gain in the context of national progress and well being. That the present taxation structure does not, even remotely, contribute to the achievement of these latter ends hardly needs any iteration. Government spendings, it should be noted in this context, which have increased overwhelmingly, need to be severely curbed in the non-developmental fields and which would appear to have a direct and substantial bearing upon the current inflationary situation, should be more appropriately related to real resources. Above all, as we have already emphasized, unaccounted money must, anyhow, be forced out into the open and its speculative operations completely immobilized, preferably by complete freezing.

Price Incidences

But these are measures which, of necessity, will take time to appropriately and

wholesomely formulate and apply. In the meanwhile, so far as the essential consumable sector in the economy are concerned—and the highest priority must naturally be accounted to food grains and other essential edibles—immediate and effective measures have become imperative to enable the present alarming situation to be dealt with. We have long visualized that immediate administrative measures alone—imaginatively conceived and ruthlessly applied—could deal with a situation which is as paralyzing in its immediate impact as loaded with disastrous future social and economic potentials. Unfortunately, there has been every indication that until only about two months ago, the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have continued to delude themselves that left to itself, what is generally and rather vaguely described as “market forces” would lead to an eventual adjustment of the situation. That there was no ground at all for such criminal complacency should have been obvious even to a casual observer, let alone to a responsible Government, by a look at the price indices over the last 12 years. Official computation of the price indices have never been known to realistically reflect, to the fullest extent, the upward movement of prices. Nevertheless what these indices have been demonstrating should have been alarming as they were. The index of wholesale prices show that since 1952-53 the general wholesale index has moved up, until June this year, by 44.1 per cent. The index was higher by 27 per cent in 1962-63 and rose by a further 9.5 per cent to 36.5 per cent over the year between 1962-63 and 1963-64. Between March 1964 and June 1964 the index has risen further upwards by 8.1 per cent to 44.1 per cent above that of the base year in 1952-53. But the price movement in the food sector has been even more phenomenal; in 1962-63 prices generally in this sector were 26.1 per cent higher than in 1952-53, and a year later they had increased further by 15.2 per cent. By June this year further increases in this sector were evidenced by as much as a further 13 per cent. The breakdown of this increase would be still more instructive: compared to 1952-53 annual averages, prices

in June this year were higher, in cereals, by 30.3 per cent, pulses by 37.1 per cent, fruits and vegetables by 77.6 per cent, milk and ghee by 38.3 per cent, edible oils by 76.7 per cent, fish, eggs and meat by 54.9 per cent and sugar and gur by 92.3 per cent. What, however, is far more significant and of which no indication would be available in the official index is that these wholesale indices do not, even remotely, reflect the actual incidence of price movements at the retail level which is, in effect, the actual consumption level, where the situation, if realities were to be acknowledged, would be found to be even more strangulantly alarming. In West Bengal, for instance, officially there is no acknowledgment of the fact that rice is nowhere available at officially fixed retail or wholesale prices and that restricted and clandestine back-door transactions are passed off at anywhere between 60 and 100 per cent above official prices. Accusations in this behalf have been known to draw the glib and patently hypocritical demand by the Chief Minister that the name and particulars of the dealers concerned should be made available to him to enable the Government to deal with the errant trader.

New Government Measures

The Union Government have, however, done something to break the long continuing official complacency in this behalf. All that the measures so far enunciated would seem to indicate is that a certain measure of awareness of the extreme gravity of the situation would seem, at long last, to have dawned upon Government. As for immediate results, we are afraid, not a great deal can be hoped for. Nor does there seem to be any awareness of the fact that the present crisis in edible prices is essentially related to the over-all inflationary situation in the economy and any natural and long term solution will have to be sought by a wholesale attack on the problem of inflation as a whole and the myriad evils that flow therefrom. It has to be acknowledged that for immediate results *ad hoc* administrative measures had become inescapable. Those that have now been formulated are :

1. The price structure for the Southern zone will be fixed before the month is out and for other States later ;

2. A state trading corporation in food grains will operate from next January enjoying a monopoly of railway movements to enable handling of inter-State and long distance trade. The obvious implication is that this projected State corporation shall be a parallel state owned organization to supplement the existing trade organization and will not hold a monopoly of the food grains trade ;

3. All controls on gur movements have been removed ;

4. A committee is being appointed to examine the problem of the entire sugar industry ; its first concern shall be to devise a suitable price and distribution pattern for the coming season ;

5. Government will import 100,000 tonnes of soya bean oil to cover shortages in edible oils ;

6. An *ad hoc* expert committee under Mr. L. K. Jha's Chairmanship is being appointed to work out producers' wholesalers' and retailers' prices of food grains for the coming season ;

7. A long term technical committee to be appointed to study production costs and various other factors involved in fixing producers' prices.

The question of abolishing existing wheat zones, as pressed by some States, especially Gujarat and Maharashtra, would be reviewed at the next season.

Rationing, described to be more or less indiscriminate at present at fair price shops, would be reorganised on the basis of household identity cards.

The basic nuances of this new food policy, apart from the measures detailed above would be demonstrated by "handsome compliments" paid to West Bengal for "the heroic manner" in which the state was said to have been endeavouring to enforce maximum prices. Obviously Mr. Subramaniam has been speaking with his tongue in his cheek when he said this for even to a casual observer it should be patent that the West Bengal Government's endeavours in this behalf have, so far, been a complete and dismal failure. This may be taken also as indicative of the continuing complacency of the Union Government on this crucial matter.

Half-hogging Measures

The measures as detailed above demonstrate only a half-hogging attempt by the Union Government to deal with the situation and is not, most definitely, indicative of any consistent determination to tackle it effectively at the very roots. Several conclusions inescapably emerge :

1. That state trading will only be a parallel measure and the present subservience to the demands and exactions of the trade will, by and large, continue ;

2. That ample time will be allowed between now and next year when State trading is intended to go into operation, to the trade to further vitiate supplies, as it well may, to complicate an already complex and involved situation ;

3. That the accent on pricing policies will be the profitability of production and trade and not on the consumers' ability to pay ;

4. That the new measures will depend, primarily, on the discretion of the individual State Governments for implementation and that the concurrent powers of the centre will not extend over State discretion to enunciate and enforce a uniformity of policy and action ;

5. That partial or modified rationing only with certain adjustments will continue as at present and there will be no attempt to introduce total rationing except in selected areas of certain states at the discretion of the latter Governments. This will mean, obviously, that consumers, by and large, will have to continue to depend on the open free market substantially for their essential minimum supplies. Partial State trading, as seems to be contemplated would, therefore, seem to merely seek to influence free market prices and supplement supplies available there.

Patently these are only half-hogger measures and, we apprehend, judging by past experience, that these may not, in the end, do a great deal to correct the present dismal situation. The trade has not, we must reiterate, behaved in a manner so far to justify any confidence in it, nor to merit

the obvious concessions to it that are inherent in the measures now announced. On the other hand, the ability and the efficiency of State Governments to effectively deal with the problem have already been proved far short of minimum wholesome requirements and it would seem to have been neither honest nor demonstrative of an intelligent imagination on the part of the Union Government to have left so much to their discretion. Frankly we are disappointed with what has been announced. There should have been complete take over by Government of the entire trade in edibles and the administration of distribution should have been informed by a uniformity of policy and action throughout the country under direct Central Government responsibility and their own enforcement machinery. There is not a great deal, obviously, that would thus seem to have been gained and the position may, we apprehend, remain much as it has been upto date.

The two-day food debate in the West Bengal Assembly, as we go to press, has done nothing to assure us that things are likely to be any different than we apprehend. On the basis of some 43,000 quintals of rice and 194,000 quintals of paddy, seized or requisitioned, the West Bengal Chief Minister—who himself assesses hoarded stocks of rice in the State at 1,200,000 tonnes (and the seized and requisitioned stocks between April and July 27 represent in terms of milled rice only about 6,000 tonnes !)—boasts that his Government are meeting the challenge of the hoarders. It is inconceivable that given the determination and the efforts these hoards could not be unearthed and frozen. One is almost inclined to believe in the popular suspicion that Government, with another general election only a little more than 2 years ahead, have been placed between the horns of a dilemma, to seriously deal with hoarders and jeopardise a most important source of their election finance?—Or by allowing the present crisis to continue to, perhaps, forfeit the peoples' votes? They should realise that mere make believe mock heroics will completely fail to delude, any longer, a hungry and distressed people !

PRIVILEGES OF LEGISLATURE AND CONTEMPT OF COURT

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In the current wranglings about privileges of the legislature and contempt of court the basic issues seem likely to be forgotten. Both seem to stem from the notion that the dignity of the one or the other has been offended and therefore amends—and satisfactory to the institution offended—must be made. One is often reminded of the claims put forward by the despots in the past who claimed to be the state if not more than the state. An offence against such majesties—*lese majestie*—was a heinous crime and had to be seriously put down as treason.

But it seems to be forgotten that as they emerged—the privileges of the legislature and the courts formed a serious breach in the claims of the despots. The judges and the legislatures raised another majestic figure to contend against the claims of their royal majesties. The judges claimed that in the interests of the realm, they had to interpret and expound the law—and a law above the throne. The Commons claimed to speak on behalf of the Commonalty of the realm. Thus both based their claims as essential in the interests of the common man.

Privileges of the legislature as well as those of the judiciary must therefore be judged in the final analysis by their effectiveness to serve the common man. Both seek to serve him, one by maintaining the rule of law, the other by redefining and restating from time to time what the law is. It is but natural that claims to privileges of one group may occasionally come into clash with those of another. Whatever the law—and the law is never clear in any case of conflict of laws—the issue must be finally decided by finding out how best the over-riding interests of democratic government would be served.

Whatever else a democratic government may denote, it must always remain govern-

ment by open challenge and function as such. All its institutions, all its ways of doing things must remain open to challenge. An argument must be answered by another argument and not by standing on one's alleged status. The claims both of the legislature and the courts to function unhindered and independently must be judged by finding out if and how far the hindrances complained against threaten to weaken them as instruments for performing their vital functions and not simply by dubbing such hindrances as crimes against the new 'majesties'. As the Supreme Court has put it, 'every citizen possesses the right of fair and reasonable criticism in respect of public acts done in the seats of justice'. 'It is not by stifling criticism that confidence in courts can be created'. 'A (disparaging) statement can be punished as contempt (by a court) (only) if its publication is calculated to interfere with due course of justice or proper administration of law by such court'. 'But a defamatory attack may be a libel so far as the person attacked is concerned'. In such cases the question of contempt does not arise. However, 'it would be open to the person attacked to proceed against the libeller in proper action if he so choose'.

What is true of courts is true of legislatures as well. The privileges of the English House of Commons derive from its being at one time a part of the High Court of Parliament. The right to punish contempt is based in both cases as essential to their performing their proper functions well and effectively as instruments of democratic government. The legislatures must, therefore, concede 'the right of fair and reasonable criticism' to every citizen and group of citizen, 'with respect to public acts' and strike only when 'the publication of the disparaging criticisms is calculated to interfere with due course of' its proper functions or the proper making of laws. They must

also remember that 'it is not by stifling criticisms' that confidence in their proper working can be created. Distinction must also be made between the contempt of the house and the libelling of one or more members thereof.

These considerations apart, the Constitution laid down that until the privileges of the legislatures are defined by law, they would be what the privileges of the House of Commons were on the commencement of the Constitution, 26 January, 1950. This is a statement of law—of constitutional law—even though it be vague. It is the duty of the courts to interpret this law like all other laws. The Constitution does not take its interpretation out of the purview of the courts—as it does that of the covenants and agreements with former rulers of princely states and chiefs. But the Constitution does more than require the courts to interpret this provision of law. Having made a general statement about the privileges of the legislatures, it goes further and abridges these privileges as so defined by other positive enactments. The privileges of the House of Commons include the right to determine its own composition. The Speaker issues warrants for the election of a new member in a casual vacancy, the House determines 'disputed returns of election' by its formal vote, it adjudges whether any of its sitting members has incurred a disqualification rendering him unfit to sit in the House. The Constitution of India makes specific provisions for deciding election petitions; it places the right of adjudging a member unfit to continue to sit in a legislature in the ceremonial head of the Union or of the State acting on the advice of the Election Commission; the conduct of elections vests in the Election Commission. Thus there is apparently a conflict between the provision of Articles 105 and 194 which define privileges and Articles 329, 324, 192 and 103 which make provision for abridging privileges as defined in Articles 105 and 194. But it is clear that the Constitution did not intend its definition of parliamentary privileges in Articles 105 and 194 to be its final say in the matter. The Election Commission, the Governors and the President, and the Election

Tribunals have been, under the Constitution, discharging functions which under Articles 105 and 194 the legislatures could have claimed were their privileges. The legislatures have acquiesced, as they were bound to under the Constitution, in whittling down of their own privileges because the Constitution itself had whittled them down.

This brings us up against the claim that the legislatures alone are judges of their own privileges as the House of Commons is, sometimes alleged to be. But even the House of Commons is not always the final judge of its privileges. If on a breach of privilege having been found by the House, the Speaker issues a warrant for the arrest and the warrant states the nature of contempt, high judicial authorities assert that, it is competent for the aggrieved party to seek legal redress and if the court finds that on the face of it the legislature has gone beyond its jurisdiction, the court may enquire into the matter.

This is true even where Parliament is sovereign. It suggests that limitations on the exercise of its privileges by a legislature functioning under a written Constitution open to interpretation and enforcement by courts would be much wider. We have seen above that the Constitution has taken away some of the privileges which the legislature could have exercised under Articles 105 and 194. Obviously the legislature in claiming privileges must reconcile the claim with other provisions in the Constitution. In case of disputes the question must be settled by the judiciary. The legislature cannot be a judge in a clash between, for example, the President and itself or the Election Commission and itself. Its claims to privileges is based on a provision in the Constitution but so are their rights to perform functions entrusted to them by the Constitution.

In a written Constitution, such as that of India, a legislature cannot thus be the final judge of its privileges. Its functions stand defined in the Constitution and it must be kept restricted to them—as the Constitution intended it should be—only by the judiciary. Indeed the Constitution has specifically provided that courts may hold even the most august exercise of the legislative functions,

an Act assented to by either the President or the Governor, invalid. The English courts cannot hold an Act of Parliament invalid. Parliament is sovereign. The moment it is grasped that the Indian legislatures are not sovereign and must act in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, their claim to be the final interpreter of the validity of a minor instrument of their function by a resolution, dissolves into thin air. The very articles which equate their privileges with those of the British House of Commons, now stipulate that the legislatures would define their privileges by law—by one or more Acts. The Constitution of India lends no support to the claim that if such Acts were passed they would be beyond attack in courts. In defining its plentitude of power under the Constitution, the Supreme Court has held that even the provision in the Constitution that the result of an election will not be called in question except in an Election Tribunal, does not stand as a bar against its granting the aggrieved party special leave to appeal against the determination of an Election Tribunal. The right to determine a disputed election—a parliamentary privilege—thus has been annexed by the Supreme Court. The High Courts have also been dealing with the matter. It is illogical to expect that howsoever fully the legislature defined its privileges by law, they would be placed beyond the reach of the Supreme Court under Article 136. Under a written Constitution privileges of the legislature can be exercised only under judicial supervision.

When the right of the courts to enquire into claims for privileges under the Constitution of India is thus conceded, the courts have to put the claims so made against all other provision of the Constitution. Ignoring other provisions for the time being, we have the chapter on fundamental rights. Here the Constitution emphatically declares that the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this part is guaranteed! Naturally this implies that it cannot be abridged in any way. Earlier it has been explained that the rights are guaranteed against invasion by the state 'including, the government and Parliament of India and

the Government and the legislature of each State'. Obviously Parliament or State legislatures cannot, in any way—'by order, rule, regulation, custom or usage purporting to have the force of law' abridge fundamental rights. The legislatures are thus deprived by the Constitution not only of the right to determine disputed elections and questions of disqualifications incurred by their members as these have been otherwise provided for, they cannot so assert their privileges as to abridge the fundamental rights guaranteed to a citizen including the right to move the Supreme Court in a case alleging such invasion. Putting aside Article 136, the Supreme Court cannot shut its doors against a citizen who claims his fundamental rights have been invaded by the state, the legislature in this case. Of course it can grant relief only if such invasion or abridgement is proved to its satisfaction. Then alone may it interfere with the assertion of its alleged privileges by a legislature. It can refuse the writ, it cannot bar its doors.

The approach to High Courts does not seem to be guaranteed as a fundamental right. But if this means anything, it can be countered by the assertion that neither are privileges of Parliament or state Legislatures. The privileges are defined in portions of the Constitution dealing with Parliament or the State legislatures. They are none the less as effective as all other provisions outside the chapter on Fundamental rights. Now the Constitution provides that every 'High Court shall have power, throughout the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction, to issue to **any** person or **authority** directions or orders for the enforcement of fundamental rights'. The grant of power here to the High Court cannot be read out of the Constitution in any way. But it may be argued that though the power is granted to the High Court to issue such writs, at least so far as privileges of the legislature defined elsewhere in the Constitution are concerned, no right to **approach** the High Court is either assured much less granted. It is true that in interpreting another provision of the Constitution, Article 321, the Supreme Court made rather a dubious distinction between obligations

thrown on an authority and the right of the citizen to have that obligation enforced so far as it applied to him. But the distinction arose because the authority being under an obligation to act in a particular way had not so acted. The Supreme Court held that a citizen had no remedy if the authority did not act in the prescribed way even though the language of the decision seems to suggest that the authority need not discharge the obligation at all. But here the High Courts have been willing to act, their discharging this obligation when so moved by an aggrieved person has been sanctified in case after case by the Supreme Court. A citizen, it may be asserted, has the right to move a High Court praying for a direction to an authority—the legislature—not to abridge his freedom of person. Filing a petition in a High Court **stands** approved by the Constitution as so far interpreted by the Supreme Court. What is permissible under the Constitution cannot obviously result in subjecting a man to any pains and penalties because some one feels offended. The judges have the power to issue a direction, it would be stultifying if the authority to which the directions could be issued had the power to threaten the judges with dire consequences if they did so. But no such grant of power can be derived from the Constitution. It is wiser than even its framers intended it to be.

But the finality claimed by the British House of Commons for its interpretation of its privileges is justified in common law by its having been a court at one time—or at least part of a court. Its claim is based on the analogy that 'courts (in Great Britain) do not check each others in committal for contempt'. Whatever the state of the law of contempt of court in Great Britain today, in India courts do check lower courts in to committal for contempt. The Supreme Court has been expounding the law of contempt of court mostly in judgments in special leave against decisions of the various High Courts, this notwithstanding the fact that the Constitution declares that a High Court is a court of record and competent to punish its contempt. Just as the provision that the High Court is a court of record has not stood in the way of the Supreme Court's

anxiety that justice should be done, the provision defining privileges of the legislatures so as to include the right to punish for contempt cannot obviously stand in the way of the Supreme Court's reviewing the exercise of this power by the legislatures which are not sovereign.

It may be argued that this applies to the Supreme Court alone. True, but it puts an end to the doctrine that under a written Constitution, such as ours, the legislatures can aspire to be final judges in matters of their contempt when the Constitution does not say so. In fact Article 136 of the Constitution vests in the Supreme Court the right to grant special leave to appeal from any judgment or determination or orders in any cause or matter passed by any court or tribunal! It may be argued that the legislature is not mainly a tribunal. Neither is the Government or a Minister entirely, mainly or always a Tribunal. But the orders of Government and of Ministers at least when effecting rights of citizens adversely have been considered orders of a tribunal in appeal and so dealt with. Particularly in cases alleging infringement of fundamental rights—included in any matter of Article 136—the Supreme Court has dealt with all adjudicatory decisions as being those of either tribunals or courts.

'But deeper consideration are also at stake' in this as they once were in another case before the Supreme Court. The question whether to function properly a legislature under a parliamentary government has and must assert an inherent right to punish for its contempt without outside restraint must also be answered. The legislature does not act indepently in a parliamentary government, it is subject to control by the government. The government can bring a refractory legislature to an untimely end. The uncurtailed right to punish for contempt could be used by a majority to stifle criticism outside the house—the British House of Commons used its power to determine return of election to keep out obnoxious persons, even though elected and had to surrender thereupon the effective right of determining such election. The legislature is a creature of the electorate. To keep govern-

ment by open challenge alive it is imperative that the legislature should **not** exercise the right to punish for its contempt without outside judicial control. If the functioning of the High Courts as instruments for dealing out even handed justice has not suffered by the assertion of the Supreme Court's right to review their decisions in contempt cases, there is no ground to fear that judicial review of the legislature's decisions in such matters would produce any evil effect.

On the other hand democratic government would be impossible if the courts were expected to administer justice under the supervision of the legislature. The rule of law is the bedrock of democratic government. It is endangered whenever the legis-

latures attempt to oversee the judiciary. Our Constitution expressly forbids the legislatures from enquiring into the conduct of the judiciary in the discharge of their functions. How else could then the question of their contempt be decided by a legislature if it were to honour the constitutional prohibition against bringing such conduct in debate in the house? It would be preposterous to suggest that any public authority is ensuring democratic process when it defies the Constitution so that its own fancied privileges may not be diminished, howsoever little. Intention may be good but the road to despotism—as to another equally undesirable place—is paved very often with good intentions.

FIVE ESSENTIALS OF NATION BUILDING

By CHESTER BOWLES,

U.S. Ambassador to India

IN the eighteen years since the end of World War II more than one billion and a half people in Asia, Africa and Latin America have embarked on an unprecedented adventure in nation building.

The objectives of this effort are broader than the building of roads, the growth of industries and the production of more food. By and large they have been characterized by a sense of social purpose which is remarkable in itself.

With few exceptions the emerging nations which have won their independence and carried out their domestic revolutions have done so in the name of the universal values of personal liberty, racial equality, and the broad sharing of the benefits of development.

Although these values are often neglected in practice, they constitute a basic commitment which, I believe, reflects the deepest aspirations of a vast majority of the world's people.

This commitment is so genuine that even totalitarian governments with scant regard for individual rights feel obliged to pay homage to it as a matter of political necessity. One example

is Mao Tse-tung's cynical acceptance in 1954 of the Panch Sheel as the future basis for Indo-Chinese relationships; another is Chou En-lai's endorsement of the libertarian principles of Bandung in 1955.

In addition to their common vision of the future the newly independent peoples face many common problems. For instance, almost all are poor. They have had little or no access to the benefits of scientific technology. Almost all are undernourished. Many are ill. Few are able adequately to educate their children.

Yet overriding these awesome difficulties is their fierce determination to *improve* their condition. The historian Arnold Toynbee underscored this point in a recent article. "Our age will be remembered," he wrote, "not for its horrifying crimes or its astonishing inventions but because it is the first age since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

The economics and politics of development, once of interest only to scholars, have now moved

to the top of the world's agenda. The leisurely pace at which the United States and Europe developed during the 19th century is no longer adequate to keep ahead of the rising global demands for a better existence. This means that governments will be pressed to strain every muscle and to employ every resource to insure the economic growth and the political and social justice which their people now expect and demand.

Nor is the modern challenge of development confined to the so-called "backward" continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Within many of the most productive nations of Europe and America there are still shocking contrasts of wealth and poverty which are crying for attention. This is true in rural Greece, in southern Italy, in parts of southern France, in certain sections of the United States and in much of the U.S.S.R. Indeed, no major nation can claim fully to have eliminated poverty or to have provided each of its citizens with the basic essential of every free society—equality of opportunity regardless of race or religion.

Among the less developed nations we find a wide variety of problems and opportunities. In much of Latin America, for instance, a major obstacle to the political and economic growth that is basic to all free societies lies in the stubborn reluctance of the more privileged groups to move with the times. Less than one and one-half per cent of the people possess more than half of all the land of Latin America; many own more than 15,000 acres.

In only a handful of Latin American countries is there an effective income tax; in fewer still are there adequate limitations on the use of scarce foreign exchange to pay for non-essential luxury imports or even on the export of domestic capital for "safe keeping" abroad. As a result per capita incomes which may appear satisfactory enough in themselves often hide shocking differences in income that breed bitterness and frustration among the masses.

In Africa the major obstacles to rapid national development are different. Most rural land, for instance, is owned by the tribes and allocated to individual families on the basis of need and competence—a system which in many areas is now evolving naturally into modern democratic co-operatives. There is little entrenched wealth; and consequently only modest opposition to taxes based on the ability to pay. For years to

come the major barrier to rapid growth in Africa will be lack of education, basic skills, and personal incentive.

In Asia we find still another set of difficulties, which vary widely from nation to nation. Among these, in several countries, are soaring population growth in relation to resources, rural apathy rooted in generations of exploitation or neglect, and among business groups an emphasis on trading and speculation rather than creative enterprise.

From this brief review it appears that every nation, rich or poor, has its own special agenda of unfinished business to which its government must soberly address itself. Our present task, however, is to isolate those special factors that affect the process of nation building in the less developed continents.

The experience of recent years has demonstrated that there are five requisites for rapid and balanced growth in a developing country. The first of these is material, while the other four relate to public attitudes and human capabilities. These five essentials are:

1. Adequate capital from both domestic and foreign sources.
2. Enough goods and services to persuade people to contribute the personal effort that development requires.
3. Adequate skills for management, administration, production and citizenship.
4. A willingness and ability in overcrowded nations such as India and Pakistan to curb a rapid population increase.
5. A unifying sense of national purpose with effective communication between the people and their leaders.

It was these five elements which permitted the amazing resurgence of Europe and Japan from the rubble and despair created by World War II. It is their creation in the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America that must now be the first order of business of those who would raise living standards within an orderly political framework.

I

Let us examine these five essentials in order, starting with the question of investment capital for development.

Most of the capital requirements of any nation must be met from its own sources, through private savings or through various forms of

taxation and other governmental limitations on consumption.

While private saving in most developing nations will ultimately provide the major source of capital, deep-seated attitudes usually have to be changed before this source can effectively be tapped. People can be persuaded to part with their gold ornaments, excess acreage and other traditional forms of financial security only in a reasonably secure social and economic environment.

In most less developed nations, therefore, the capital requirements for the initial stages of the growth process must be met largely by the government drawing on a wide variety of tax sources. For instance, land taxes can be progressively increased on large holdings. This not only raises revenue; at the same time it encourages the development of more efficient family-sized farms. Sales and excise taxes can provide additional revenue and serve as a means for directing investment into selected capital projects.

Incomes can also be taxed on a progressive basis. The argument that a reasonably progressive income tax reduces the incentive for private investment does not stand up in practice. More than half a century ago when the United States first introduced such a tax, the cries of anguish were loud and clear. There is no evidence, however, that the income tax has damaged the productive capacity of the United States. Instead it has brought about a democratic redistribution of incomes which has created the mass purchasing power that has prodded our economy to ever higher levels of production.

There are clear limits, however, on the amount of domestic capital that can be accumulated through taxation and restricted consumption. Those taxes which are easy to collect like excise taxes and sales taxes, fall most heavily on the people least able to pay, and therefore reduce the purchasing power necessary to maintain minimum standards of living. The taxes which would benefit the economy most, like the income tax, are notoriously hard to collect. Moreover, because so few people have incomes worth taxing, this tax source itself is limited.

Although the export of raw materials may offer another major means of capital accumulation, such exports in themselves do not assure the broad-based economic development which we are seeking. The exports of coffee, tin, oil and

other basic materials, for instance, have earned generous incomes for many Latin American producers. But because only a meager fraction of the total income has sifted down to the people who work the fields and mines, the gap between rich and poor has been steadily growing. In spite of the vast oil wealth of west Asia, the majority of the people still live in dire poverty.

Almost every nation that has succeeded in modernizing its economy has had the advantage of loans and grants from more advanced countries. The pace of United States development in the 18th century, for instance, was speeded by massive amounts of private capital from Europe. By 1912, foreign investment totalled more than \$6 billion—a huge sum for those days.

The only nation that has modernized its economy virtually without foreign capital assistance is the U.S.S.R. In this case a ruthless squeeze on the Russian people plus an unequalled supply of natural resources combined to provide the necessary investment funds. Yet even in this special case the margin of success was narrow. In the 1930s with all Russia's natural advantages, the Soviet economy very nearly collapsed under the strain of forced development.

As we shall see in a later chapter, China, which lacks many of the resources which the U.S.S.R. has in abundance, probably cannot succeed in building a viable economy without massive foreign assistance which under present circumstances is unlikely to be forthcoming.

We must, however, keep this matter of foreign capital assistance in clear perspective. While it is a vitally important element in developing an adequate rate of economic progress in a democratic environment, ultimate success depends on the energy and effectiveness of the government and people of the recipient country.

For instance, the United States has provided loans and grants for many countries which because they failed to carry their share of the burden have remained in the economic doldrums. On more than one occasion we have seen our assistance used by reactionary governments to sustain the *status quo* against the forces of economic and social change which we had set out to encourage.

The nations in which United States assistance has been least effective have many common characteristics. In most cases the local tax structure has been inefficient and inequitable. Capital

funds badly needed at home have been allowed to go abroad. Luxury imports have eaten up foreign exchange.

There has often been corruption in the government and lack of interest in the kind of development that benefits the masses of the people. Semi-feudal systems of land tenure have often suppressed the initiative of the cultivators and thereby impeded agricultural production, at the same time creating a bitter sense of injustice throughout the countryside.

On this essential point our experience is clear: Foreign capital makes a meaningful contribution to national development only in those countries which are willing and able to mobilize their own resources. In such cases foreign aid may provide the decisive margin for success. When the necessary effort is lacking the effects of foreign aid may be virtually nil.

Most of the recent opposition to foreign economic assistance in the United States is misinformed and misguided. Its origin lies, however, in the valid conviction that my country has no obligation to provide funds for governments that fail to put their own economic and social houses in order.

I have profound sympathy for this view. Indeed, as a member of the United States Congress I proposed the establishment of operating standards that would relate our aid to the capacity and willingness of the recipient country to use it and its own resources effectively.

Except in the most unusual political circumstances, I am convinced that economic assistance given on any other basis cannot possibly accomplish its only valid objective which, to repeat, is the creation of dynamic independent nations which offer their people increasing prosperity and opportunity within the framework of their own traditions and culture.

The combined gross national income of the developed nations now totals \$900 billion annually. If one percent of this amount were loaned or given each year to the less developed nations the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations would be eased in a manner that profits both giver and receiver, adds to the self respect of each, and makes our world an infinitely safer and better place for us all.

II

This brings me to the second of our five essentials of national growth: the need for

adequate and equitably distributed rewards for hard work and initiative.

As we have seen, there is a political limit to the amount of taxation, austerity, or maldistributed wealth which people are willing to accept without either adopting evasive devices which corrupt the system and diminish confidence in the integrity of the government or throwing the government out of office.

Totalitarian systems, to be sure, can enforce a higher rate of capital accumulation through a merciless squeeze on producers who are denied consumer goods while simultaneously being urged by blaring loud-speakers to make greater and still greater efforts in behalf of the state.

But even in the most rigid police state, slogans and loud-speakers have their limitations, as the Soviet Union has been learning by hard experience. After working for forty years to organize its national agriculture on a mass basis, the small kitchen gardens which Soviet farmers can really call their own still produce much more efficiently than the rigidly organized state farms where adequate personal incentives are lacking. Industrial workers in the presumably egalitarian Soviet Union are now offered wage and bonus benefits whose differential exceeds that of the American wage scale. Soviet factory production has responded to these incentives.

Thus, we see that regardless of political ideology, capital for development can be accumulated effectively over the long run only when all of the people stand to gain some immediate and tangible benefits. No developing nation with these factors in mind can afford to dismiss consumer goods and social services as frivolous embellishments which may be withheld in the interests of capital accumulation; on the contrary, such incentives, however modest in amount, act as an essential generator in increasing national wealth.

Moreover, the production of consumer goods such as bicycles, shoes, clothing, pots, pans, simple household equipment, flashlights, and self-help housing schemes provide an essential source of jobs which in most developing countries cannot be provided in adequate amounts by heavy industry.

If the nation-building process is to succeed, the individual must be given an opportunity to improve his standard of living, as well as a sense

of belonging, of personal dignity and faith in the integrity and ability of his government.

III

We now turn to the third essential for national development—skills for management, for production, and for citizenship.

Administrative skills are, of course, in short supply in developing nations, particularly so in those which are newly independent. Even where there is a competent civil service, as in India, there are too few people with experience in bold and creative policy making.

Equally serious is the lack of *technical* skills in most developing nations, particularly in Africa. For years to come there will not be enough competent doctors, teachers, engineers, architects, labor leaders, and other specialists to meet the increasing demand.

Like capital, these administrative and technical skills must be developed in large measure by the country itself, with some assistance from its more advanced friends. Foreigners in public administration are usually out of the question for political reasons, and there are simply not enough competent technicians in the world to go around. Foreign experts therefore should be used as a scarce resource and largely for the purpose of training local specialists.

Fortunately, a small amount of foreign technical assistance, like limited doses of foreign capital, can have a major impact on the developmental process. This is true, however, only if the host country makes substantial efforts on its own behalf to provide competent people for training, and to place those people who have been trained in positions of responsibility where their skills can have a continuing effect on the economy.

If newly trained technicians are assigned routine jobs where their initiative is crushed, and if they are not encouraged to train their subordinates, no amount of foreign technical assistance will have a significant impact.

In democratic countries whose governments are based on the consent of the governed, the social change which accompanies development also requires the creation of new political and social skills among the citizenry as a whole. Skill in citizenship is more than just the ability to mark a ballot. It is the skill to dissent without revolution, to accept the compromise that may be necessary for a consensus while maintaining a

sense of personal independence, and to cooperate with others for the improvement of one's village or nation.

Where these basic political abilities exist, there is potential for vital, democratic growth; where they are lacking we can ultimately expect either turmoil or totalitarianism.

The colonial era has retarded the growth of these essential social and political skills in most of the less developed nations, while simultaneously creating demands for changes in structure, direction and priorities which would tax the administrative capacities of the most advanced nations.

All of this underscores the importance of education as a first step in creating a sense of participation and individual responsibility among the masses of the people. A literate person can discover through the printed word the possibilities that life offers him. The vision of what he can accomplish for his family and himself serves as a most powerful incentive. The literate person can read instructions and develop simple technical skills through understanding rather than through rote learning.

Most important of all, the literate can be made aware of their rights and duties as citizens so that they need no longer be at the mercy of the deeply-rooted, tradition-conscious elements of their society which stand in the way of the political, economic and social changes which they seek.

Japan's phenomenal postwar growth would have been impossible, in my opinion, if it were not for the fact that over 98 per cent of her people can read and write. In most developing countries the figure is still under 30 per cent.

IV

The fourth of our five essentials of development—population control—is of immediate, special importance in those emerging nations where a massive and growing population is pressing against limited natural resources. In many countries the problem does not yet exist. In most African countries, for instance, the population is relatively sparse and the resources are substantial. Here there may often be a need for more hands to till the fields and to run the machines.

This does not imply that crowded nations which fail to control their population growth will face the mass starvation predicted by Malthus. With adequate fertilizer and more advanced techniques India, for instance, could triple its

production of food from the present cultivated areas; its opportunity for greatly expanded fisheries has scarcely been touched.

The real economic cost of continued rapid population growth in such already crowded nations as India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, and China stems from the drag it places on the increase in per capita incomes. In such countries a rate of economic growth which might otherwise give the average citizen a satisfying sense of progress only enables him to stand still.

A comparison between the Congo and the Sudan on the one hand, and India on the other, underscores this point. The Congo and Sudan are each about two-thirds the size of India, each has a population of about 16 million in comparison to India's 450 million and each has roughly the same proportion of natural resources. Once technical training and capital become generally available, therefore, the per capita incomes of the two African nations may be expected to increase at a far faster rate than in India. With labor saving devices at a premium, wages will soar.

Although India's national income over the last decade has grown at a rate of nearly four per cent annually, the population increase of two and one-half per cent has reduced the per capita income increase to less than one and one-half per cent.

A major effort is now under way to bring India's population into better balance. In 1930 the birth rate was 48 per thousand; it is now 41.5 per thousand. In areas such as urban Bombay where a determined effort at population control has been made over a period of years the birth rate is about 30.

Experts believe that if programs and techniques now available are carried out effectively the birth rate by 1974 can be reduced to 25 per thousand against an anticipated death rate of 14. If this is accomplished, India's present per capita increase in income will be doubled. If the birth rates and death rates can ultimately be brought into balance and the population stabilized, the present 4 per cent average annual increase in national output, compounded from year to year, would have a dramatic impact on living standards.

V

The fifth and final essential involves the environment in which development takes place.

The four prerequisites which we have just considered—capital, incentives, skills and population control—cannot operate in a cultural or political vacuum. Each new nation must consider them within the framework of its own past experience, its present needs, and its own vision of the future.

Only when it does so can it develop the sense of national purpose which draws a diverse people together and provides a bridge of mutual understanding and respect between them and their leadership.

The United States is still in the process of realizing the political vision which the founders of our nation so eloquently proclaimed nearly two centuries ago. Our Declaration of Independence asserted that "all men are created equal." Its author, Thomas Jefferson, believed that "all eyes are opening to the thoughts of man . . . the mass of mankind was not born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them by the grace of God."

This deep belief in the importance of individual dignity initiated the world's first major anti-colonial revolution and experiment in political democracy. Although our traditional objectives are not yet wholly secured, each succeeding generation of Americans has worked to broaden its base of individual freedom and opportunity.

India has her own vision of what she is determined to become. Gandhi saw that "what is good for one nation situated in one condition is not necessarily good enough for another, differently situated. India has got to develop her own economics, her own policy."

The keystone of the Indian vision is a belief in the supreme value of the individual human being. "In modern terms," Gandhi stressed that "it is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine. I want every individual," he said, "to become a full-blooded, fully developed member of society."

The deep suspicion of "bigness" and the strong sense of social conscience which is reflected in the strict democratic teachings of Gandhi will continue directly and indirectly to shape India development for generations to come.

In the hands of leaders who are devoted to the cause of the whole nation, such vision is an effective instrument for progress. If the leadership can communicate a sense of purpose to the people

so that it becomes a treasured national possession of them all, the battle for development can be won.

VI

These then are the five basic essentials for rapid and balanced growth in a developing country, for growth which engages the energy and enriches the lives of every citizen.

Although I have been tempted to add a sixth essential—a pragmatic non-doctrinaire approach to economic growth—this prerequisite, it seems to me, is implicit in our entire discussion thus far.

Developing nations which *seek answers to their complex problems in some neatly packaged ideology* are almost certainly doomed to failure. Capitalism as defined by Adam Smith and

Communism as defined by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have become largely irrelevant in our complex modern world. The tasks of national development are difficult enough in themselves without confusing them further with emotionally charged slogans and political hand-me-downs from another era.

In meeting the challenge of national development India may on occasion borrow certain concepts and techniques from abroad—from Western Europe, from Sweden, from Yugoslavia, from Japan, and from America. Yet I believe that India will draw primarily on her own inner strength, experience, and traditions, relating these elements in her own way to the five essentials which I have described.

WESTERN INFLUENCES ON INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

By Prof. B. K. NIRMAL

Indian Political Thought can be, broadly speaking, divided into two parts; the ancient and mediaeval, and modern or contemporary. In the ancient and mediaeval period political thought was based on the writings of great epics, Vedas, Dharma Sutras, Dharma Shastras, Smrities and writings of Kautilya and others. All the influence in this period is native. However, in the modern period Indian political thought has been tremendously influenced by the political institutions and philosophies of the West. "The first contact between India and modern Europe took place in 1498 when Vasco da Gama circled the African Continent and landed at Calicut".¹ But this contact was not well developed until the end of the eighteenth century. Gradually with the establishment of British rule in India we came into closer contact with their ideas and culture. Therefore during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Western influence became a dominating factor in Indian political thought. It is not that we gave up our own established principles but the same were modified to a very great extent, sometimes even completely forsaken, due to the influence of the West. However, even now there remained a group of political thinkers

and leaders who still held fast to the views of the past and wanted to revive them.

Modern Indian political thought can be further compartmentalized into three schools according to the influence of the West on them. These three schools are the Occidentalists, who take their inspiration from the West, the Romanticists or Revivalists, "who are very critical of the political, social and particularly economic institutions of the West,"² and the Synthesists who based their thoughts on the ancient Indian culture and also borrowed whatever they considered good in the West. It is on the Occidentalists and the Synthesists that the Western influence is mainly traceable although to some extent western influence is visible on the Revivalists also. The Occidentalists can be further grouped into Liberals, Socialists and Communists according to the different sources from which they drew their inspiration. The Occidentalists include Dada-bhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govinda Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Surendra Nath Bannerji among the liberals, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Narendra Dev among the Socialists and M. N. Roy being the chief among the Communists. The Romanticists include Tilak and Gandhi while

among the Synthesists we can include Bipin Chandra Pal, Shri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore.

The Western influence over Indian political thought is itself of two kinds; the influence of the individual thinkers and the influence of political institutions and ideas. The main factor which helped us in understanding these thinkers and institutions properly was the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in the Indian schools. Macaulay's aim in introducing English was to train a class of men who would be "Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect". With the introduction of English it became easier for Indians to enjoy the thoughts and philosophies of the West directly. Greek and Roman culture and thought was known to India even before the coming of the British people but that was through the Persian and Arabic sources. Now with the knowledge of English language it became easier for Indians to know these thoughts and philosophies directly. "No single act of British policy has had a more lasting influence on the evolution of modern Indian thought than the decision in 1835 to use governmental funds to support education in English language, and to adopt the curriculum prevalent in the English schools".³

"The early Indian Liberals were intellectual children of the Liberals of the West."⁴ The Liberal movement in England had as its main principles secularism, rationalism, liberty, equality and democratic form of government. During the middle ages, the main emphasis was on life after death, but now these liberals laid more emphasis on this life. They declared that the object of all the activities should be to achieve happiness for the individual in this world and to develop his personality to the best possible extent. They also emphasised that the main guide of an individual should be reason. Thomas Paine's famous declaration "My own mind is my church" shows the emphasis that was laid on reason. They also believed that as much freedom should be given to the individual as was necessary for his development. The idea of equality put forward by the supporters of the French Revolution had its influ-

ence over these Liberals. Liberty and Equality in social, political and economic fields were the ideals that these people put forward. The Indian Liberals were very much influenced by all these ideals. They got their inspiration from J. S. Mill, T. H. Green, Bentham and others. They were very much influenced by the new administrative machinery given by the British as also by their ideals of justice, equality before law, rapid means of transport, free press, local self-governing institutions and above all by their introducing English which had not only created a unity in the country and had opened the door of Western knowledge to Indians but had also taught them that the kings were made for the people and not the people for their kings. Therefore as remarked by S. N. Bannerji, these liberals looked towards England as their "political guide and moral preceptor in the exalted sphere of political unity."

The reading of the British classics instilled in these liberal leaders the ideals of justice, freedom and love of country. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was in the forefront of the Indian national movement clearly accepted the debt of the Western people. He stated the political gains under the British as under:

"Peace and order, Freedom of press and liberty of the press. Higher political knowledge and aspirations. Improvement of governments in native states. Security of life and property. . . . Equal justice between man and man."

Keshab Chandra Sen, another leader of the nineteenth century had a great admiration for British rule. He believed that British rule over India had come at a particular moment in India's history and would certainly help in the betterment of the political and social conditions. He was very much influenced by the teachings of Christianity as well as by the social and political experiments that were being made in Europe in the 19th century. He believed in equality and opposed the caste-system. He was also a champion of social liberty.

S. N. Banerji had also been very much inspired by the teachings of the English political philosophers. "As a student in

London, he had studied very carefully the writings of Burke, Macaulay, Mill and Spencer and hence the impact of a philosophy of moral idealism and liberal individualism is marked in his speeches and writings. During his sojourn in England as a student he had learnt the significance of the ideals of reason, freedom and democracy. He admired Burke's constitutionalism and romanticism and praised the eloquence and genius of Fox, Pitt and Sheridan."⁵

Gokhale like Dadabhai Naoroji also believed that British influence over Indian life was good for our country. He declared at the Universal Races Conference in 1911 that "whereas the contact of the West with other countries had only been external, in India, the West had so to say entered into the very bone and marrow of the East." He also believed in British statesmanship and hoped that British rule will gradually give way to self-government. Gokhale and other moderate leaders were constantly quoting Gladstone, Gobdon, J. S. Mill and Spencer. All their philosophies and thoughts were influenced by them. Sir Pherozshah Mehta, when he pleaded for local independence to municipal bodies quoted Spencer and Mill to support his contention. He said, "We know that the highest authorities on the subject—Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill—have pointed out that you must have external or internal checks on the working of these bodies, you must not have both." These illustrations show very clearly how much indebted these Indian Liberals were to the western writers especially British Liberals.

Another great influence on Indian political thought is that of Marx and Lenin. Marx influenced a few people in India during the two wars. His influence was mainly on the Socialists and the Communists. However, Marxism as such made little progress in India until recent times. A few persons like Nehru, Bose and M. N. Roy were very much influenced by Marx. Pt. Nehru in his 'Discovery of India' writes, "A study of Marx and Lenin produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light. The long chain of history and of social development appeared

to have some meaning, some sequence and the future lost some of its obscurity." Pt. Nehru, however, remained a nationalist who has remained more tied to the evolutionary concept of western socialism rather than to the revolutionary outlook of Marxism. In the economic crisis of 1930's he wrote that "the great world crisis and slump seemed to justify the Marxist analysis. While other systems and theories were groping about in the dark Marxism alone explained it more or less satisfactorily and offered a real solution." He, however, does not accept the Marxian doctrines in its entirety. He opposes the theory of dialectical materialism expounded by Marx. In many of his recent speeches he has declared that many of the teachings of Marx are out of date. In spite of all this, the ideas of a socialist pattern of society, co-operative farming etc., adopted by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Nehru are to a certain extent based on Marxist ideas. Another great leader influenced by Marx was Subhas Chandra Bose. He was never an orthodox Marxist. He did not believe in class struggle as a necessary principle for establishing a socialist society. He was against the zamindari system and favoured nationalization of land and industries. He says, "The state on the advice of a planning commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socialising our entire agricultural and industrial system in both the spheres of production and appropriation."⁶ He always supported the interests of the working classes and wanted the Indian National Congress to adopt a socialist policy. He declared, "Socialist propaganda is necessary to prepare the country for socialism when political freedom has been won."⁷

Apart from Marx, Bose was under a great deal of influence of fascists, Hitler and Mussolini. He wrote in 1934-35 about Mussolini "as a man who really counts in the politics of modern Europe." He wanted Mahatma Gandhi to have spoken in the Round Table Conference in 1931, in London in a very firm voice. He says, "If . . . the Mahatma Gandhi would have spoken in the language of Dictator Stalin, or Duce Mussolini or Fuhrer Hitler—John Bull would have

understood and would have bowed his head in respect."⁸ Bose never believed in parliamentary democracy and preferred a dictatorial form of government for free India. He knew that fascism and communism were quite opposed to each other yet he wanted to have a synthesis of the two. He writes, "Both Communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the state over the individual. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both believe in party rule These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis."⁹

Another Indian who has been very much influenced by Marx is M. N. Roy. In the early years of his life M. N. Roy had been a member of the Communist International. It is, therefore, quite natural that he should be influenced by Marx. However, he did not accept the teachings of Marx in entirety. He made considerable modifications and even repudiated some of the teachings of Marx. He writes, "Political philosophy hitherto has thought in terms of nations and classes; the result was the disappearance of man from human affairs."¹⁰ He, therefore, in his 'Radical Humanism' laid more emphasis on the "humanist treatment of social and moral problems" and repudiated the materialistic philosophy of Marx. Other Socialists and Communists have always emphasised that they do not believe completely in what Marx has said, yet there can be little doubt that the social, political and economic ideas of all these people have been greatly influenced and sometimes even been moulded by Marx.

We can now pass on to trace the western influences on Mahatma Gandhi. Although he drew most of his beliefs and principles from Indian sources, yet he himself has at certain places accepted the debt of the Western thinkers and philosophers. Western writers like Ruskin, Thoreau and Tolstoy had a great influence on Gandhi's political thinking. Ruskin's book 'Unto this last' had a profound influence on him. In his autobiography, one of the chapters is 'The Magic Spell of a Book' in which he describes Ruskin's influence on him. He writes, "I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this

great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform my life." The lessons that he drew from this book were; the good of individual is included in the good of all, the work of every kind is of the same value and the life of labour that is the life of the tiller and craftsman is worth living. In spite of this influence Gandhi differed on many matters. Ruskin's emphasis on the rule by the wisest does not find any place in Gandhi's ideas.

Thoreau is the other philosopher who influenced Mahatma Gandhi. Thoreau's ideas confirmed his views on non-co-operation. One should extend maximum co-operation to all when they lead towards good and non-co-operation when they lead towards evil. He accepted his indebtedness to Thoreau in these words, "Thoreau furnished me through his essay on the 'Duty of Civil disobedience' with a scientific confirmation of what I was doing in South Africa." It is not that they both agreed on all kinds of resistance. Thoreau favoured violent resistance also but Gandhi would have nothing to do with that.

Mahatma Gandhi developed a firm belief in Ahimsa by reading Tolstoy. Tolstoy was also a seeker after truth. He writes, "The heroine of my writings, she whom I love with all forces of my being, she who always was, is and will be beautiful is truth." Tolstoy's philosophical anarchism also finds a place in Gandhi's thoughts. Apart from these philosophers, one thing that influenced Gandhi most was the 'Sermon on the Mount.' This helped him in developing the philosophy of non-resistance which Mahatma Gandhi later on practised in his deeds. Romain Rolland in his book 'Mahatma Gandhi' while writing about western influences on Gandhi remarked, "It should not be forgotten that this Asiatic believer has translated Ruskin and Plato and quotes Thoreau, admires Mazzini, reads Edward Carpenter and he is, in short, familiar with the best that Europe and America have produced."

The western influence over Indian political thought manifested itself in one other way. The political institutions and ideas of the West influenced these thinkers.

"Before the British conquest the concept of membership in a permanent political order embracing and involving them all seems to have been unknown to the inhabitants of India."¹¹ Although a few kings like Ashoka, Harsha and Akbar had tried to bring the whole of India under their domination, yet it was under the British rule that we came under one political order. Now through the medium of English people belonging to different parts of the country could communicate with each other. The Indian National Congress, which later on became a common platform for all the nationalist element and a means to express popular will, also came into existence due to the efforts of A.O. Hume and others with full approval of Lord Dufferin. The early leaders like S. N. Bannerji and Tilak wanted to inculcate the feeling of nationalism in the hearts of Indians. They were very much influenced by Mazzini. "Mazzini was one of the principal figures whose writings and teachings fired the zeal of Indian youth. Surendra Nath Bannerji, Lala Lajpat Rai and V. D. Savarkar wrote the lives of Mazzini in English, Urdu and Marathi."¹²

While Indian nationalism was developing under western influence, the feeling of liberty was also taking root side by side. The ideas of Milton, Mill and Green influenced the minds of Indians. Raja Ram Mohan Roy pleaded not only for political liberty but also for individual liberty. The French Revolution had a profound influence on him. He even admired the British not only because they had civil and political liberty but also because they were trying to promote the same wherever they had any influence. He, like Milton, even pleaded for freedom of press. He was quite hopeful that some kind of democratic government will be established in India under British influence.

Besides these abstract notions of liberty, equality and nationalism, the western political institutions like Parliament, Executive Council, Supreme Court and the like greatly influenced our Political thought. In 1928 when the All Parties Conference appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Pt. Moti Lal Nehru to draft a Constitution for

Free India, they proposed a Dominion status which is purely a British form of government. Later on when we became free even then we adopted the British system of parliamentary democracy. K. M. Pannikar rightly remarks, "Clearly, our new democratic and egalitarian and secular state is not built upon the foundations of ancient Indian or Hindu thought."¹³ India had some kind of democratic institutions in the past, but it would not be wise to say that our present democratic constitution is based in any way on the ancient model, or has any influence on the same. Obviously the present constitution has drawn largely upon the western countries. The framers of our constitution were so influenced by the British system that they left many details to be filled up by conventions which they expected to grow on the British pattern.

The indebtedness of modern Indian political thought to the West is immense. However none of the leaders and thinkers pleaded for the wholesale import of western ideas. They wanted these ideas to be adjusted to the Indian surroundings. Therefore, a process of political synthesis is always to be found in Indian political thought during the last one hundred and fifty years.

1. Humayun Kabir : *Indian Heritage*, p. 22.
2. P. S. Mukherjee's article 'Synthesists or the Culturists : A study of Indian Political Thought' published in *Studies in Political Science*, p. 207.
3. S. N. Hay : 'Sources of Indian Civilization,' p. 553.
4. S. N. Dubey : *Political Ideas of the Early Leaders of Indian National Congress* (published in Uttar Bharati).
5. V. P. Varma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 244.
6. Quoted in 'The Indian Annual Register,' 1938, Vol. I, p. 340.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
8. S. C. Bose : *Indian Struggle*, p. 320.
9. S. C. Bose : *Indian Struggle*, p. 320.
10. M. N. Roy : *Radical Humanism*, p. 27.
11. S. N. Hay : *Sources of Indian Civilization*.
12. V. P. Varma : *Modern Indian Political Thought*, p. 18.
13. K. M. Pannikar : *The State and the Citizen*, p. 41.

THIRTEENTH TO SIXTEENTH AMENDMENTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : AN AUTOPSY.

By Prof. B. B. JENA, M.A., Ph.D.

I

In July 1960, an agreement was reached by the Government of India with the leaders of the Naga Peoples' Convention under which it was decided that the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Nagaland) would be formed into a separate State in the Indian Union.¹ The agreement inter alia provided that the Governor of the State of Nagaland would be responsible (a) for law and order so long as the law and order situation in the State continued to remain disturbed on account of the hostile activities inside the area, (b) for the funds to be made available to the new State by the Government of India, and (c) for the administration of Tuensang district for a period of ten years during which it was expected that the people of that area would be in a position to shoulder fuller responsibilities of administration. A regional Council was to be formed for the said Tuensang District comprising elected representatives from the tribes therein. This Regional Council would supervise and guide the working of the village, Range and Area Councils in that District and further no law passed by the Nagaland Legislature would extend to that District unless recommended by the Regional Council. It was also decided that Acts of Parliament would not apply to Nagaland unless so decided by the Nagaland Legislature with regard to (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas, (ii) Naga Customary law and procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga Customary Law, (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources. The Government of India was obliged to implement these agreements.

Ordinarily Parliament could have incorporated in a law all these provisions in the Agreement as per Article 3 of the Constitution.² But the terms of the Agreement

imposed certain restrictions on the powers of the Parliament. Hence because of the peculiarities of the provisions of the Agreement, constitutional safeguard was necessary and that led the Government of India to introduce a Bill to amend the Constitution.³

The Thirteenth Amendment Act made special provisions with respect to the State of Nagaland. To accommodate this special provision in the Part XXI of the Constitution, the Heading "Temporary, Transitional and Special Provisions" substituted the old Heading "Temporary and Transitional Provisions."⁴ This change of heading has removed an anomaly in the Constitution created by the Seventh Amendment Act, 1956 wherein special provision with respect to the creation of regional Committees of the Legislative Assemblies of certain States was made,⁵ in the Part XXI under the Heading "Temporary and Transitional Provisions" with marginal note "Special Provision with respect to the States of Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, etc." The Old Heading was misleading in as much as certain provisions included thereunder were neither temporary nor transitional.

The Thirteenth Amendment Act inserted a new Article 371A making the following special provisions in respect of the new State of Nagaland.⁶ That no Act of Parliament affecting religious or social practices of the Nagas, Naga customary laws and procedure, administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga Customary laws and ownership and transfer of land and its resources shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides; that the Governor of Nagaland shall have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland for so long as in his opinion internal disturbances occurring in the Naga-hills-Tuensang Area immediately before the for-

mation of that State continue therein or in any part thereof and in the discharge of his functions in relation thereto the Governor shall, after consulting the council of Ministers, exercise his individual judgement as the action to be taken. If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter in respect of which the Governor is under this provision required to act in the exercise of his individual judgement, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, the validity of any thing done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in the exercise of his individual judgment, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final, the validity of any thing done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in the exercise of his individual judgement. Again if the President on receipt of a report from the Governor or otherwise is satisfied that it is no longer necessary for the Governor to have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland, he may by order direct that the Governor shall cease to have such responsibility with effect from such date as may be specified in the order.

The new Article 371A required the Governor to ensure that any money provided by the Government of India for any specific purpose is spent for that service.⁷ The Governor is empowered to establish a regional Council for the Tuensang district consisting of 35 members to function under such rules as may be prescribed by the Governor in his discretion.⁸ It has been further provided that for a period of ten years or more from the date of formation of the State on the recommendation of the regional Council the Governor may take over the administration, arrange for an equitable allocation of the Central Government grant between the Tuensang district and the rest of the State, direct that an Act of the Legislature of Nagaland shall apply to that district only with the recommendation of the regional Council and such exceptions and modifications as the Council might recommend, and make regulations for the peace,

progress and good government of the district having the effect even to amend or repeal with retrospective effect, if necessary any Act of Parliament or any other law which is for the time being applicable to that district.⁹ Provision has been made to effect that one member representing the Tuensang district in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland shall be appointed Minister for Tuensang affairs by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister and the Chief Minister in tendering his advice shall act on the recommendation of the majority of the Assembly members of that district. The Minister for Tuensang affairs shall deal with and have direct access to the Governor on all matters relating to the Tuensang district but he shall keep the Chief Minister informed about the same.¹⁰ Of course the Governor's decision in his discretion on that district affairs shall be final.¹¹ In matters of election of the President or members of Rajya Sabha, the members of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland elected by the Regional Council will have the same rights as other members of the Assembly.¹²

The minimum number in Nagaland Legislative Assembly has been fixed at forty-six¹³ Within a period of three years of the formation of the State of Nagaland, the President may by order do anything (including any adaptation or modification of any other Article) which appears to him to be necessary for the purpose of removing any difficulty which may arise while giving effect to the above provisions.

It may be noted here that the President has been empowered to amend the Constitution for the removal of any difficulty. This constituent power of the President for a period of three years appears to be a departure from the application of Art. 368.

II

Next comes the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The French establishments of Pondichery, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam became territories of the Indian Union with effect from 16th August, 1962, when the 'Treaty of Cession' was ratified by the Governments of India and France. It was necessary to include these territories

in the First Schedule of our Constitution as Indian territory. Besides, appropriate provision had to be made for representation of territory in both Houses of Parliament.

The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Act, 1962 is intended to achieve the above objectives.¹⁴ The first schedule of the Constitution has been amended to include as from August 16, 1962 the above territories as Union Territory of 'Pondichery'.¹⁵

Appropriate Article of the Constitution has been amended so as to raise the maximum number of seats in Lok Sabha for members representing the Union Territories from twenty to twenty-five. Thus, the Union Territory of Pondichery gets representation in the Union Parliament through this Amendment.¹⁶

Besides making provision for the Union Territory of Pondichery, some general provisions have been made in connection with other Union Territories. Powers have been conferred on Parliament to create by Law Legislatures and Council of Ministers for the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Goa, Daman, Diu, and Pondichery by inserting a new Article 239A in the Constitution. It has been also provided that any Law passed for this purpose would not amount to be an amendment of the Constitution for the purpose of Article 368.¹⁷

It may be noted here that the Fourteenth Amendment Act has granted immunity to such Laws from the operation of Article 368. Hence it is tantamount to an amendment of Art. 368 in as much as the applicability of Art. 368 to certain legislation is withheld by this Fourteenth Amendment Act. It will, therefore, come under provision (e) of Art. 368 and hence it required the ratification of the State Legislatures.

The Amendment further provides to include the Union Territory of Pondichery retrospectively in the clause (1) of Art. 240 to enable the President to make regulations for its peace, progress and good government till the legislatures are created for the Union Territories.¹⁸ Again the Fourth Schedule to the Constitution has been amended so as to allocate one seat in Rajya Sabha to the

Union Territory of Pondichery. These are the important features of the Fourteenth Amendment Act.

III

Now the circumstances leading to the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment Act, may be examined. There arose controversy as to the bonafides of the Central Government in determining the age of a Judge of the Supreme Court or State High Court.¹⁹ When any such question was arising, it was hitherto decided by the President of India. But in some cases the decision of the President was challenged in a Court of Law giving rise to certain complications. Hence there was the necessity to make the position clear by making suitable amendments to the Constitution.²⁰

Again cases have arisen when, due to the absence of a Judge or Judges of the Supreme Court for any reason, it has become necessary to require the attendance of only a "retired Judge of the Supreme Court" at the sittings of the Court.²¹ The number of the retired Judges of the Supreme Court being small, and in view of the age of retirement provided for Supreme Court Judges, this field cannot be expected to be wide at any time. It was, therefore, necessary to make provision enabling the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to require the attendance of a retired Judge of a High Court possessing the requisite qualifications necessary for a Judge of the Supreme Court at the sittings of the Supreme Court. Similar provision was necessary to be made in respect of the State High Courts. Hence the Constitution had to be amended to meet these requirements.

The Law Commission in their Fourteenth Report recommended that the retiring age of a High Court Judge should be raised to sixty-five years. The Government of India decided to raise it to sixty-two only. This change required the amendment of the Constitution.

Further the proposal to transfer the Judges to one or more High Courts could not be effected owing to the provision of the Constitution putting restrictions on the practice of the retired Judges.²² It was

considered that a provision should be made to the effect that when a Judge is transferred from one High Court to another, the restriction regarding resumption of practice, after retirement, should apply only to the High Court from which the Judge would retire. Such a provision was necessary to facilitate the transfer of Judges of the High Court without involving any financial loss and discouragement to the Judges concerned. Further, the transfer of a Judge would necessarily impose additional burden on the transferred Judge. Hence it was proposed to provide for such compensatory allowance as the Parliament may by law prescribe. Amendment of the Constitution was necessary to implement the above proposals.

There was yet another cause. The decision of the Supreme Court in early 1961 established beyond doubt that as the seat of the Government of India was at New Delhi, the only High Court which would have Jurisdiction for writs etc., with respect to the Central Government would be Punjab High Court.²³ This decision was considered to involve hardship to the litigants from distant places. Hence it proposed to empower the State High Courts to exercise jurisdiction over all Government or Authorities irrespective of their location. This could be done only through amendment of the Constitution.

Besides, the ceiling of Rs. 250/- of the professional tax leviable was considered to be inadequate. It was proposed to raise this limit. This also required the amendment of the Constitution.

Again India's sovereign rights under the International Law over the sea-bed and sub-soil of the continental shelf adjoining its territory and beyond its territorial waters have been asserted in a Presidential proclamation. This caused the need for the consequential amendment of the Constitution.²⁴

After the judicial pronouncements on the question of guaranteeing the rights of the civil servants, the Government of India considered it desirable to make it clear that only one opportunity should be given to a servant of the Government in respect of any departmental enquiry against him. Thus, to deprive the Government servants of a

part of their constitutional safeguards, the Constitution had to be amended.²⁵

The Constitution did not provide for appointment of an acting Chairman of the Public Service Commission as and when that office was vacant or when the Chairman was on leave or otherwise unable to perform his duties of his office. The Constitution was sought to be amended to meet such contingencies.

Thus, the Fifteenth Amendment Bill was intended to resolve certain difficulties.²⁶ As has been said earlier, the Constitution was silent on the procedure to be followed when a question arises as to the correct age of a Judge. The Fifteenth Amendment Act now provides that (i) in the case of a Judge of the Supreme Court, the age "shall be determined by such authority and in such manner as Parliament may by law provide,"²⁷ and (ii) in the case of a Judge of a High Court, the question shall be decided by the President after consultation with the Chief Justice of India and the decision shall be final. This provision will create trouble in future. Since Parliament is empowered to prescribe the manner in which the age of a Judge of the Supreme Court is to be determined it will have the power to amend the law and change the manner of determination of the age of a Judge as and when it is required. To remove a Judge is now easy. Change the manner of determination of age through the help of the majority in the Parliament and deprive the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of his share in this matter. If the provision is made that the age of a Judge shall be determined by the (Home Minister of India or Government of India or) President of India in his discretion and his decision shall be final and conclusive, what would be its effects? With the help of this provision the President (naturally the Government) will be in a position to declare that a particular Judge (say of 55) has attained the age of superannuation and require him to retire. Since the decision of the President is final, no court can offer any remedy to such a Judge. This removal being political can only be checked politically. Does this not present a danger to the independence of the Judiciary? It

would have been reasonable to provide in the Constitution that the age declared by the Judge at the time of the appointment shall be taken as his correct age and no revision will be allowed.

Further, another clause of the 15th Amendment Act has raised the age of retirement of the High Court Judges to sixty-two years; and the next clause authorises the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court with the previous consent of the President of India to request a retired Judge of the Federal Court, Supreme Court or High Courts to sit and act as a Judge of the Supreme Court. It may be noted that this provision might create difficulty on the question of seniority when a retired Judge is requested to act as the temporary Judge. But this does not present any danger to the independence of the Judiciary. Such contingencies may be avoided at the time of appointment. The consultation with the President of India (which implies the Government of India) on such matters would bring a healthy check on the Chief Justice when he intends to ask a retired Chief Justice to work under him.

The Amendment Act inserts a new Article 224A making similar provision enabling the Chief Justice of a High Court to request, with the previous consent of the President, retired Judges of any High Court to sit and act as Judge in the Court. One of the clauses provides for payment to the Judges on transfer from one High Court to another in addition to his salary such compensatory allowance as may be fixed by an order of the President. The Act further provides that the High Court within whose jurisdiction the cause of action arises may also have jurisdiction over the matters involving the Central Government or any other authority or any person not withstanding that the seat of such Government or authority or the residence of such person is outside the territorial jurisdiction of the High Court.²⁸ These amendments were concerned with the Judiciary in India.

The other important provisions included in the Fifteenth Amendment Act were on various matters. One clause makes it clear that India's sovereign rights extended also over the sea bed and sub-soil of the continen-

tal shelf adjoining its territories and beyond its territorial waters.

Another clause determines the procedure in dismissal, removal and reduction in rank of civil servants. Originally the Constitution provided that no civil servant should be dismissed, removed or reduced in rank until he had been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him.²⁸ The amended provision is that "no such person as afore said shall be dismissed or removed or reduced in rank except after an enquiry in which he has been informed of the charges against him and given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in respect of those charges and where it is proposed, after such enquiry, to impose on him any such penalty, until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of making representation on the penalty proposed, but only on the basis of the evidence adduced during such enquiry."³⁰ Thus two reasonable opportunities are provided to the delinquent officials.

It was at the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee that the exclusion of the "reduction in rank" from the scope of constitutional safeguard was dropped from the Bill when passed. Further in the House the clause was amplified to provide for additional opportunity of representation in respect of the penalty proposed where it happens to be dismissal, removal or reduction in rank. These changes have gone in favour of the delinquent officials and have tightened the process than hitherto.

Other provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment Act are minor ones. It has been provided that an acting Chairman of the P.S.C. may be appointed when necessary and that the expression "organisation of the High Courts" in the Entry No. 75 of the Union List would include also matters relating to "vacations." These are the important provisions made in the various Sections of the Fifteenth Amendment Act.

IV

The Committee on National Integration and Regionalism appointed by the National

Integration Council recommended that Article 19 of the Constitution be so amended that adequate powers became available for the preservation and maintenance of the integrity and sovereignty of the Union. The Committee was of the view that every candidate for the membership of a State Legislature or Parliament, and every aspirant to and incumbent of, public office should pledge himself to uphold the Constitution and to preserve the integrity and sovereignty of the Union and that the forms of oath in the Third Schedule to the Constitution should be suitably amended for the purpose.

The Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Act has made necessary provisions to implement the above recommendations.³¹ It has amended Art. 19 to enable the State to make, in the interests of the sovereignty and integrity of India, any law imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the freedom of speech and expression, of assembly, and of association guaranteed under clause (1) of this Article. Generally speaking, the words "in the interest of the sovereignty and integrity of India" were covered by the terms "in the interests of security of the State" and/or "incitement to an offence." So far as the security of State is concerned it has included in it "the serious and aggravated form of public disorder."³² Hence the separate existence of the phrase "tending to overthrow the State" was deemed to be redundant by the authors of the First Amendment Bill.³³ It may be said that since any act purported to have undermined the sovereignty and integrity of India can come under the terms "incitement to an offence," it appears, therefore, that this amendment of Art. 19 is redundant.

V

The Amendment further prescribes that all candidates in the election to the State or Central Legislature have to make an oath or affirmation to the effect that they would "uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India." Consequently, the form of oath or affirmation has been amended to include those words. These are in short the import-

ant features of the Sixteenth Amendment Act.

The four amendments discussed above have been enacted to meet the immediate needs, as felt by the Government, of the day. In the words of the Law Minister, Sri A. K. Sen, "these provisions have become necessary as a result of our experience of the working of the Constitution during the last fifteen years and the difficulties which have arisen as a result of judicial decisions primarily, and with regard to the Public Service Commission as a result of practical difficulties experienced due to illness or leave-taking by the Chairman, etc."³⁴ But on examination it may be found that in their anxiety to resolve the difficulties the Government has gone too far in making certain provisions in the Amending Acts which would threaten the very existence of the independent judiciary in India. As has been argued earlier, the Fifteenth Amendment Act which empowers the Parliament to make law for determining the age of a Judge would provide opportunity to the future Governments to utilise their majority in the Parliament to remove certain Judges. This is a grave menace to the working of the Judiciary and judicial freedom.

1. The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area was administered then as a Part 'B' tribal area within the State of Assam. See the Scheduled Areas Order No. CO. 9, dated the 26th January, 1950, *Gazette of India*, Extraordinary, p. 670.

2. Article of the Constitution provides: "Parliament may by law (a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State; (b) increase the area of any State; (c) diminish the area of any State; (d) alter the boundaries of any State; (e) alter the name of any State."

3. The Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 was introduced on August 21, 1962. It received the President's assent on December 28, 1962.

4. Part XXI of the Constitution of India covers Articles 369 to 392.

5. Art. 371. Before the Seventh Amendment Act, 1956 the Art. 371 made temporary provisions for ten years empowering the President of India to exercise control and give directions to the Part B States.

6. Sec. 2(b), Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. Arts. 54, 55, and 30(4).

13. Art. 170(1) has been amended. "Clause (1) of Art. 170 shall, in relation to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, have effect as if for the word "sixty," the word "Forty-six" had been substituted."

14. The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 was introduced in Lok Sabha on August 30, 1962 and in Rajya Sabha on September 7, 1962. President signified his assent on December 28, 1962.

15. Sec. 3, The Constitution (Fourteenth Amendment) Act, 1962.

16. Sec. 2, *Ibid.*

17. Sec. 4, *Ibid.*

18. Sec. 5 and 7, *Ibid.*

19. There were five cases of that nature disposed of by the Government. Vide speeches of Mr. A. K. Sen, Minister of Law, L. S. Debates, December 8, 1962.

20. In some cases decisions were taken by the Government determining the age of a Judge. It was proposed to give retrospective effect to the clause empowering the President to determine the age of a High Court Judge. See page 7 of the 15th Amendment Bill, 1962.

21. Art. 128.

22. Art. 220.

23. A.I.R. (1961), S.C., 532.

24. Art. 297.

25. Art. 311.

26. The Constitution (Fifteenth Amendment) Bill, 1962 was introduced on November 23, 1962 and passed by Lok Sabha on May 1, 1963. It was passed by Rajya Sabha on May 9, 1963.

27. In the Bill the provision was made that "the question shall be decided by the President after making such enquiry as he may deem necessary and his decision shall be final." But the Joint Committee recommended to change it to the present form.

28. The jurisdiction of the High Courts in the original provision of the Constitution was limited to the persons within the territorial jurisdiction of the High Court concerned.

29. Art. 311(2). See also Journal of Parliamentary Information, Vol. IX, Pp. 67-68.

30. The original intention in the Bill was to exclude "reduction in rank" from the constitutional safeguard and to restrict the opportunity to only one of being heard in respect of the charges.

31. The Constitution (Sixteenth Amendment) Bill, 1963 was introduced in the Lok Sabha on January 21, 1963 and passed on May 2, 1963. It was passed by the Rajya Sabha on May 9, 1963.

32. Ramesh Thappar *vs.* State of Madras, 1950, S.C.R., 594.

33. Sec. 3(1), The Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.

34. Lok Sabha Debates, December 8, 1962.



ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

By LAXMI N. PIPARSANIA

THE Chinese Aggression during October 1962, which of course continues even upto writing of these lines,[†] has changed the face of India as a whole. The nation has accepted the enemy challenge yet it is put in a painful process of economic growth, particularly in view of the fact that the country is fighting simultaneously on the two fronts—defence and development. India's aspirations and policies aiming towards world peace and economic advancement have now certainly to overcome many powerful and obstructive forces both internally and externally. Her policy of non-alignment which has flourished over the years and which has paid much dividend to her in achieving the aforesaid objects, is put to severe test in the face of the Chinese menace. She is faced with the problem as to how to balance her non-alignment policy in the present setting. It is proposed to examine the economic aspect of this policy particularly in the context of India's growing foreign exchange requirements for defence preparations.

BRIEF REVIEW OF INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT

In India, the first official declarations of a policy of non-alignment came with the assumption of power by the nationalist leaders in 1946. Immediately after the assumption of charge as Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the Government of India in September 1946. Pandit Nehru declared that India would "keep away from power politics of groups aligned against one another which have led in the past to two world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale."¹ Subsequently he elaborated all the basic premises of the policy like anti-colonialism, non-alignment with power blocs and faith in the world organisation, i.e., the

United Nations.² Since then, India has vigorously pursued her non-alignment policy.

It is not that her way of non-alignment was free of obstacles. In fact, there were good many occasions when her policy was put to a severe test. However, it also afforded occasions for demonstration of its utility. For example, during the outbreak of Korean War in 1950, the policy pursued by India and Yugoslavia, both of which were at that time members of the Security Council, contributed in some measure to a lessening of the tensions and to creating the necessary atmosphere for peaceful negotiations between the two blocs.

The policy of non-alignment also won many adherents particularly along with the emergence of successful nationalist movements in Asia and Africa. The emergence of a group of Asian and African countries in the United Nations during the last decade is an important development in the growth of non-alignment. Although in a strict sense, it is not a well organised group, yet on the matters of common interest, they have to develop methods of consultation and co-operation. The recent conferences of non-aligned nations held in Cairo and Belgrade and the historical conference of Colombo Powers held in Colombo during December 1962 to mediate on the Sino-Indian conflict, are examples of such international co-operation among non-aligned nations.

ECONOMICS AS A FACTOR OF THE POLICY

Out of many, a major factor determining the outlook of India and other newly independent nations to a considerable extent in their international relations is economics.³ A background of undeveloped and under-developed economies, designed mostly on colonial patterns, was perhaps the most dominating force which

[†] Thanks are due to Mr. N. P. Nair for many suggestions on the subject.

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Independence and After*, A collection of more important speeches from September 1946 to May 1949, (Delhi, 1949), p. 340.

2. Indian Annual Register, Ed. N. N. Mitra (Calcutta, 1946) Vol. II, (July-September 1946). Pp. 251-8. cited. *India Q'ly*, January-March, 1962.

3. Nayar, N. P.—'Non-Alignment in World Affairs,' *India Quarterly*, January-March, 1962.31.

generated an urge in them for a rapid social and economic development of their economies. With the dawn of political independence, this urge has become a watch ward of nationalism in these countries. However, they also recognised the fact that the success of their plans of social and economic development are dependent on peaceful conditions, internally and internationally. 'The fear of a third world war which might do away with their sovereignty, if not existence, and all their hopes of national development, have, therefore, prompted these states to seek peace, even through tolerance and often at any cost.'⁴ Particularly, India has practised such an attitude since she has been admitted to the comity of independent nations. Consisting of poverty-ridden masses which till yesterday served the cause of the British Empire, India started with her all out efforts to raise the standard of living of her people. Indian leaders have consistently stood for the cause of peace by supporting the United Nations Organisation and demand for total disarmament. Quite clearly it was in India's interest to follow a policy of neutrality in the struggle between the two great power blocs in the world. Industrially, from what she was before the advent of freedom, great developments have taken place since. Obviously, she is the most industrial nation in Asia next to Japan. With this might and record of a stable democracy and with her great size and active role played in solving international problems, India naturally emerged as a leader of Asia.

QUEST FOR ASIAN LEADERSHIP

India had, of dourse, long been aware that not only she but, along with her, also China were engaged in a struggle for Asian leadership. In fact, the basis of this Sino-Indian struggle is ideological. India is trying to show that economic progress could be achieved through free institutions, a free society and through democratic methods; the Chinese maintain that theirs is the only road to progress. This ideological struggle has now taken a turn in actual war when China by attacking India in October 1962, has tried to remind Asians that India's economic advance could be disrupted by the Chinese Military threat

against which India might at some future date be able to defend herself only after a highly painful transformation of her economy. It is no wonder if the Chinese while planning their attack on India, might be more actuated by India's development plans and achievements and less because of maps of their common frontiers.

The struggle for leadership is more clearly exposed on the Chinese side. According to Prime Minister Nehru, "a major objective of Communist China's policy was to pry India out of its position of non-alignment in the cold war." The Chinese applied military pressure on India's borders to destroy India's standing among neutral African and Asian nations and to increase Chinese influence among those nations.⁵

NON-ALIGNMENT UNDER TEST

Amidst such a growing ideological conflict, the Chinese attack on India has altogether changed the co-ordinates of her political and economic life. In the wake of her military unpreparedness, she has been put into the dilemma of defence and development. And not only so, her non-alignment policy has become subject to severe test.

As has been the order of successive developments since the Chinese invaded India on 20 October 1962, it is now almost clear that it was first the West that appeared on the scene as the immediate purveyor of relief by recognising India's need at the crucial moment. India's acceptance of military aid has perhaps created a general feeling in the West that at heart India finds her fate linked with the West. It is also believed now more than ever, that Indians now realise that strings or no strings, their security depends on the major powers in the West. This belief may not be shaken even if Indian representative at the United Nations votes differently than the West. Not only this, Western critics also feel now in terms of India's after thought. According to them, the present trend in India's foreign policy is to introduce a much greater realism into Indian thinking on international relations. It was this belief of the United States and the United Kingdom which led them to send their diplomatic representatives to Indian in order to

4. *Ibid.*

5. *The Hindustan Times*, 25, September 1963, p. 7.

suggest to the Prime Minister for extending his 'realism' upto Kashmir also. Although the United States and the United Kingdom have extended timely Military assistance to India without any strings attached, yet the exception is the safeguarding clause protecting Pakistan. The Government of India responded to this gesture on Kashmir by reviving talks with Pakistan and by making offers many times for a "No War Pact" but certainly they could not go beyond this just because the West desires. In fact, this was another crucial test for India's non-alignment.

NO CHANGE IN NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

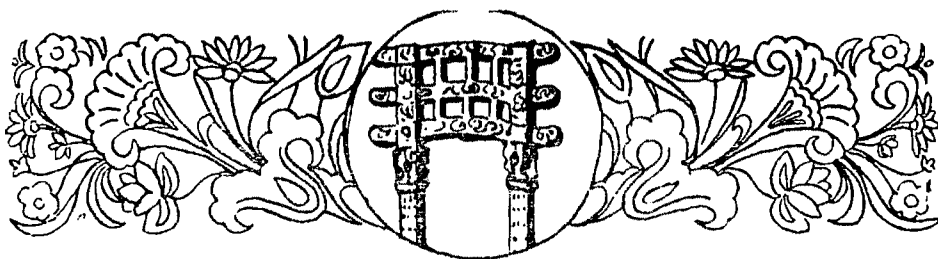
While India has readily accepted the friendly aid from Western countries, yet her policy of non-alignment is least affected. Although Indian leaders have reiterated their belief in a free society, yet they have not even hinted at any change in the broad social and economic objectives of India's development. What is noticeable in her current foreign policy is the growing efforts for balancing the policy of non-alignment. While on the one hand the western countries have assisted her in great measure in her defence preparedness, the U.S.S.R. on the other hand, has come forward with equal response either through supplying MIG jets or lately through her clear-cut condemnation of China for not accepting the Colombo Proposals.⁶

In any case, the policy of non-alignment has once again proved to be successful in winning the favour of both the blocs. In terms of international diplomatic support, this achievement of India's foreign policy is of historical importance. There appears no ground to justify the possibility of any change in this policy. It is noticeable that the balance of non-alignment has been maintained lately by accepting economic defence assistance from both the blocs. Western critics have generally begun to feel that the West must come forward with liberal aid to India.

NEW VALUE ATTACHED TO NON-ALIGNMENT

And truly so, the West has greater stakes in India than any other country of Asia both socially and politically. It would be in greater interest of the West if India remains non-aligned and India's socialist leanings, her growing public sector and her voting for admission of China into the **United Nations, should** not be taken as a sign of India's departure from the values which are basic to the West. If these matters are so taken, and if they are reflected in the western policy in extending economic or military aid to India, certainly the West might be committing a folly, in that they would be failing to recognise in opportune time the real image of Indian society and the true potentiality of India's non-alignment policy.

6. In addition, U.S.S.R. has recently reiterated that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India.



AIR MARSHAL A.M. ENGINEER, D.F.C,

A personal Tribute

BY AIR VICE MARSHAL HARJINDER SINGH, VSM(1) M.B.E. (Retd.).

1st August will be a red letter day in the history of the I.A.F., when Air Marshal A.M. Engineer, one of the foremost pioneers of the Indian Air Force, will hand over the reins of administration as Chief of Air Staff to another gallant officer.

Aspy Engineer's contribution to the service equals Late Air Marshal Mukerjee's (who is affectionately known as the Father of the I.A.F.). From a very intimate and personal knowledge of both these brave men, I would say, their contribution is tremendous and unique.

It was in 1930 that as a college student in Lahore, I read the news that 17 years young Aspy Engineer, had flown solo from England to India and won the Agha Khan prize. This was no mean feat in those days. Flying an open cockpit, with no radio or navigational aids, a cross country of 5000 miles in a light, single engined aircraft, including a hop over the mediterranean, was something of which to be proud. It was heartening and morale raising; yet it puzzled me, because only a few weeks earlier the British Principal had given me a warning in connection with a strike "Shout" long live revolution, "the rest of your life or for that matter revolt with all your countrymen, we have a weapon which you can never have; the Royal Air Force." On further query I discovered that the Government had put down the Gujranwalla rebellion with the use of a single R.A.F. aircraft on the 14th April, 1919, the day following the Jallianwallabagh Massacre. Reading of this epic flight gave me a glimmer of hope. If India had such brave young men, why could we not have an Air Force?

I met Aspy in 1934 at Karachi when he joined us as a Pilot Officer. As an N.C.O. in charge of I.A.F. Airmen's barracks one day, I was called up by the British Officer Commanding to be told of the adverse comments of the day's orderly Officer P/O Aspy Engineer. In defence I retorted, "Sir, this new young officer has some original and revolutionary ideas. I consider this adherence to text book is typical of a newly commis-

sioned officer. Give him six months, he will come down."

How wrong I was, I learnt over the next thirty years when I had the good fortune to serve under him in various ranks. Aspy never came down; he climbed higher and higher in his thoroughness and perfection. It is my prerogative as the oldest member of the I.A.F. alive to pay tribute to this great man who left no stone unturned and gave Late Air Marshal Mukerjee unstinted loyalty and devotion and stood by him through thick and thin. Perhaps this part of his character can best be understood from the remarks of Mrs. Sharda Mukerjee, when I carried the news of Aspy's appointment as Chief of Air Staff one evening in November, 1960 at 'Air House' in Delhi. She spontaneously remarked, "It was his birth-right. He had done as much as my husband in building our air force. Now my husband's soul will rest in peace."

How right she was, I knew, because late Air Marshal Mukerjee had time and again paid glowing tributes to the loyalty and unstinted devotion he had received from his deputy for 26 years.

From the beginning Aspy had set a very high personal example to his subordinates and proved that 'a person who cannot obey cannot command.' This helped the I.A.F. to glide through the political storms which failed to touch the solidarity of its ranks.

Aspy had shown excellence in flying from the very beginning. He won the Grove's Medal on passing out at Cranwell, where he also won the Caterpillar badge when he bailed out of a burning aircraft, whilst carrying out aerobatics. Later on he stood first in Army Co-operative course at Old Sarium. During operations on the N.W.F.P. he was twice mentioned in despatches and later won a Distinguished Flying Cross, Culmination of a flying career, pride of an airman and fulfilment of the finest ambitions of a flying man. Aspy drove his subordinates hard, but he drove himself

harder. It was indeed a pleasure to work under him. He never expressed appreciation by words, but his little smile did more than any vocabulary. A man who had the appearance of steel, carried an extremely sympathetic and kind heart. His spirit of adventure touched his three younger brothers, who also joined the Indian Air Force and fought gallantly in the last war. Two of them won decorations and one of them, now an Air Vice Marshal, is one of the most decorated Air Force Officers in the service today. His impartiality and sense of justice is unparalleled. He demanded the maintenance of the highest traditions in the service and tolerated no breach of discipline from any quarter.

I was a witness to an incident when Late Air Marshal Mukherjee was speaking to him on the telephone. "I cannot court martial 'Ronnie,' because he happened to be your brother." Later on, I learnt that an aircraft which was under trials was damaged because of a faulty design. Aspy wanted to punish his younger brother, because he happened to be the pilot of the aircraft. I could cite hundreds of examples from my personal knowledge which testify to the steadfastness and impartiality of his character.

It was, indeed, a pleasure and source of pride to serve in the company of such a man as Aspy Engineer, who had the confidence of all ranks, excited one universal sentiment of respect and esteem. He had identified himself with the welfare and the fame of the service.

He possessed great readiness and clearness of comprehension in discovering means and great steadiness and honesty of purpose in applying them.

By unceasing diligence he gave the I.A.F., a name in the Air Forces of the world. Mrs. Aspy Engineer's contribution to her husband's career has been remarkable. An ardent nationalist, she fought all the political battle in R.A.F. officers' messes, when the Indian Officers could not express their patriotic feelings before 1947. Needless to say, here is a woman behind Aspy who has always understood and realised that for a leader, simpler pleasures in life are to taboo.

Delhi saw them rarely in evening parties excepting official ones.

It is not commonly known that the I.A.F. was born in the early thirties, when political upheavals in India had created strained relations with the British.

From the very beginning there was discouragement and disappointment in store for the few, who joined the I.A.F. then. The airmen known as Hawii Sepoys were treated on a par with Indian Soldiers and wore boots and putties even when working on aircraft. The officers were the worst hit. The treatment in the mess was derogatory. They were chased from pillar to post on duty. It was under such circumstances that P/O Daljit Singh wrote in his resignation "A sweeper is treated better than an Officer in the I.A.F. and I cannot stand it."

It goes to the credit of men like Mukerjee, Aspy Engineer, Majumdar, Narendra, Mehar Singh, R. H. D. Singh, Goyal & Habibullah Khan, that they suffered untold humiliations, yet laid the foundations of an air force without which political freedom would have been farce. Their names will be written in golden letters in the annals of the I.A.F.

The I.A.F. which was kept down by the alien Government before the war, expanded from 2 to 10 squadrons in a matter of 18 months and fought on the Burma front gallantly and won numerous flying decorations. From 1947 onwards the expansion which took place, later culminating in an all jet Air Force, the part played by Air Marshal Aspy Engineer will go down in history. India owes a great debt to him and the I.A.F. is a living monument to his untiring zeal, devotion to duty and dedication to the cause for which he had devoted all his energies and sacrificed a great deal. The members of the Air Force in generations to come, will draw inspiration from this great man's life. He leaves behind a well knit band of Senior Officers whose sole aim in life is the air defence of India and an Air Force whose brave pilots fly in the most hazardous regions in the world and whose technical skill is second to none.

THE PANDAS OF DEOGHAR

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

THE Pandas of Deoghar form an exclusive community and a short description is indicated. The houses of the Pandas are concentrated at the *mahallas* Bilasi and Jhausagarh around the sacred temples of Lord Baidhyanath. There are more than one thousand families of Pandas at Deoghar. The Pandas mostly belong to a branch of the Maithili Brahmans. The titles of the Bihar Pandas are *Jha*, *Ojha*, *Misra*, *Narauna*, *Khaware*, *Dware*, *Jajuare* etc. Some of the Pandas who came from Bengal are called *Chakravarti*. The population of the Pandas is about 12,000, about 10,000 of them are non-earning dependants and 2,000 are earning members. The livelihood of the majority of the Pandas depends on the offerings given by the pilgrims visiting Deoghar every year. A large number of pilgrims visit Deoghar during the *Shravan mela*, *Bhadra Purnima*, *Shivaratri*, *Basant Panchmi* and the *Durga Puja*. About 1,500 able-bodied Pandas were found actively assisting pilgrims in performance of various ceremonies during the *Shravan mela*.

The Pandas of Deoghar are usually physically strong like the Pandas of Mathura or Gaya. They usually take nutritious food. Their chief source of income is *dan* or gift from the pilgrims and they are always engaged in picking up new pilgrims. For avoiding clashes, the Pandas have divided the *jajmans* (pilgrims) region-wise which includes Nepal. The chief regional division appears to be a *pargana*, the fiscal unit. The first query of the Panda to the visiting pilgrim is what *pargana* he hails from. The Panda maintains the genealogical table of the *jajman* and this is considered to be patrimony. This is called the *Jajmanika* property and is carefully preserved. Each Panda family has a house for accommodating the visiting pilgrim. Even family members vacate the residential portion if necessary. No separate rent is charged for the accommodation. Money, food and clothes are donated by the pilgrim. *Penra* is the chief sweet-meat of Deoghar and *Penra* is also the *bhoga* (food) of Lord Baidhyanath. The *prasad* of *Penra* is taken home by the pilgrims.

The Pandas visit the railway stations, bus stops, *dharmshalas*, residential hotels and the bathing pond, Shivaganga, for picking up the pilgrims. Many Pandas visit their *jajmans* in their villages or towns in lean season and keep up a vital contact. In these visits they also contract fresh recruits to their *jajmanika*. If there is marriage or any other big function in a Pandas' family he or his agent may visit some of the chief *jajmans*, invite them and also get presents of cash, cloth or jewellery.

A Panda's work at Deoghar starts from 4 A.M. in the morning and goes on till 1 A.M. in the night; there are two to three shifts when different sets work for picking the pilgrims. The next task is to escort the group of five to seven pilgrims at the proper time to offer *puja* and oblation to Lord Shiva. Like many temples the interior of the Baidhyanath temple is dark and the space is very limited. The pilgrim has to undergo a sort of penance in offering *puja* especially when the rush is very great. The assistance of the Panda to the pilgrims on that occasion is necessary. Only the able-bodied and physically strong Pandas do this work.

The Pandas who have to work outside the temple go to the railway stations, Baidhyanath-dham and Jasidih junction. Three up and two down trains pass Jasidih junction in the morning (from 3-30 A.M. to 8 A.M.) and so one group of the Pandas has to leave their home at about 2.30 A.M. for Baidhyanathdham railway station from which a train leaves at 3 A.M. for Jasidih. The Pandas pursue the pilgrims from the Jasidih railway station. If the visiting pilgrim knows the name of his Panda he is accompanied by the Panda to whom he belongs from Jasidih to Deoghar or his agent. After giving shelter in his house the Panda takes the pilgrim to Shivaganga to have the holy dip in the sacred water and then brings the pilgrim to the temple. There the other members of his family remain ready since early in the morning for taking the pilgrim to the temple for oblation and the *puja*. It has to

be stated that after performing ceremonies connected with the *puja* of the Lord Shiva by the chief priest, which is called *Sarkari Puja*, the oblation is performed by the family of the Sardar Panda and other Pandas. The general oblation starts after that. During *Sarkari puja* only the selected Pandas are entitled to be within the temple and assist the chief priest in the ceremonies connected with the *puja*. The duration of the *Sarkari puja* is about 30 to 40 minutes. The general oblation begins from about 5 A.M. A short margin of time is allowed in opening and closing of the great doors of the temple in consideration of the rush of the pilgrims. No one, not even the Pandas are allowed to enter within the temple unless one has taken the morning bath. So the Pandas who take the pilgrims inside the temple have to take their bath and *chandan* paste by 4.30 A.M. Light breakfast is also taken as the work in the temple concerning the pilgrims extends upto 1 P.M. when the gate of the temple is closed for rest of the Lord Shiva.

The Pandas usually take their day-meal after 1 P.M. Cooked food, usually rice, pulse, vegetable and *ghi* is taken. Meat and fish may also be in the menu. The Pandas of Deoghar are non-vegetarian. Curd with sweet, usually *Penra*, is taken during the mid-day meal. No food is usually cooked in the night. *Chura* and *dahi* with sweet is the normal food for the night.

After taking the mid-day meal they usually enjoy a siesta, or play card and chess. Between 4 to 5 P.M., many Pandas take *bhang* in a moderate quantity. After that they again move about in search of new pilgrims.

During the *Shringar* (decoration) ceremony of the Lord Shiva in the evening when there is a rush of the pilgrims, the Pandas resume their work of assisting the pilgrims in seeing the *Shringar*. About 50 to 60 Pandas participate in the *arti* ceremony and recite the prayer of Lord Shiva for about 30 minutes. During this period mostly the children of ten to twelve years sell incense, (*agarbati*), earthen *ghi* light and camphor. Some are engaged in showing *arti* to pilgrims standing before the temple and uttering prayer and demanding remuneration. Children are in the habit of pursuing pilgrims even outside the temple for some money. The gate of the temple closes between 9 and 10 P.M. in the night.

The Pandas working within the temple finish their work by night-fall. But the Pandas who have

to work outside the temple for picking up pilgrims have to work in the night also. Several Up and Down trains pass Jasidih between 8 and 12 P.M. in the night.

Besides picking up pilgrims on the railway platforms they have to watch every bus coming to Deoghar. The pilgrims from Dumka, Bhagalpur, Chotanagpur division and the bordering districts viz., Burdwan and Birbhum of West Bengal, mostly come to Deoghar by passenger buses. Deoghar is very well served by Bus services. About 60 buses come to Deoghar daily from different places between 6 A.M. to 10 P.M. The pilgrims either take shelter in the houses of their Pandas or in the *dharamshalas*. The Pandas frequently pay visit to *Dharamshalas* in search of new pilgrims and taking the customary gifts on the eve of departure from the old pilgrims. The persons who put up in the inspection and dak bungalows or hotels are also visited.

During the *melas* when there is a great rush of pilgrims, the Pandas have to work much harder and give up their wrestling bouts, siesta, games of card and chess. The Pandas usually get good dividend in the *mela* period. Even many of the Government servants who are members of the Panda families take leave and work within and without the temple and assist their family members in assisting the pilgrims.

The engagement of the Panda after *mela* period is practically very little. On the whole two months in a year the Pandas are fully occupied but for the rest of the year they have little work in the temple. During this long slack period they have to fall back upon the savings made during peak *mela* periods.

The women have practically little house-hold work. Their main duty in the house is cooking the mid-day meal. The morning break-fast is either purchased or supplied by the pilgrims. The usual break-fast is *chura* in which *kachauri* or *singhara* is mixed. The break-fast may also consist of *chura* and *curd* mixed with sugar or *penra*. Some take tea also. Chewing of *Pan* is common. The ladies of the Panda families have a lot of leisure and frequently visit one another.

The Pandas of Deoghar have started taking up other avocations. Some of them have become clerks, teachers, doctors, lawyers or businessmen. Some of them have taken active part in politics as well. Shri Binodanand Jha who was the Chief

Minister of Bihar for a considerable period belongs to this community.

The Pandas of Deoghar were economically sound before but now the incidence of presents (*dar*) has been on the decline. Some of them own landed property, are better off and belong to the upper middle class. But the majority lives the life of a man who has not much savings after meeting all his expenses. But they cannot be said to be poor in the general acceptance of the term. Most of them have a lot of lean periods. It is a good sign that there has been a shift to other occupations as the old profession of being purely a Panda cannot be exploited beyond a certain limit. The Pandas of Deoghar have a good community feeling among themselves and in this respect they differ from the Pandas of Gaya who have frequent quarrels. The incidence of literacy and education among the Pandas of Deoghar is much higher than the incidence among the Pandas of Gaya.

The marriages of the Pandas are normally

confined to the other Panda families at Deoghar. The biological aspects of this inbreeding has not yet been studied but generally speaking the position is not as alarming as among the Pandas of Gaya. In Gaya the Pandas are in a biological muddle and most of the Panda families in Gaya are probably liable to become extinct within a few generations. Already many of the Panda families in Gaya are without a male offspring and it is understood that the ladies in some cases are running the profession of the family with hired men. The Pandas of Puri and the Pandas of Kapilas temple in Orissa are also inbred. The background of the Pandas in Deoghar is somewhat different as they belong to the Maithil class among Brahmins and it will not be a difficult problem if some of the enlightened and educated Panda boys or girls marry in Maithil families in other districts. The biological aspects of inbreeding of the Pandas of various places is a fascinating subject for the human biologist and the anthropologist.

ALBERT CAMUS

By AMAL HALDAR

Albert Camus was born in Algeria into a very modest working class family. His childhood was spent in one of the poorer quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the Communist Party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of republican Spain and this was one of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerite regime and against Stalinism.

During the war, despite very fragile health, he was a militant in the resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper "**Combat**." His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believed that a writer should

always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that first of all, especially if what he creates does not recoil before the problems of his own times" but "in exceptional circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen." He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair splitting or prudent reservations and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian Revolt.

This rigour, he thinks, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckons himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, Conformism has fastened on the Left: "It is true that the right is not brilliant," he said in a recent interview, "but the Left is in full decadence,

a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws." The role of the intellectual, "he holds lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing estatically his imaginary roles.

He follows his own dictum in prescribing a solution to the Algerian problem. He regards himself as an Algerian Frenchman and he does not approve the terrorism of the Algerian guerillas, since his early beginning as a Journalist in Algeria, he has always taken a liberal stand in a series of articles published in 1956" and also more recently, he defined his position. He advocated the end of the status then in force in Algeria, a Round Table conference that would include all the representatives of Algerian Parties and groups, and the discussion of the possibility of an autonomous, federated Algeria, which would preserve the liberties of the two peoples who inhabit the country.

Although already an established writer and one of the foremost among his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus is still developing. With regard to him there is still in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he has shown and to the Power of his thought and produce in the future works which will be fully equal to his most outstanding success. And the collection of short stories published this year does not indicate any falling off.

He has always been evolving. For the first five years or so of his literary career Camus showed himself as a pronounced pessimist, almost a nihilist, oppressed with a sense of the unending conflict of man with reason and ultimately with the moral order. In *Noces* he wrote, "A stone warmed up by the sun or a cypress which the sky lays bare in its full growth, furnishes the limits of the only world in which reason possesses any sense—Nature without man." This phase continues in *Caligula*, *Le Malentender* and *L'Étranger*. In all of them man is shown con-

vinced of the absurdity of the world. In *L'Étranger*, however, a new vein revealed itself a streak of voltairean irony infused with pathos.

In this phase Camus found the mainstay of his lyricism in his praise of the life of the senses. But however preoccupied he might be with the absurdity of the world, neither in his exposition nor in his style did he ever show himself as anything but a believer in order and clarity and he gave a rational form to a philosophy which was obsessed with the incoherent and the irrational. He found in his classical style an antidote to the "disgust for life" and saw in art a counter-destiny for man.

But from 1942 onwards Camus began to move towards a humanistic position. Participation in the Resistance was for him an influence towards this end. By taking risks for a cause, Camus evolved towards a philosophy which recognized the eternal values of the conscience above the contingencies of history.

He has written essays, novels, plays and short stories, the most notable of which are the following: Essays—*Noces* (1939), *Le Mythe de Sisyphe* (1942), *Letres a un Ami Allemand* (1945), *L'Homme Revolte* (1952); Novels—*L'Étranger* (1942), *La Peste* (1947), Theatre—*Le Malentendu* (1944), *Caligula* (1944), *L'Etat de siege* (1948), *Les Justes* (1949), Short stories—*L'Exil et le Royaume* (1957).

In his letters, *O un Ami a un Ami Allemand*, he stated that man ought to set himself against moral nihilism and take the part of justice even against the gods. In *La Peste* this tendency reached its culmination. In *L'Homme revolte*, Camus is the champion of what might be called secular humanism, which rejects any form of violence on man. He thus becomes an advocate of reforms rather than of revolutions, and he shows himself disinclined to sacrifice any part of the liberty and happiness which man enjoys to-day in the expectation of an ideal future.

Suddenly a motor accident has come over his life. And he has left this universe for ever on 4th January, 1960.

SOCIALIST THINKING

By Prof. A. SEKHARAN

Although a good deal has been said for over a quarter of a century about socialism, a socialistic outlook has yet to grip the mind of the Indian people. When we discuss a particular issue over and over again, it is likely that its contents may be deprived of their vitality and its meaning distorted. So with socialism, which has already undergone a thorough scrutiny by our political leaders.

The very fact that the tenets of socialism can be sacrificed for the purpose of canvassing more ballots in elections has brought considerable ill-repute about it in our country.

There are at present numerous interpretations of the concept of socialism. It varies from country to country, according to the national thinking. Naturally, therefore, there is a lot of misgivings about its implications in a welfare society. We find that different social systems adopt the socialist ideology differently. Yet, we cannot categorically say all those are correct from a social point of view. Some countries have unflinching faith in the socialist creed and have also achieved a great deal by putting it into practice, while some others have partially accepted what seemed to them the best part of it. Yet, there are some more who proclaim the virtues of socialism as a disguise—it is only a disguise because they want to preserve the most reactionary and anti-social institutions under their control. It is therefore imperative that we sort out these mixed thinkings on socialism, so that we may not lose sight of the fundamental concept of it at any rate.

What may be the fundamental concept of socialism? To build a society in which every member can enjoy the fruit of his labour undisturbed by outside interference. It means it ensures complete equality of status and income. Being equal at birth and death, every human being has been granted some exclusive rights and privileges by Nature herself. If he wishes to live

he must work; if he works, he must eat and drink. There cannot at all be a dispute over the issue that a working man must have bread to eat.

To say that man cannot live on bread alone is correct to some extent. But it is equally correct to say that man cannot live without bread as well. The moment you deny him bread, you also deny him the very right to live.

Surely, the first man on earth should not have wandered about in search of the Ultimate Reality, the origin of God, etc. Possibly, his first attempt was to get some things to eat, something to hide his nakedness, to protect the body from the sun, wind and rain. The investigation of Truth and the related things, in all probability, started at a later date. We can, therefore, safely conclude that man wants food and clothing first. Then come his culture, civilization, wisdom and all that. On empty stomach, one's limbs will not function. So his brain, mind and power of thinking. Suppose, a particular social system is unable to guarantee him his elementary necessities of life, can we then call it a healthy social system from the human point of view?

Until the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the only country in the world which had embarked on the experiment of complete socialization of the Community. We know, there were many differences of opinion outside that country in regard to the method she chose to press the new idea home. But all criticisms were superfluous and, as such, they melted away gradually. Later, the achievements of the Soviet Union became a symbol of human faith and practice.

When the war came to its logical end, several countries in Europe and Asia found themselves freed from the yoke of discredited imperialism. The devastating catastrophe had already brought in its train utter ruination and untold miseries. Beautiful cities and powerful industrial centres were reduced to ashes, the agriculture and native industries

totally collapsed. Uprooted millions looked aghast at the gloomy future. Poverty and hunger danced on the face of the masses. Nevertheless, the example of the Soviet Union was before them all the same. Anxious as they were to lift up the faces of the millions, the newly liberated countries unhesitatingly plunged into a crucial experiment of national reconstruction. India was also one of them.

However, the attempt at socialism was not as easy as many had imagined. It was good in so far as it spread the ideal of socialism, but it had its adverse effects on the basic creed.

A student of history may well know that the seed of capitalism is hidden in the process of natural growth of feudalism. As a matter of fact, the former sprouts out when the latter is still decaying. The growth of capitalism, therefore, in a newly freed semi-feudal, semi-colonial country cannot be a strange phenomenon. It is a historical feature, an inevitable consequence in the normal political development of any country. There is no reason why India should be an exemption from this, unless there is an attempt to change the course of events.

We all know that the issue of socialism has been before the Indian National Congress for more than thirty years. Nevertheless, why is it still hanging on the air? The answer is simple: On the one hand, the sweeping tide of revolutionary upsurge from abroad had engulfed the Congress and forced up periodical thinking on its policies and programmes; on the other, the reactionary elements within and without the Congress would not allow it to proceed to any more than ceremonial discussions and pious resolutions on the issue.

Often, in order to keep the balance between the fighting forces, the Congress Party defined the issue under various *noms de guerre*: Socialism, Socialistic Pattern of Society, Democratic Socialism. One may wonder what is the significance of democratic. Because, the idea of 'democratic socialism', since Socialism is itself democratic, socialism from the Congress point of view has been evolved on its own, consideration of our cultural heritage and tradition.

Hence, it has a separate identity. International implications apart, in socialist thinking the Congress is in favour of a nationalist approach.

Nationalism in a limited sense is good, but excessive nationalism is equally harmful, because socialism is an international system of society, the message of which cuts across the boundaries of all nations. Not only it stimulates the national spirit of well-being, but also it fervently appeals to an international brotherhood. This is more so, as far India is concerned, for the basic urge of her culture and civilization from time immemorial, is for universal brotherhood. Whenever, India tried to work out her destiny along this line, she became extremely popular and the people outside her four boundaries looked upon her for guidance and inspiration. But whenever she ignored her own destiny and basic ideals, she remained confined through and through inside her shell, accepting dictation and domination of other people. It is then apparently clear that India has to play a dual role in implementing the socialist ideology.

Judging from the existing social conditions, we cannot say exactly that we have reached anywhere near socialism, or Socialistic Pattern of Society. Let us be frank. If the path chosen by the Congress is infested with dacoits and robbers, we will never reach our destination. The Indian masses are well-known for their patience and power of endurance even in the most distressing conditions. It, does not however, mean that a pathetic and humiliating life experience can continue for ever. There was a time when India was fantastically spiritual. But the impact of modern science and technology has rudely shaken her superstitious and mystic thinking.

Now, she is coming out of her shell and as she comes out, she appears to be gigantic and wonderful in stature. There may be persons to push her back again into her own shell, but it is certain that once she comes out she will not be able to go back into that wretched shell of social prejudices and ignorance. Only if we embark on a gigantic social transformation based on unmixed socialism can we survive.

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIAN ECONOMY

By Prof. S. N. MEHROTRA

Trade Unionism has been influenced by a number of ideologies from time to time. To Karl Marx, in Germany, a trade union was first and foremost "an organising centre. It provided the locus for collecting the forces of working classes. The trade unions developed originally out of the spontaneous attempts of the workers to do away with the competition, or at least to restrict it for the purpose of obtaining at least such contractual conditions as would raise them above the status of bare slaves."¹ His theory of class conflict and dialectical materialism created a class of trade unionists who regard labour unions as absolutely essential for bringing about a revolutionary and fundamental change in the existing social order. Considering inherent contradictions in the economic order, Marx stressed the need for a complete change. Thus, he gave a political character to the character of a trade union. Lenin characterised it as "an educational organisation, a school of administration, a school of economic management and a school of Communism."² The Webbs, on the other hand, to whom we owe a great deal for their standard works on the subject in Great Britain, considered trade unionism to be the extension of the principle of democracy in the sphere of industry. They defined a trade union "as a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working-lives."³ To them, the unions were the institutions for overcoming managerial dictatorship to strengthen individual labourers and to give them 'some' voice in the determination of conditions under which they have to work. But, Cole, being a syndicalist, considered 'ultimate control of the industry' as the object of trade unionism. The demand for the control of industry is something quite different from the demand for higher wages or shorter hours; it is essentially a demand to control industrial conditions and processes. It is in

this sphere that the demand of labour unions must be met as "labour's remedy," observes Cole, "for the cure of profiteering is not a share in the profits for itself, but the public ownership of industry combined with a system of democratic control."⁴ According to Cunnison, a trade union is a "monopolistic combination of wage-earners who, as individual producers, are complementary to one another, but who stand to the employers in a relation of dependence for the sale of their labour and even for its production; and that the general purpose of the association is, in view of that dependence, to strengthen their power to bargain with the employers."⁵ Similarly, Prof. Kuhon (U.S.A.) also maintained "Having been separated from the ownership of the tools with which they (workers) earned a living, they could accept this separation as part of the new order, and try to improve their well-being within it by bargaining with the new owners. This alternative may be described as the bargaining approach. The other alternative is to refuse to accept the separation as permanent, but try to regain ownership and control of the instruments of production. This alternative approach may be describe as the 'ownership' approach. Whether the working class chose the bargaining approach or the ownership approach, its members had to be organized.....Both approaches led to unions and bargaining."⁶ Thus, to those who believe in bargaining approach, trade unionism is essentially utilitarian in its aims.

Against the above background, it is well maintained that trade unions have to change their methods and working from time to time to adjust themselves to changing ideologies. In other words, we visualise a dynamic role of trade unionism, depending on social, economic and political ideas and institutions. Such a role of trade unionism is to be examined with reference to our own country. During the early period of 1918-25, Indian

labour was a large incoherent mass, brought together by economic distress and political expediency. In the absence of any legal safeguards, organisation of labour was an illegal conspiracy⁷ and the employers could easily victimise their employees and their leaders. Consequently, collective bargaining to improve the workers' lot was a practical impossibility. At the same time, the early period of unionism synchronised with the immediate post-war political inspirations, culminating in the Swaraj Movement. Naturally and inevitably, the leadership for the infant trade union movement was provided by the political upsurge. Thus, trade unionism in this country imbibed a deep political colour. But, "to promote a healthy growth of the Trade Union Movement by protecting legitimate trade unions, giving them status and dissociating them from political propaganda, which may conceal their real aims and jeopardise their usefulness and to protect the ignorant and superstitious workers from fraud and imposture to which they can be easily exposed, an Act called the Trade Union Act was passed in 1926."⁸ Thus, trade unionism got legal recognition which ultimately enhanced the status of the unions in the eyes of the employers and the general public and even unregistered unions were benefited on account of the greater confidence given to the movement as a whole.⁹ Labour is not the only party interested in the development of unions as "no work, no living, no amenities of life can be assured for any body in planned society... unless he is a member of an organisation appropriate to his work."¹⁰ but the employer is equally interested in it as "it has been realised that the collective grievances of wage-earners can be fruitfully channelised through trade unions and failure to do so would keep the embers of industrial unrest burning." Dr. Punekar, therefore, points out that "they are now considered even by the employers not merely as an inevitable response to the challenge of modern industrialisation but more so as an essential tool for industrial peace."

But, it is wrong to think that only industrial participants—labour and capital—are anxious to see trade unionism on sound

footing. The State, being the custodian of the community's welfare, can ill afford to remain a silent spectator and that is why the Planning Commission realised, "The employer-employee relationship has to be conceived of as a partnership in a constructive endeavour to promote the satisfaction of the economic needs of the community in the best possible manner."¹¹ The First Plan further added in this respect that, "the workers' right of association, organisation and collective bargaining is to be accepted without reservation as the fundamental basis of mutual relationship. The attitude to trade unions should not be just a matter of toleration. They should be well aimed and helpful to function as part and parcel of the industrial system."¹² All this led to the important realisation that trade unions can play a positive and important role in the execution of plans. Thus, healthy development of trade unionism is considered to be necessary "both for safeguarding the interests of labour and for realising the targets of production."¹³ The current Plan has again reiterated that "they have to be accepted as an essential part of the apparatus of industrial and economic administration of the country."¹⁴

All this implies that trade unions in a growing economy and under democratic planning have to assume new responsibilities and must be prepared to discharge them. Besides undertaking the work of national reconstruction through execution of different plans, they are the vital instruments of transformation of the social set up and of equalization of income in the society by increasing the workers' share in the national income. Thus, trade unions "are pluralist in character."

In spite of the fact that trade unions have earned both legal and social status, both from the employers and the State, they have been subject to serious handicaps—legal as well as otherwise. As the Indian Trade Unions Act, modelled on the British Trade Union Act, 1876, defines a trade union as "any combination whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between work-

men and workmen, or between employers and employees, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and includes any federation of two or more trade unions,"¹⁵ the organisations or associations of both employers and employees, differing greatly from one another not only in the aims and the methods to be followed, but also in the constitution and class of membership can be grouped up under the head 'Trade Union'. Strictly speaking, the term 'trade union' refers only to workers' organisations. Even organisations, for workers but not of workers, have no right to be called trade unions.¹⁶ Hence, the inadequacy of legal definition leads to certain confusions in the minds of certain individuals interested to study the position of the workers' organisations only. Secondly, the interpretation of the Supreme Court as to the term 'workman' as defined in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, that: "the essential condition of a person being a workman within the terms of this definition is that he should be employed to do the work in that industry, that there should be in other words, an employment of his by the employer and that there should be the relationship between the employer and him as between employer and employee or master and servant,"¹⁷ severely limits the potential membership of the Indian trade unions, provided the above sort of interpretation is to be applied to the term under the Trade Union Act, 1926. Thirdly, regulation of conditions of recruitment, discharge, disciplinary action, holidays etc., of the workers through the institution of standing orders under the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946, has mitigated the necessity of forming unions to a certain extent. The detailed provisions about the conditions for their certification, date of operation, display, modifications and adjudications of dispute as to their interpretation really restrict the scope for the existence of the unions. Fourthly, the provisions under the Industrial Disputes Act as regards Government's unfettered discretion in referring the disputes to adjudication machinery tended to minimise the utility of the workers' organisations. In the words of

Shri Giri, "Compulsory adjudication has cut at the very root of trade union organisation.If workers find that their interests are best promoted only by combining, no greater urge is needed to forge a bond of strength and unity among them. But compulsory arbitration sees to it that such a bond is not forged." Lastly, Sec. 46 of the Industrial Disputes Act enables a worker if he so desires to be represented by a union, but it does not enable a union to represent its members. Apart from the general law of agency, a trade union can not bind by its decision its own members, far less the non-union members. All these legal handicaps have adversely affected the collective bargaining position of the unions and thereby the growth of trade unionism in the country.

The political division of trade unionism has also been responsible for affecting adversely its contributions to the economy. Unlike in Britain where the relationship between the Labour Party and trade unions is in the nature of a partnership based on equality and independence, in India the unions are to all intents and purposes have been adjuncts of the different political parties. Far from being equals, joined together for promoting mutual strength and interest and to serve the country's interests, the unions have been the hand-maidens of the political parties. Again, in England trade union loyalties are almost entirely for the Labour Party, whereas in this country every political party, except the Swatantra Party, has unions affiliated to it. It is because of this political division that union leadership is now by and large identified with the workers but often consists of a professional leadership, financed by the political parties. It must, however, be recognised here that outsiders have played a notable part in building up the trade union movement in the country. But for their association, the movement would not have reached even its present dimensions and strength. "A distinction needs to be drawn here between outsiders who are whole-time trade union workers and those who look upon union work only as a part of their other activities. There is still need for devoted workers of the first kind in the trade union organisations and the right of

trade unions to elect such persons to their executives, if they do so choose, should not be interfered with. Even so, the unions need to realise that undue dependence on any one not belonging to the ranks of industrial workers must necessarily affect the capacity of workers to organise themselves."¹⁸ It is, however, a matter of some relief that although of late, certain efforts have been made to reduce the intervention of outsiders as executives of the unions.

Thirdly, the poor finances accompanied with the low membership of the unions have always stood in the way of their extramural activities and adequate representation of the workmen before the State-sponsored adjudication machinery.

To strengthen trade unionism in the country—a 'sine qua non' for the success of industrial democracy which has to go hand in hand with political democracy, it is necessary that undue reliance on the adjudication machinery is abandoned by limiting its scope in the strictest possible manner. Secondly, "all the workers, whether in the field or factory, who believe in undiluted democratic and socialistic ideals in the running of the movement, should, join hands to form a single central organisation to represent, in an authoritative manner, all their reasonable demands..... An attempt should be made to effect trade union's unity in India. Our goal should be one union in one industry and one central organisation for all workers."¹⁹ Thirdly, unions must be made financially strong. Though the amendment Act of 1960 has laid down the minimum subscription fee of 25 nP. per month, it is equally necessary that there should be stricter enforcement of the rules regarding collection of arrears. If necessary, the Payment of Wages Act should allow the employers to deduct such fees along with other deductions from the amount of wages payable to the workers and then transfer them to the respective unions.

Conclusion

The effective contributions of trade unionism to the development of the Indian economy can be expected only in circum-

stances free from acrimonies between labour and capital. It must be fundamentally realised that there is no necessary hostility between labour and capital. Neither can do without the other; each has evolved from the other;.....broadly considered, the interest of one is the interest of the other; and the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the other."²⁰ It implies the abandonment of the Doctrine of Class-conflict which only serves to divert the attention of the trade unions from vital issues. Again, the unions must at all costs preserve their independence and should not allow themselves to be exploited for political purposes. Indian industrial labour must rebuild its own house of trade unionism in an orderly fashion to meet the challenge thrown to them by the Plans which have advocated the creation of industrial democracy as a prerequisite for the establishment of a socialist society through democratic means.

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9. Report, Royal Commission on Labour in India, Pp. 318-319.
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11. *First Five-Year Plan*, p. 573.
12. *Ibid.*
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14. *Third Plan*, p. 255.
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THE FIRST INDIAN PRINCESS IN ENGLAND

Victoria Gowramma

By I. M. MUTHANNA

EXACTLY one hundred years ago an Indian princess married to an Englishman passed away in England in a suburban house of the City of London. How many Indian ladies had preceded her to England, nobody knows, but from all known facts it is concluded that this lady from India who accompanied her father, the exiled ruler of Coorg, then a tiny princely State, was the first Indian princess to visit England in the year 1852, a century and twelve years ago.

She was Gowramma—a lovely Karnatic name—meaning ‘the white lady.’ With her she bore the sorrows, trials and tribulations suffered by the Indian rulers exiled or dethroned in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gowramma personified the love, tolerance and sufferings of Indian womanhood, so much so, that she was constantly by her father, Prince Viraraja the Younger of Coorg, who brought up his daughter with loving care and affection.

How this young princess happened to be in England one-hundred and twelve years ago, is a story of absorbing interest.

Intrigues within the tiny State of Coorg fomented by the East India Company Government, invited their intervention in the first quarter of the last century. But this intervention was in violation of the pledge the Company had signed in the presence of the Raja's great predecessor in March 1793 which stated that the British would not interfere in the affairs of Coorg.

The Company Government whose one aim and end was to bring the whole of India under its rule, fully exploited the situation, with the result that the Raja of Coorg was forced to struggle against Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. In the eighteen-thirties, the affairs of this little State reached an intriguing climax when the British Government took the earliest opportunity of deposing Viraraja which they did on the 6th April 1834 after conducting a punitive expedition.

Even by heaping a lot of accusations on the dethroned Raja, the Company Government could not explain away their misconduct. Finally they

took refuge on the provisions of International law which of course was not at all relevant in this connection. Verily Coorg was the only State that was annexed by the British under the circumstances.

The Raja of Coorg was taken a prisoner and was sent to Vellore. He was allowed to carry his money and crown jewels. His family accompanied him. But the confusion caused by the Vellore mutiny expedited the Raja's transfer to Benares where he stayed virtually as a prisoner for more than fifteen years.

From 1834 to 1852 is a long period for a royal prisoner to brood over his past, and plan his future as well. The Raja of Coorg under detention in Benares, consequently became a good friend of highly placed Englishmen of the time, and was even visited by the British Governors and Governors-General from time to time. This was certainly an enviable record for a deposed Raja.

After repeated letters of request for permission to leave for England on the plea of educating his young daughter, Viraraja finally succeeded in getting the letter of consent by the Governor-General-in-Council, of course under very humiliating conditions regarding his travelling expenses and that of the Government appointed guides and guards, which he had to bear himself in full. Unmindful of these pin-pricks, the enterprising prince of Coorg undertook the voyage accompanied by his daughter Gowramma who was then twelve years old. In a ship in which a number of British officials who were going home on leave, had taken their berths, Prince Viraraja and his daughter were accommodated. From the Calcutta docks the ship sailed for three months and reached the Thames estuary carrying the first Indian ruler of a State ever to visit England.

No sooner had he set foot on British soil, the Raja felt that he had amply fulfilled his long cherished ambition. Without losing his regal character, he briskly took his programme as planned, with the help of his English friends. He succeeded in having an audience with Queen

Victoria who was very much impressed by the beauty and grace of his young daughter. The queen graciously undertook to bring up the princess under her personal care and appointed a nurse to look after her. After some time she was baptised by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the presence of the Queen of England and a host of distinguished lords including Lord Russell, Hon'ble Wellesley and many others at the private chapel of the Buckingham palace. She was christened as Victoria Gowramma.



Princess Gowramma and her father Viraraja
in England

The girl grew up under the royal patronage. By this time another Indian prince of the Punjab happened to be in England, and Queen Victoria planned to get the princess married to this exiled young Raja of the Punjab. In the meantime, Gowramma's health failed, and therefore, arrangements were made to send her to the continent

for a change in the company of her nurse and the young Raja.

Viraraja the Younger, at the same time, had been busy fighting with the British Government for his lost kingdom as well as personal property. He campaigned vigorously through the Press when he said, "I require only that which I am in every respect entitled to by the law of nations, by the law of Nature and Justice." Finally his case was heard by the House of Lords. The proceedings happened to be so lively that it became classical in its content. The speeches delivered in the English Parliament on the occasion were so passionately exciting and next only to Burke's impeachment orations.

Although Viraraja lost his case, he spent the rest of his life in England and died in 1859 with tragic memories of his home in India--Coorg. He presented all his gold and Crown jewels to his daughter who was at his bed-side.

Queen Victoria continued to take interest in Victoria Gowramma although the health of the latter had considerably deteriorated. Her romance with the Indian prince was not successful. A few months later, however, she married an English army officer Col. Campbell, who had once served in the Madras regiment. The Campbells had a girl child who was named as Edith Victoria. Victoria Gowramma who became completely bed-ridden soon after, passed away in 1864, just one-hundred years ago.

Gowramma was thus the first Indian princess in England who stood by her father Viraraja in his endeavour to get back his kingdom, and in his campaign against the atrocities perpetrated by the East India Company Government. Indeed, the father and daughter moved among the British aristocrats and even the English Sovereign, and were actually the unofficial representatives of Bharat that had just lost its freedom to the foreigners. Their outstanding presentation of India's cause before the English parliament where the case was heard created considerable stir.

Gowramma's husband Col. Campbell's history became a mystery after her death. He was seen after a few days walking out of his house with a bag containing the Crown jewels of his deceased wife, but nothing was known about him thereafter. Their daughter Edith Victoria grew up under the care of nurses. She had a son Victor Yardley

who died in Australia about thirty years ago after an accident.

Here ends the tragic saga of an unfortunate royal dynasty that defied not only the terrors of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the eighteenth century, but defied the East India Company and finally the British Government itself.

Therefore, it is fitting that Princess

Gowramma's one-hundredth death anniversary be remembered by the country. She was a princess who shed lustre, grace and charm in the English royal household. Coorg, as a princely state, has long disappeared. The British Government in India has also become a chapter of past history. But history that makes the moving episodes unforgettable, lives for ever.

THE EAST-WEST MUSIC CONFERENCE

A Critical Review

By Dr. ADI GAZDER

The East-West Conference was held in New Delhi from the 7th-13th February. There were delegates from the U.K., France, Yugoslavia, Iran, Hungary, the Federal Republic of Germany, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the USA and Canada. Because of the unfortunate lack of other Eastern participation, the conference could have been more factually termed India—West Conference.

The Conference set out to discuss various comparative aspects of music between the West and India, and several concerts were also presented from both sides.

It was the logical sequel to two similar encounters in Tokyo, '62 and at the 1963 Edinburgh Festival. It opened with an inauguration ceremony at the Azad Bhavan auditorium and the Presidential address was delivered by Prof. Humayun Kabir.

The conference consisted of morning sessions at which the musicologists were the star performers and evening concerts at which the musicians presided. There were four sessions of discussions which were presided over by Yehudi Menuhin, Dragotin Cvetko, the Earl of Harewood and Nicholas Nabokov. The subjects for the morning discussions were 'Evolution in Music', 'The differences and similarities in Musical Structures of Indian and Western Music', 'The Psychology of the Listener and of the Musi-

cian', and 'Traditional Music facing Industrial Civilisation'.

The evening concerts featured both Indian and Western artistes. Among the memorable performances were those by Bismillah Khan, the Studio for Medieval Music, the duet of Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan and the sitar and sur-bahar of Vilayat Khan and his brother Imrat Khan.

In this reviewer's opinion none of the concerts reached the high watermark of artistic excellence except perhaps the concluding session. Balasaraswati, the well-known exponent of Bharata Natyam, also gave a dance recital. This was rather an odd choice for there were other musical aspects of India which could have been stressed at such an encounter of East-West, like Rabindra-sangeet or folk music, etc.

Generally speaking, it was in the discussion that our Indian viewpoint was badly presented with a few notable exceptions, as it was mixed up with a lot of musicological verbiage of essentially Indian origin. The Indian standpoint though erudite was considerably garbled and frightened many of the Western delegates from probing any further into Hindustani or Karnatic music.

In summary, therefore, this reviewer would like to make the following observations:

(a) Artistic

By forcing Hindi musicians, (Bismillah Khan, Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan, Vilayat Khan, etc.) to play to a programme length of 45 minutes was in itself indicative of a lack of understanding of our art, for it cannot really be confined to such a strict time schedule. Indian musicians did not speak at the musicological deliberations. This was a pity, because in the opinion of this observer, they could have expressed in adequate and easily understandable musical terms to the westerners, a musician's point of view on details of clarification, etc. Considering it was an Indian—West venture, no simultaneous lecture recital series by our distinguished musicians were arranged for the benefit of those not fully cognisant of Indian music. The Indian musicologists had a surprising lack of contact with the musicians and public dissensions between the two as expressed at for example in Amir Khan's recital together with the tremendous rivalry between the Hindi and Karnatic music schools, as well as the technical terminology on which there was no basic agreement between North and South, or East and West prevented this conference from achieving any tangible results. The Western musicians probably left with a view of Indian music as being a ritualistic jargon of music and dietary and physical exercises, and yogic postures together with a mass of unclassifiable terminology which varied in meaning from one authority to another, e.g. *srutis*, *murchhanas*, *ragas*, *talas*, etc.

(b) Organisation

One could not understand how the Indian contingent to this conference was selected and on what basis they were classified as observers or delegates. Who formed the committee and was it based on an All-India basis as the title suggested? Who was responsible for the programme? Where were Omkarnath Thakur, Dilip Chandra Veda, D. T. Joshi, at the conference tables? One missed hearing Bade Gopal Ali Khan, Ahmed Jan Thirakhwa (*tabalchi*) and C. Balachandra (*veena*). A notable

absentee was the *sarangi* which, as an instrument which would have been more easily appreciated by the westerners, and Ram Narayan or Sagir Khan could have been valuable recitalists.

The official programme itself did telescope Indian artistes into a very tight fitting evening schedule and probably this accounted for their admittedly unsatisfying performances.

For future reference this critic outlines a plan which will probably yield more satisfactory results. The first essential is to have a regular central Musical Organisation which should be tied up with the Academies of Music in the various areas, (these being situated in principal cities, e.g., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Banaras, etc.). From the committees of these academies the central committee should be formed consisting of two or three members of each region. This committee would then be more representative of musical opinion in the country on an all-India basis. It would then be able to more actively activate all possible talent sources, and mobilise and effectively present them at future conferences. The committee will also serve a double purpose and prevent overlapping of artistes with the same instrument and give new artistes in each region a chance in the various sections of instrumentalists and vocalists.

For example, one year the outstanding musicians would be *sarod* and *shehnai* players, and the other instrumentalists could be some of our up and coming musicians, on the *sitar*, *sarangi*, *veena*, etc. For the next conference the distinguished representatives would be from two other fields, *sitarists* and *vocalists*, for example, and the other instrumentalists be represented by younger talent. In this way we would represent practically most of our major instrumentalists and singers over a whole spectrum, encouraging at the same time our younger musicians as well.

At an East-West venture it would be wise to have a small almost clinical discussion in the afternoon, at a time during which no programme is arranged. If this were done in a sort of series and in progressive fashion, foreigners could get a reasonable under-

standing of each particular instrument and its artistic significance, etc. At the end of these clinical discussions a few ragas should be demonstrated during the informal discussions, and these ragas (say 4 to 6) should be the ones which are played at the evening concerts, thereby enlivening and training the novitiate. This programme must be an integral part of the conference for there are many people who would come to such conferences if they were sure of obtaining really authentic information and knowledge of Indian music at these encounters.

A terminology conference should be called at a very early date for musicians in India to standardise some sort of terminology and basic values for otherwise this non-conformity leads to even greater confusion at conferences and shows a lack of unity of thinking in Indian artistic circles. This lack of unity is outstanding among musicologists but not quite so apparent among the musicians. This meeting should be called at a very early date with an agenda prepared carefully beforehand so that musicians and

musicologists who come, could arrive with some preparation before the discussions started. From this conference, if it is wide and representative enough, regular committees could be drawn up as well as a central committee from the regional ones. This technical congress for standardisation of terminology would serve after 4 or 5 meetings as Indian representatives for an international congress on the same subject.

Indian music must be presented in future in its natural setting, that is without the ominous time factor, but at the same time within reasonable limits (not quite as brief as 40 minutes).

In summary it may be said that the outstanding need is for us to organise ourselves on an all-India representation and any future conferences or artistic ventures be planned on this basis. We need to agree, or agree to disagree on what is essential for Indian musicians when presenting Indian music outside the confines of our country and to do so in a coherent and artistic fashion so that our glorious cultural heritage can be presented in its true perspective.



ARE THE MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES DERIVED FROM SANSKRIT ?

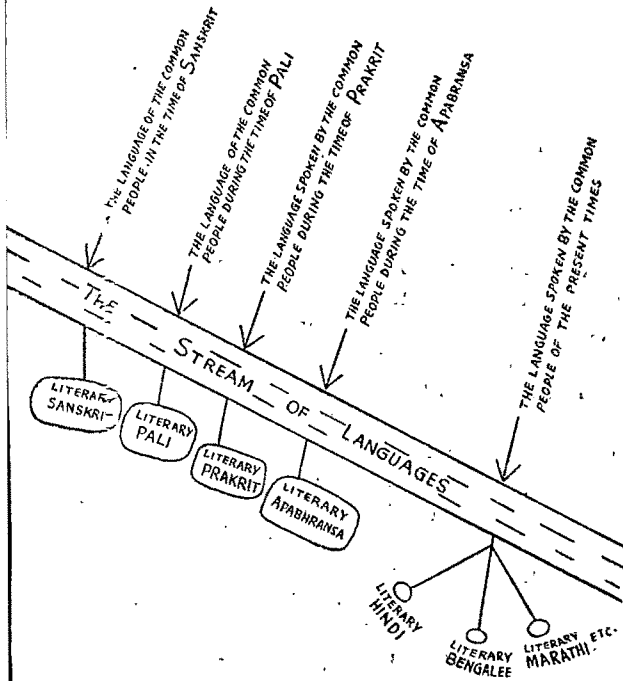
By Prof. UMAKANT THAKUR M.A.B.T.

The difference between a literary language and a vernacular or the language spoken by the common people is very great. Literary language is different from the spoken language due to its artificiality. The language spoken by the common people is flexible, rich and full of life and freshness like a stream, while the literary languages are like lakes which are fixed and cut from the stream of fresh water or the language spoken by the masses.

A vernacular cannot derive from a literary language because a literary language is fixed and unchangeable while a Vernacular always takes something from outside and due to this fact it always remains fresh and rich and flows like a stream of fresh water. The conception of some scholars in this that the modern vernaculars are derived from the ancient literary sanskrit—is not only wrong but misleading also. A vernacular can derive only from a spoken language and not from a literary language, because a literary language cannot develop further and it has not adaptability. So the conception of those scholars who think that the vernaculars of modern India are derived from literary sanskrit is proved to be wrong. We must see, first of all, what they mean by Sanskrit when they say that modern Hindi, Bengali, Marathi etc., are derived from sanskrit. If they use the word "Sanskrit" both for the literary and the language spoken by the illiterate people then they should say that these vernaculars are derived from that language which was spoken by the masses during the time of literary sanskrit. But if they mean by sanskrit the literary language then their view is completely wrong. The words of sanskrit, which are found in the modern vernaculars of India do not prove that these languages are derived from sanskrit. It is possible that the literary language sanskrit would have influenced the language spoken

by the common people and the vernacular of that time having adaptability would have taken some words of sanskrit. We can say that the present vernaculars are derived from sanskrit but not directly.

Between the present vernaculars of India, and the language which was spoken by the common people there are many stages. We find "Pali" and Prakrit and also Apabhhransa Languages between the modern vernaculars namely Hindi, Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali, Maithili, Nepali, etc., and the languages from which all of those are derived. In the whole life or history of a language (spoken by the common people) we can see that the literary languages show only for a particular time. The literary language separates but the flow of the stream of the language of common people does not stop but goes on. Literary language which cannot be a hindrance of the common people again gives birth to another literary language and the literary language is again separated from it like a lake and becomes fixed while the stream goes on for ever. It always gives birth to many literary languages having different names but flows separately from those literary languages. When we say that we find Pali, Prakrit, and apabhhransa between the modern vernaculars of India and that language during the time of sanskrit from which those are derived, we mean by Pali and Prakrit those literary languages which were originated from the language spoken by the common people and then separated from it. Then in the modern time the same stream of the language of the common or illiterate people gave birth to the present vernaculars. We can trace the origin of the present vernaculars and find its origin in the language spoken by the common people. Literary languages influence it but are altogether separate from it. With the help of an illustration it becomes quite clear.



Pali language was used in the time of Lord Buddha. He gave his lectures and sermons in Pali and was also introduced in the Buddha literature. In Pali we find some words, which cannot be traced even to the vedic sanskrit, though Pali is nearer to vedic sanskrit than to classical sanskrit. The dialects of the oldest available inscriptions show that there is some influence of some other non-Aryan language also on Pali. We find the absolute suffixes *tu* of the Dhauhi Version of Asoka's edict number one and *Tune*, *Duna*, and *Una* of the Maharashtra Prakrit. We cannot trace them back but must regard them as the forms of other closely related languages, which were spoken at the time of vedic sanskrit. There are many other examples also which show that the influence of some other dialects spoken in ancient India was in Pali which could be seen very clearly. These examples or linguistic proofs prove that Pali and Prakrit were not the direct descendants of sanskrit and yet they are derived from it. This conception is true because Pali and Prakrit were derived from the language spoken by the common masses during the time of sanskrit, and other languages which were also spoken at the same time influenced it. This view is very easily proved.

The whole thing becomes clear when we take it for granted that all that must have happened when the Indian Aryans penetrated into India. It is a general rule that whenever a conqueror comes, he tries to impose his ideas, his way of living, his language and his culture on the conquered people. When Aryans entered into India they brought their language and their culture also with them. They conquered the land inch by inch from the Dravidians, who were already the inhabitants of these places. The Aryans tried to inflict not only their rule upon these miserable natives who were conquered by them but their superior language also. For the natives it was a very difficult language full of grammatical rules and regulations. They had to learn it and so they learnt it and very slowly they were able to speak in that language. The pronunciations and the forms were difficult. So whatever was rough, they softened. Whatever was difficult they made easy. Their own native language also influenced this new language. Thus the Aryan dialects were corrupted in the mouth of the original inhabitants and those corruptions were also accepted by the Aryan settlers. This is the most satisfactory and plausible reason of the growth of Pali and Prakrit and for their having some forms quite different. We cannot say that sanskrit developed into Prakrit because a literary language remains always the same. If sanskrit has not changed these three thousand years, how can it change into Prakrit which is quite different from it. In classical sanskrit we do not find the use of the subjunctive mood but in Prakrit literature it is found. Pali and Prakrit were derived from that language which was spoken by the illiterate men during the time of sanskrit, and it was influenced by the language of the native inhabitants of India also. The word Prakrit itself shows that it is not derived from sanskrit. Prakrit means the common or illiterate people, and so Prakrit means the language spoken by these illiterate men.

Hemchandra Acharya and other grammarians introduced the grammatical rules of sanskrit into Prakrit also and consequently it also became an artificial language bound by the rules and regulations of grammar. Due to the artificiality

it became only a literary language and became a dead language. It was separated from the stream of the common people's language. After six hundred years another language Apabhramsa was introduced. After some time when the grammatical rules were applied in Apabhramsa also, then Apabhramsa likewise lost its flexibility, power of adaptability and freshness and then it also being an artificial language became a dead language. The stream of languages was still full of freshness, and richness because of its adaptability and having power of changing. After that it gave birth to the present vernaculars namely Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi etc.

Very slowly these vernaculars are also losing their freshness and powers of adaptability and are becoming artificial languages because now they are becoming only the literary languages not understood by the illiterate men. Grammatical rules are binding these vernaculars also. After sometime

they in their turn will also become dead languages and the stream of languages will introduce other languages. The stream of languages never stops, though the languages cease to exist. A language is a living thing. It should evolve. It is flexible and it should be free from all the rules. These qualities only keep the languages alive, and whenever these qualities are lost at that very moment the language becomes a dead thing. But these things cannot be applied upon the stream of languages which is always fresh and alive and so does not cease to exist.

We can say that the vernaculars of the present day India or the Prakrit and Apabhramsa were not, strictly speaking, derived from Sanskrit because Sanskrit being a perfect, polished and literary language, cannot develop further. The vernaculars of present India and Prakrit and Apabhramsa originated from the same stream of languages spoken by the common people.



U.S.A. AND THE CHANGING CONTENT OF THE THEORY OF SEPARATION OF POWERS

By MRS. ALEY PHILIP, M.A.

POLITICAL practices are conditioned by political theories. Orthodox theories of today become the outmoded theories of tomorrow. It is so, partly due to the dynamic nature of political science. Yet there are certain theories that have stirred men's imagination for a considerable period of time and one such is Montesquieu's theory of Separation of Powers. For nearly two centuries it has held peoples' minds and has had great practical effect on constitution making though one must admit that the theory has lost a great deal of its erstwhile sanctity. It was fortunate that the theory came in to prominence in a pre-eminently constitutional period in European history—the latter part of the 18th century. The framers of several constitutions accepted it as a practical solution to the problem of the distribution of powers in a government.

Montesquieu, though not the first one ever to conceive of the theory, was indeed the first modern political scientist to have given the theory, a scientific and clear exposition in his "Spirit of the Laws." He expounded the theory as a panacea for all the political ills he found in the France of Louis XIV. To escape the stifling political atmosphere of France, Montesquieu went over to England, where he conducted a search for the secret of political liberty that he found there. He saw the strength of the English Parliament and the independence of the judges, from the Crown. He arrived at the conclusion that individual liberty was possible in England because of her adherence to the separation of powers. Concentration of executive, legislative and judicial powers leads to tyranny and destruction of political liberty while separation of governmental powers, and entrusting them to three different organs, each independent of the other ensures individual liberty.

It is paradoxical that Montesquieu based his theory on the British Constitution because instead of Separation of Powers, conjunction of powers—or fusion of powers as Begehot calls it—is its

characteristic feature. The error was perhaps natural because in 1748 England was almost the only country in the civilized world which made a clear distinction in its governmental organization between the executive, legislative and judicial authorities. He found a king as the executive, a parliament that was slowly and steadily consolidating its position in controlling the king's ministers and a judiciary that was independent of both the king and parliament. By the Act of Settlement of 1701, judicial independence was provided for. Thus in the England of 1748 Montesquieu found a judicial organ independent of both the executive and legislature. So he advocated not merely that there should be functional distribution of powers in a government, but that these powers must be entrusted to entirely separate organs that are independent of each other. If the British Constitution was the artist's model to Montesquieu, he did not mean that there ought to be no partial agency in or no control over the acts of each other. What he meant was that where the whole powers of one department are exercised by the same hands which possess the whole powers of another department, the fundamental principles of a free constitution are subverted. It only means that the king who is the executive should not at the same time combine in himself the legislative and judicial powers.

This theory had profound influence. This soon became a political gospel and became part of the intellectual atmosphere of the statesmen and constitution framers of the 18th and 19th centuries. In an extreme form it has seldom existed. As Madison says, unless these departments be so far connected and blended so as to give each organ a constitutional control over the others, the degree of separation which the theory requires can never be maintained. Madison said it was impossible to isolate and insulate each department of government in a corner of the governmental triangle.

This theory has resulted in a number of factors in the world of constitutions :

I. It has led to written constitutions. Power is of an encroaching nature and any organ entrusted with power will try to press to the limit the powers entrusted to it. The power ought to be effectually restrained from passing the limits assigned to it. It was therefore necessary to write down the constitution and mark the boundary of each organ. This was part of the defence—not perhaps the whole defence—against a possible concentration of authority, in any one organ. Thus mainly—not wholly perhaps as a result of Montesquieu's theory, in America at least they felt the necessity for a written constitution. To the Americans it only meant a document which sets limits to the powers of each organ. The Americans believe that the government is based on the consent of the governed and that consent is attested by a written constitution which forms the basis of government. The purpose of a constitution is to set up a government, to endow it with powers and to circumscribe it with limitations. Such written limitations are necessary so that one organ may not encroach on the other. Following partly the American example and partly the recognition of the inherent merits, there after the world entered in to an era of written constitutions.

II. It has led to the acceptance of a form of Government known as the presidential form where the principle of separation of powers is an important or even a predominant feature as against the cabinet system where its contradiction is equally predominant. Following the lead given by the U.S.A., most of the countries of South America, have followed the pattern of the presidential system—Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Liberia. Even outside the new world, this form has taken deep roots in places like the Philippines, South Korea and South Vietnam.

III. This theory has led to a scientific explanation of the growth of administrative justice in France and other continental countries. A judicial system whereby executive officers are to be tried by judges, France felt, was a distinct violation of the theory of separation of powers she had inherited from the French revolutionary times.

IV. Even in those countries which have not accepted the theory of separation of powers it has led to the independence of the judicial

branch from the other two. By various devices like appointment of the Judges by the executive, guarantees against improper removal by the same body that appoints the judges, the security of tenure, and salary etc., judicial independence has been vouchsafed. In the federal centre of the U.S.A. the Judges are appointed by the executive with the ratification of the Senate and they are removed only by the process of impeachment. In England, India, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, Judges are appointed by the executive and they may be removed only by a concurrent action of the two houses of legislature.

Montesquieu's theory fell on fertile ground and bore fruit in abundance. A few years after the writing of the theory there came an occasion to put it into actual political experience. The majority of those who framed the constitution of the U.S.A. were lawyers and had studied Montesquieu and Blackstone. They respected their dicta as gospel to be quoted as the final word on issues of legal and political philosophy. Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, Mason and others accepted it. It came in handy at a time when they wanted to frame a constitution that placed checks on each organ so that none might become dangerously powerful. Absolute independence of each organ was out of the question since such an experiment might have produced dead locks and absolute paralysis of the Government. So the framers wisely made no attempt to secure complete separation—but provided for a number of connections and blendings.

There is a president who is elected for a fixed tenure and independent of the legislature regarding his powers and prerogatives. The President and the Secretaries do not sit in the legislature. The Congress is directly elected by the people and cannot be dismissed by the President—nor can it drive out of power the President. The judiciary is independent of both the executive and the legislative. Yet not only are those independent, but they also check each other. The appointments made by the President must be submitted to the Senate for confirmation. Treaties negotiated by the President must meet the approval of two-thirds of the Senate. The Acts of the Congress are subject to the executive veto and the Congress determines the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has the right of declaring the acts of the Congress null and void. So the power of one

organ has been made a check and a counterpoise to the power of the other organ.

Yet as time has gone on, the theory of separation of powers has become less pronounced in the constitution of U.S.A. Time and circumstances have wrought changes not dreamt of by the framers of the constitution. In a realistic view of the total process of government there is such a blending of powers, functions and duties that the line separating the three branches all but fade from view. If the tendency grows, within the next fifty years, Montesquieu's theory may only be an out dated principle embodied in the parchment kept in the archives at Washington. The most important factor that has modified the theory is the rise of the party system—and the consequent increase in the power of the executive in the U.S.A.

The party system has grown in America not only because the country is so large but also because in U.S.A. there is no single organ of government with the power to shape the course of public policy. The President, the Congress, and even the judiciary have all a share in it. So public policy cannot be determined and put into operation unless the various participants act with some approach to unison which is impossible under the strict theory of separation of powers. Political parties in America arose to accomplish this unison. That is why the parties try to capture not only the higher offices but the lower ones as well. The party organisation has become in fact the great policy unifying factor in American government and it is integrated all the way from top to bottom. Thus the party system has louted the theory of separation of powers. The president's power has increased tremendously because he is the leader of his party.

The President is usually the leader of his party, and is conceded the right to be consulted on all important matters affecting its interests both in the congress and out of it. He virtually selects the chairman of the National Committee and through him directs the party's activities both inside and outside the legislature. Millions look to the President to carry out the party programme—at least that which formed part of the presidential plank. In America people do not want a president who is timid, but some one who can give not merely executive leadership but also legislative leadership. The degree to which the President may control his party varies with

various factors like his capacity for leadership and the extent to which his party is in control of the congress. The President is a power in the party because of his position as the chief executive, and his right of appointment. The constitution embodying the theory of separation of powers expected the president to go along with the Congress, giving it a few mild suggestions now and then—and his main work was to "see that the laws be faithfully executed." But soon the congress came to be divided by political parties and sectional interests and therefore it became difficult for the Congress to legislate in the national interest. So the President had to provide legislative leadership weakening thereby the theory of separation of powers on which the constitution was based.

The legislative leadership started not so much with Jackson and Jefferson, as with Theodore Roosevelt. Today the people and, to a considerable extent, the congress itself, looks to the President for a lead. If the President does not provide the leadership, he is written down as a failure as was President Hoover. The President is, therefore, bound to employ a number of means not mentioned in the constitution to provide it.

As leader of the party he may prepare or cause to be prepared bills that by indirect methods he can cause to be introduced in the Congress through his party henchmen.

He can influence legislation by appealing to congress and if necessary to the nation at large. The constitution, true to Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers, has provided that the President shall only recommend to the Congress such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient. This can hardly be interpreted as granting to the President the right to introduce bills. Yet a system has developed by which contrary to the theory of separation of powers, the President virtually introduces the bill. All important measures are drafted by the executive and some party henchmen of the President introduces the bill and if the President's party has a comfortable majority it will be enacted in to law. All the new deal legislation of Franklin Roosevelt were drafted not by Congress men but by administrative experts of the President, and thus the work of preparing, and introducing legislative bills, belong to the President and his secretaries as they do to the Prime Minister, and the Cabinet in United Kingdom. In very recent times the

President's control over legislation is increased by his being in very close contact not only with the congressional committees, but with the big four—the Vice-President, the Speaker and the majority leader of both the houses. By maintaining close and intimate relations with the big four a President can easily influence legislation. Thus the party system and legislative leadership has broken down the somewhat artificial separation of powers and to some extent provides a uniform programme and concerted action to the legislative and executive branches. Yet it would be wrong to assume that the congress dances to the tune played by the President. We can only indicate the fact that the executive can dominate over the legislature and give it leadership.

A second factor that cuts across the theory is the existence of pressure groups. Outside the party, working both into the party and government, there are pressure groups each seeking to make its own particular programme a governmental policy. There are thousands of groups, pushing, pressing, pulling, mauling and shoving in a grand scramble to control the government. These groups, though they know all about the theoretical separation of powers, ignore it in their actual work. Every unit of government (not perhaps the judiciary) and the party itself is subject to constant request, entreaty and threat from a variety of pressure groups each seeking to make its own particular programme a governmental policy. It works as a unit upon whatever organ it wants to influence in order that its object may be furthered. It exerts pressure on the congress, the state legislature, or a city council, for legislation and it follows the statute to the administrative departments. It fights against the enactment of one law as assiduously as it champions the enactment of another. The totality of laws and the degree of law enforcement are really the result of these conflicting pressures. If north and east exert equal pressure on a light object it will move south-west. If east and west exert equal pressure, there is no movement—but a new pressure from the south will send the object north. Thus in politics as in the world of physics, there are pulls and pressures, not necessarily from west and east but from economic, social and other facts. They cut across the theory of separation of powers. Lobbying by various pressure groups has been in existence in the American system of Government since 1789

—and it still goes on merrily—but with very much greater emphasis, today.

The third reason why the theory is apt to recede is the result of judicial review of the courts of U.S.A. This is the power to determine whether a law passed by the Congress or any provision in a State constitution or any law enacted by the State legislature, or any other body that has the legal right of passing a law, is in conformity with the provision of the constitution of U.S.A. or not. If it is not, the Supreme Court takes on itself the right to declare it null and void and ultra vires of the constitution and hence inoperative. The judiciary thus can control the actions of both the legislature and the executive.

The fourth reason is the growth of delegated legislation. In America there was a great deal of mistrust and suspicion towards delegated legislation as was practised in Europe. Yet the congress has from time to time given to the President a wide range of discretion in supplying the detach of law. At various times in American history, it was either the Congress or the President that became dominant. Before the civil war and immediately after civil war, the legislature led the country—but today the executive has become dangerously powerful. Popular conception in America is that the Congress makes the laws and the executive merely carries out the laws. It is only in war and other emergency times that the citizens become aware of the extent to which the executive is charged with the duty of making laws. Suspicion and resentment arise. But such reaction only indicates a general ignorance of modern governmental processes. Lincoln used almost dictatorial powers during civil wars. Wilson dominated the American scene during the first world war. The entry of U.S.A. into the 2nd world war was the signal for further extension of executive authority.

In 1933, The congress conferred on the President discretionary powers to reduce the gold content of the dollar, and to issue additional paper currency. In 1941 it bestowed upon him by the terms of the so-called Lend Lease Act, a formidable range of executive discretion in the matter of furnishing ships, munitions etc. Democrats complain of executive usurpation of legislative authority when a Republican occupies the White house—and the Republicans make

similar charges of presidential autocracy when the President happens to be a Democrat. The President today is the third Chamber of the legislature. In theory the Americans hold on to the dogma of the theory of separation of powers but they trouble themselves little about its application in the conduct of their government. The old balance is being disturbed, and the checks are being weakened. If these tendencies go on, the constitution may not retain the theory much longer. It seems as if the theory of separation of powers is dying hard in the Constitution of the U.S.A.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA TODAY

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

South-East Asia, a happy hunting ground for Euro-American colonialism till the forties of the 20th century is, by and large, politically free today. Nation-states have taken the place of colonies and dependencies. Independent politically, South-East Asia is yet to win economic and military independence.

The expression South-East Asia, which gained currency during the Pacific War (1941-1945), includes the sovereign states of Burma, Malayasia, Thailand, North and South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and the Philippines. It includes, the Trust Territory of Papuan or Australian New Guinea, the 'Protected' Sultanate of Brunei and Portuguese Timor—all "fossils from an earlier age, castaways marooned by the tides of history." Its 1,647,116 square miles of land are inhabited by a population of 200,312,000. Stray patches of over-population notwithstanding, South-East Asia is on the whole sparsely populated, the density of population being 121.61 to the square mile. South-East Asians speak 400 different languages and dialects. They profess all the principal religions of the world, viz., Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Malayasia and Indonesia are primarily Muslim. The latter has a small pocket of Hinduism in Bali, the Isle of the gods. The more or less two and half million Balinese are mostly Hindus. Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam (North and South) are predominantly Buddhist. Christians, mostly Roman Catholics, account for

95% of the 22,000,000 strong Filipinos. Admixture of blood has taken place on a large scale in South-East Asia and the blood of Mongolian and many other races courses through the veins of South-East Asians.

The Equator passes through Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Maluku in Indonesia and South-East Asia south of the Equator lies wholly within the Torrid Zone. Chains of mountains, abundant rainfall and seas on three sides, however, keep down the mercury. The fertility of soil due to alluvial deposits and volcanic ashes has made South-East Asia one of the principal rice bowls of the world. Rice, rubber, tea, coffee, tobacco, tapioca, spices, copra and timber are the principal forest and agricultural products of South-East Asia. Oil, tin, iron, coal, manganese, wolfram, chromium and precious stones are among its principal mineral wealth.

The wealth of South-East Asia, its temperate climate, the sparseness of its population and, last but not least, its political and military weakness, have always attracted foreigners. Time and again in the past, the countries of South-East Asia have been overrun by foreign conquerors. The aggressors in pre-modern times were China on several occasions from the north and India from across the seas once. Between the 16th and 19th centuries in the modern times, the whole of South-East Asia excepting Thailand were carved out among themselves by various Western powers. Thus, the British became the arbiters of the destinies of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak

and the Sultanate of Brunei; the Dutch of Indonesia and the French of Vietnam (North and South), Cambodia and Laos. Spain grabbed the whole of the Philippines, which she lost to the U.S.A. in 1898. Germany sliced off the eastern portion of New Guinea in 1884. The Portuguese who had appeared on the South-East Asian scene long before any other Western power, share the island of Timor with the Dutch. Thailand alone escaped enslavement. But the Thais owed their independence more to Anglo-French differences than to anything else and their independence was more nominal than real.

South-East Asia struck the headlines of the world press after Pearl Harbour (December 1941). South-East Asians welcomed with open arms the 'liberators' from the Land of the Rising Sun. Their discontent against alien rule led them to welcome Japan as their true friend. Heartless repression, ruthless exploitation, which bled the colonies white, suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the colonial peoples, their total exclusion from "the community of counsel and spirit" of the ruling races into whose ranks they were never admitted, the progress of modern education, which "tore the veil of mysticism from the power of the West," frustration of the intelligentsia, discomfiture of Tsarist Russia at the hands of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), the successful Chinese Revolution under Sun Yat-sen which overturned the Manchu apple-cart, and the rising tempo of the Indian nationalist movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, had intensified South-East Asian nationalism. The middle class provided the motor forces behind the South-East Asian nationalist movement. The motor forces behind the nationalist movement in 19th century Europe also came from the same middle class. But the South-East Asian middle class was not a middle class of the European pattern, "a class formed by economic growth and defined by economic function." The nationalist movement in Indonesia was no doubt headed by professional men, but the professions were the creation of a colonial government for its own convenience. They did not owe their existence to some industrial revolution.

Colonies do never have any. Nationalist movements in 19th century Europe and in South-East Asia, in other words, do not belong to the same category. But "Most of the history of the (nationalist) movements in Asia.....has been written on the assumption that they were structurally identical with the movements in Europe during the previous (19th) century. We have been thinking about the wrong revolutions in the wrong places at the wrong times." (Prof. John Gallagher of Trinity College, Oxford, over the All-India Radio, New Delhi, 1962).

The discomfiture of the colonial powers at the hands of Japan in 1941-42 in Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and the Philippines—they retreated or capitulated without any resistance worth the name—pricked the balloon of western invincibility for all times to come. The white man lost his face-value in South-East Asia irretrievably. His prestige was damaged beyond repair. Once the white man lost his face-value, the liquidation of his empire was only a question of time.

While the rising tide of South-East Asian nationalism made possible Japan's Pyrrhic victories in South-East Asia, the short-lived Japanese supremacy over the region raised nationalist hopes sky-high. Independence could no longer be withheld. No, certainly not for a long time. To make a long story short, within twelve years of Japan's retreat from the scene the political map of South-East Asia was changed beyond recognition. Nation-states rose in place of colonies. The Republic of Indonesia ushered into existence on August 17, 1945 was finally recognized by the Dutch in December, 1949, after a possibly avoidable conflict between the Dutch and the Indonesian Republicans in which the laws of civilized warfare were set aside by both the combatants. The U.S.A. transferred power to the Philippines in mid-1946 and England to Burma in early 1948. Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos had their independence recognized by the Geneva Conference in 1954 after a bitter and protracted war between the French Republic and the Viet-nameese army of resistance under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. The combatants sustained heavy losses in men and money. But the losses of France were much greater than those of her rivals—she

lost for ever the good will of her erstwhile subjects, her reputation was damaged beyond repair. Great Britain recognized the independence of Malaya in 1957. Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo became free with the creation of the Federation of Malaya on September 16, 1963.

Independence, the cherished goal of nationalism has been reached. But the new nation-states find themselves confronted with stupendous problems of construction. The leaders of new South-East Asia are discovering every day that agitational politics is fundamentally different from the constructive, that "it is not good to be always in opposition" as they had been during the days of colonialism in their respective countries. Lack of experience hampers them at every step. What is worse is that new power, like old wine, has gone straight to the head of not a few of them. Many have lost their sense of proportion. Many again confuse their own well-being—being of theirs individually or of the classes which they represent—with the well-being of the nation at large. Last but not least the integrity of many of the new leaders is not above question.

The over-all picture in South-East Asia to-day is a dismal and depressing one. Japanese occupation and the upheaval which followed Japanese withdrawal from the South-East Asian scene—long years of war in Indonesia and Vietnam, Communist uprising in Malaya and Karen, Shan, Kachin and Communist revolts in Burma (these last broke out after Burma had been granted independence in 1948)—threw life out of gear. The presence of nearly 15 million Chinese pose a serious threat to the sovereignty and integrity of South-East Asia. Discipline in all walks of life was seriously undermined. Added to these are the evils of long centuries of alien rule characterized by "a callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people" by the rulers. What Tagore said with reference to India a few months before his death in 1941 applies to South-East Asia to the letter—"The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to

give up their Indian Empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery? When the stream of their two centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth will they leave behind them!" (*Crisis in Civilization*, pp. 16-17).

The problem of political and emotional integration is one of the major problems before the South-East Asian leadership to-day. The reader will please note that lack of unity was responsible for South-East Asia's vulnerability, which made it an easy prey of foreign aggressors in the past. Colonial rulers, far from encouraging political and emotional integration, sought to keep the people apart. "Divide et impera" was their watchword. The apparent unity in the various South-East Asian countries in the days of colonialism was no unity in the true sense of the term. It was only administrative centralization. The fissiparous tendencies in the body-politic were carefully nursed to be unleashed as and when it suited the third party (the rulers). We are reminded of Tagore's indictment of British rule in India—"In India the misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily brought home to us.....in the way the people have been divided among themselves. The pity of this is that the blame is laid at the door of our own society. So frightful a culmination of the history of our people (The reference is to the Hindu-Muslim bickerings culminating in communal riots and holocausts) could never have been possible but for the encouragement it has received from secret influences emanating from high place.It is the mission of civilization to bring unity among people and establish peace and harmony. But in unfortunate India the social fabric is being rent into shreds by unseemly outbursts of hooliganism, daily growing in intensity, right under the very aegis of 'law and order'". (*Crisis in Civilisation*, pp. 12-14).

The new national governments are everywhere weaker than the alien governments they have replaced and their weakness has encouraged the fissiparous tendencies to raise their heads. In some countries the dissident elements have even raised

standards of revolt. South-East Asia is no exception and many of the new South-East Asian nations are "plagued with some problems of political unity. Indonesia's major islands outside Java and Madura-Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), Malakus (Moluccas and Spice Islands) and Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda Islands) comprising Bali, Lombok, Timor, Flores, Savu etc.,—are insistent upon greater autonomy. Thailand cannot forge its influence with Laos, Cambodia, north Malaya, and the Shan states (in Burma). The Union of Burma is more perfect in name than in fact because of the claims of minority groups including Shans and Karens. (The Federation of Malayasia must work out a mutually satisfactory arrangement with Sarawak, North Borneo and Singapore). Neither half of Vietnam will cease to bubble and boil politically until the dividing line at the seventeenth parallel is somehow erased." (Claude A. Buss—**South-East Asia and the World Today**, p. 10).

Of all the problems of South-East Asia none is so serious as the economic. The solution of no other problem is so urgent. South-East Asia has won its battle for liberty. That for equality has yet to be won. Political liberty alone does not make life worth living. To be an instrument of human welfare, it must have an economic content. South-East Asia must fight and win its battle for economic liberty and equality. Freedom from want, among others, must be made a reality. Till recently, the countries of South-East Asia were "bound hand and foot" economically to the various metropolitan countries, viz., France, Great Britain, Holland and the U.S.A. Their economy was 'colonial' to an extent. Their currencies were tied up with metropolitan currencies. Their banking system was dominated and in many cases monopolized by metropolitan banks. Some of the principal commercial products, rubber, petroleum and sugar, for example, were predominantly in the hands of the respective metropolitan countries, which had a dominant voice even in the disposal of raw products. But circumstances have changed to-day and they must abandon traditional economic thinking,

which must give place to fresh and bold economic thinking. New policies and novel measures are needed to meet the requirements of a changed situation. They are necessary to ensure economic freedom and to raise the level of living of the masses, a vast majority of whom have lived for centuries on the margin of subsistence, in the midst of malignant poverty with its attendant sufferings. The nationalist leadership had drawn—rather overdrawn—rosy pictures of life after the attainment of independence. The rank and file had been assured that freedom would usher in an era of unprecedented plenty and prosperity. But the prophecy has misfired. Speaking generally, nowhere in South-East Asia the level of living of the masses has gone up since independence. In Burma and Indonesia it is to-day definitely lower than what it was in 1938 on the eve of World War II. Many of the essential and not so essential commodities, commodities which make life possible and worth living, are in short supply.

Industrialization, which seems to be the only solution, is beset with a number of serious difficulties. Adequate capital, scientific and managerial skill and technical know-how, among others, are indispensable for industrial development. But South-East Asia is deficient in each and every one of these factors of industrialization. There is a shortage of even unskilled labour in Burma, Malaya and Singapore, which accounts for the presence of the very large numbers of Chinese and Indians in these areas. The integration of these extraneous elements in the body-politic of the countries concerned is a tough problem which almost defies a satisfactory solution.

Foreign aid may, of course, meet the requirements of South-East Asia's industrial development. But foreign aid is no real solution of the problem in the long run. Industries cannot thrive for all times to come on capital and capital goods, scientific and managerial skill, technical know-how and labour imported from abroad. Besides, foreign assistance to backward countries is a complicated problem with numerous implications. In this era of cold war, foreign propaganda invariably accompanies foreign

aid, which is not always "without strings". Foreign economic assistance is more dangerous than other kinds of assistance. The supply of large sums of money to countries without regular or fruitful channels of expenditure often becomes a great unsettling factor and may create large vested interests, which create conflicts within the country. Kuomintang China, Indonesia and South Vietnam, among others, are cases in point. The very considerable sums advanced to these countries by the U.S.A. only made the rich richer and the poor poorer. They created a class of intermediaries which widened the gulf between the people and the administration. Foreign financial assistance to countries without competent administrative machinery and without carefully worked out plans for expenditure may become more a source of public corruption than an aid to industrialization. (Vide K. M. Panikkar—**The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems**, pp. 47-8). The experience of the last fifteen years in many under-developed countries proves what has been said above.

It should also be noted that rapid industrialization, however necessary, cannot be achieved overnight. Nor should a primarily agricultural region like South-East Asia be switched on to industry all at once and at the cost of agriculture. Agricultural and industrial development in such areas must go hand in hand for years to come.

New South-East Asia is in the midst of a revolution, which, however, is not an isolated phenomenon. It is rather a part of a world revolution. "The plain fact", observes Corliss Lamont, "is that the world is in a revolution which cannot be bought off with dollars. There are rumblings in every village from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. A force is gathering for a mighty effort...."

The revolutionaries are hungry men who have been exploited from time out of mind. This is the century of their awakening and mobilization." (**Soviet Civilization**, p. 321).

The revolution in question is spontaneous and not communist-inspired as many would have us believe. It will not end even if the communist powers are crushed. It must be admitted, however, that the communists take advantage of the revolution and

keep the pot boiling. The supreme fact about the under-developed world is that its peoples are waking up to-day. They are stirring after a long night of sleep blinking away their drowsiness and stretching their limbs "with all the eager, impatient spirit of a youth approaching manhood."

The incipient revolution in the under-developed world is, in fact, three revolutions in one. Emancipation from alien political and economic tutelage, attainment of full human dignity irrespective of race, religion and colour and broadly shared increased economic opportunities are the objectives aimed at by this "Revolution of Rising Expectations." The greater part of South-East Asia has thrown off political yoke. But the other objectives are yet to be achieved. South-East Asia will continue to rumble "with explosive problems, conflicts and headlines" till their achievement.

Fast falling levels of living notwithstanding, the rising tempo of the expansion of education (Education has been spreading rapidly over South-East Asia; but as in India its quality has been deteriorating as rapidly) is dumping large numbers of intellectuals of some sort on a market which can absorb but a small fraction of them. Little wonder, larger and larger numbers of young South-East Asians in their frustration are turning to dictatorship and totalitarianism as the panacea for all their problems. Communist propaganda finds easy recruits among them. The rise of Red China and the boosting up of Chinese prestige as a result of the recent (1962) Sino-Indian clashes have considerably influenced South-East Asian thinking.

The supreme task before the new South-East Asian leadership is to canalize into constructive channels the new forces released by political emancipation. This is history's challenge to the leaders of new South-East Asia. Posterity will size them up by the manner of their response to this challenge and the measure of success they achieve. History is nothing if not an endless chain of challenges and responses.

Waters are fast flowing down the Irrawaddy, the Mekong and the Menam. The sands of time are fast running out.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

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MARX, GANDHI AND SOCIALISM by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Published by Navahind Prakashan, 831, Begum Bazar, Hyderabad—A.P. Price Rs. 30/- Pages XXXXVII + 550.

To Lohia Marxism is not the only doctrine that has sought or maintained Europe's superiority over coloured peoples but all doctrines emanating from Europe for the last three centuries of capitalism or liberalism are tied up with the oppression and exploitation of Asia and other coloured lands. Marxism is more revolutionary after it captures the Government than when it is struggling for power. It must upset the old order of property, religion and other relationships. Not so with Gandhism. Gandhism in government is not at all up-setting. It lets everything live as of old, or almost everything. Gandhi is more unfortunate with his disciples than any other prophet. Although his doctrines are preached, the disciples in Government have made the list of daily chores out of non-Gandhian books. Marx will destroy rights in private property—not of all evil—but Gandhi will make the owners trustees for others. There are inadequacies in Gandhism as a governmental doctrine of doing good, but it was unmatch-

ed in all history as a people's doctrine of resisting evil.

India lost statehood for centuries and collective immorality has become a part of national character. Ruling classes had shown peerless skill in adjustments for keeping their powers for centuries. Gandhi had a tremendous job in carrying out a revolution in this environment of slavery physical, moral, mental and religious. India is the land of Sankar's philosophy—an extreme philosophy exists side by side with a liberal programme, a philosophy of undefiled principles with a programme of multiform defilements. Karl Marx was a philosophical doctrine of another type—to whom the world was changing and changing and his philosophy left no room for meditation or quietism. If Sankar was a philosophical extremist, Marx was a pragmatic fanatic. Results of Sankar's philosophy are known through ages but of Marx's are yet somewhat fluid.

The book consists of 24 chapters and the author's writings, speeches, party manifestos, interviews during the last 20 years are incorporated in it. Although the original Lohia remains the same, there are certain signs as to his change or at least modification

of his views. This is sure to happen with a thinker bold and revolutionary of Dr. Lohia's stature. If he is strong with a party behind him, he is stronger still in his faith in socialism—true socialism not of so many brands all over the world.

He had the boldness to speak to Gandhiji that he does not believe in God. Gandhiji doubted under the circumstances that a non-believer in God can be a Satyagrahi. Even at the request of Gandhi, Lohia did not give up smoking till seven years after his death. He spoke fearlessly in "violent, rough and sharp language" with Gandhiji to quote Lohia's own words but in spite of these he had the highest respect for this great personality. Here was one with whom Lohia could speak his mind freely and fearlessly. The chapter "Anecdotes of Mahatma Gandhi" will be a fascinating study to readers.

The most important question in democracy or socialism is equality. All great religious sects which begin with the struggle for equality get frozen in course of time by customs and manners. To achieve equality in practice there must be both levelling up and levelling down in programmes of equality. Europe suffers from the disease of identifying the abstract and the concrete. India separates the abstract from the concrete. Middle course is the right way but the achievement of equality is difficult not only because there is existence of inequality but also error in thought.

Dr. Lohia is not happy with Communist China in its programme of chaos. Capitalism is a doctrine of the individual and of free enterprise. Communism is a doctrine of social ownership and release of means of production from their relations of private property. Capitalism and Communism are but two parts of this single complex of existing civilization. **Socialism** differs from both in ideal and method of work. **It is not for violence in the attainment of its goal.** "Man's current civilization is cracking, and nothing but socialism can lead him into the new age" says Lohia.

Capitalism and Communism are closed systems and Socialism the third system is

still open and with Gandhiji's life, action and philosophy it operates successfully for the betterment of modern civilization reacting on existing Capitalism and Communism favourably. It will indeed be a happy day in world history. No body will be happier than Dr. Lohia if this ideal is realized.

This book, suggestive and thought provoking as it is, deserves to be read widely by the youth of the country.

NANA SAHEB PESHWA by Mr. Anand Swarup Misra. Published by Uttar Pradesh Government, Lucknow. Price Rs. 35/ pages XXII + 636.

The book is divided into four parts—**Part One** contains 14 Chapters in which the author gives in short, besides a short history of the country and its culture, a history of East India Company, Peshwas of Poona—their rise and fall, exile of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa, to Bithoor, parentage and early life of Nana Saheb whom the last Peshwa adopted as his son, refusal of the Government of India to accept Nana Saheb as successor to the Peshwa and thus depriving him of the use of the title and depriving him also of the pensions allowed to his adopted father. **Part Two** contains 25 chapters dealing in detail the revolt and its ruthless suppression. **Part Three** contains 11 chapters describing the consequences—end of the East India Company and the Queen's proclamation. Last days of Nana Saheb—trials of Tanya Tope and other leaders are also given in this part. **Part Four** contains eight appendices which throw lights on the current happenings of the period besides interesting anecdotes in relation to the revolt.

The writer of this big volume does not claim any originality but his painstaking collections from various sources will earn him thanks from the readers. The main objects of writing this book seem to exonerate Nana Saheb of this guilt as leader of the revolution who murdered in cold blood Englishmen, women and children at Sattichaura Ghat (27th June 1857) and also the cold blooded and inhuman murder of women and children who were given shelter at Bibighur (July 15, 1857). In this

the author is partially successful. Nana Saheb took strong action when the mischief was already done at Sattichaura Ghat and saved some women and children but he could not give protection to the prisoners and the safety they were promised on their way to Allahabad. About Bibighur atrocities, Dr. S. N. Sen in his book **Eighteen Fifty-seven** holds that while Nana Saheb "was legally and morally responsible for the lives of his prisoners and the massacre was committed in his name, there is no adequate evidence to establish that the order for killing had actually been given by him."

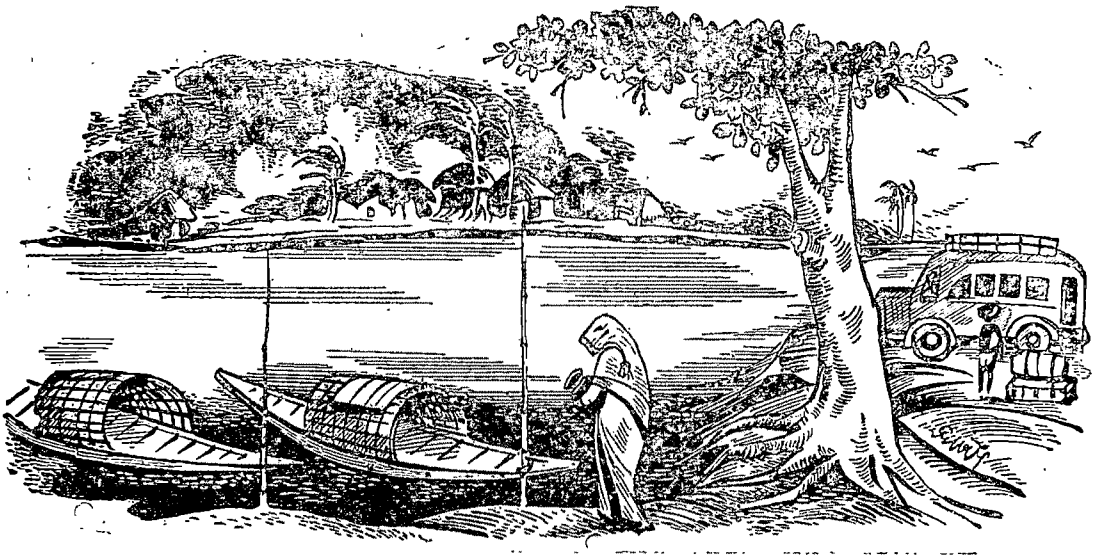
Thus Nana Saheb's name although painted in the blackest colours by most of the British writers is not so black and all the atrocities of this period, particularly those perpetrated at Kanpur, although attributed to him as leader of the revolt, are not his.

When we take into consideration terrible happening and British cruelties of the period done on Indians, many of whom were innocent, we have to make a fresh assessment of the guilt on either side.

Besides the subject matter of the book, the author has introduced many post revolt (war of independence) matters and matters of recent history into this volume unnecessarily in support of the present Congress Administration. The author being a Government servant, this action on his part, has diminished the worth of this otherwise authentic publication.

The book is profusely illustrated and well documented and the printing and binding are excellent.

A. B. Dutta.



Indian Periodicals

BEEKEEPING IN INDIA

The following is not an article properly so called culled from the *Khadi Gramodyog*, but a correspondence from one whose interest in and knowledge and experience of beekeeping would seem to be both extensive and encyclopaedic. We reproduce it in the hope that it will be found profitable by many of our readers:

Your article ("Beekeeping in India" by Subhash Chandra Sarker, *Khadigramodyog*, March 1954,) is a very interesting account of your work to interest the people in beekeeping. We share very much the same problems.

Your mention of the Indian bee, *Apis indica*, interests me. I lived in China for 25 years, as an educational missionary under the Methodist church, teaching zoology and doing extension work in agriculture on the side. I spent much time with the *A. indica* and studied it and experimented with it. I always had several box hives at the school and I often visited the villagers to see their methods of beekeeping. I found this fascinating and enjoyed it very much.

You mention the possibility of importing bees to take the place of the *indica*. Dr. Spencer Hatch, whom you mention, was a friend of mine. While he was in India we corresponded concerning the bringing in of Italian bees and he wrote me about his importations. Later on, I met Dr. Hatch for the first time in Mexico. He was developing an experiment station for the YMCA in agriculture and a school for boys. I helped him with his bees and after he had left, I looked after them for a while. When Dr. Hatch was in Costa Rica he wanted to go on a vacation, and asked me to come down and carry on his work for 9 months, so I had a nice trip to Costa Rica. About a year ago he passed away, may be, less than a year.

As you say in your article, importing bees may be dangerous, for it may bring in some new disease or parasite. American and European foul-brood diseases are worldwide and so I

doubt if it matters—just for that one disease—if bees are imported. If the disease is already present it can do no harm, but we must be sure there is no disease.

Apparently China did not have any foul-brood disease. In all my 25 years there, I looked into every Chinese box-hive I could find but I never found any foul-brood. Do you find foul-brood among the Indian bees? That would be a very interesting study to pursue, to find out if there are any places with no foul-brood diseases present.

In China, around 1922 or 1923 there was a craze for beekeeping. Bees were being shipped from Japan (may be other places, too) in countless numbers and they went to north China for the most part. But the shippers were careless and some colonies came in with foul-brood present. Soon it had spread to many places in north China. I found my first case in Fukein province, southeastern China, in 1925—only one case in a colony of Italian bees, doubtless brought from north China.

I imported some Caucasians and Italians (without any disease) from America and it was interesting to compare the two species. The Chinese bees, *A. indica*, worked in cooler weather than the Italians, worked more in light rains and they went to work earlier in the mornings than the Italians! It was the experience in north China that when the Italian bees were placed in the same area as the Chinese bees, the latter tended to disappear.

The Chinese bees normally produced 5 or 6 lbs. of honey a year, possibly 8 lbs., but when I made a small-scale hive, about three-fourths of the size of the Langstroth, a colony of *indica* produced 40 lbs. of honey!

Apis indica could, of course, be selected to perform better than it now does but selection takes a long time. We have on record that the beekeepers in Austria were selling queen bees and nuclei to many regions in 1879. They were

not interested in honey but wished to have bees to sell, so they crowded their bees in small hives and now the Carniolan bees have a reputation for swarming too much. Some beekeepers do not like them for that reason, but I have tried them on a small scale and I like them very much. 1879 is the date given, the earliest recorded date for the beginning of the shipments, but they had been selecting long before that. We may find it more economical to use bees already selected, as the Italian or Caucasian or Carniolan bees than to improve the Indian or Chinese bee.

I am corresponding with an apiculturist in Argentina. I do not know what kind of bees they had in Argentina to begin with, but about 50 years ago they imported some Italian bees and found them much better producers than the ones they had. Then I had been writing to them about the Caucasian bees and they imported some of the latter and found them even better than the Italians!

I am interested in beekeeping as a hobby and from the scientific side. I have had no experience in commercial beekeeping. I have only three colonies and I use the Caucasian bees. There is a man in Canada who has been producing fine Caucasian bees for 10 years and I believe he has one of the best strains in the

country. He sells his breeder queens in Australia, Poland, England, U.S.A., etc. and gets \$20.00 for each queen. Last year he had more demands than he could fulfil.

I have grand-daughters of his breeder queens and they are the best I have ever had. Mr. Hastings sells his breeder queens to a beekeeper in California (and to many others in other countries) and this California beekeeper (who has an apiary of pure Caucasians) keeps the breeder queen and raises daughters from that queen. He has given queens to all apiaries within 3 to 5 miles of his apiary, and so all the drones around his apiary are pure Caucasians. The young queens, after mating, are sold for \$1.60 each, and that is the kind of queen I buy. They are very good.

I would like to learn more about *apis indica* in India. Does the Government have any bulletins concerning those bees? Do you know of any research that has been done on *A. indica*? Has any one studied the parasites? I believe I have read somewhere that *Acarapis woodii* has been found in India. Is *Nosema apis* found in India? I do not know if it is in China, but we have it here in U.S.A.

Claude R. Kellogg
California (U.S.A.)



Foreign Periodicals

THE FINANCING OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMONWEALTH

The following are excerpts from a learned paper presented by Prof. B. R. Reddaway of Cambridge University to the Royal Society of Arts and published in the Journal of the Society in its June, 1964 issue :

Let us turn to addition to the capital stocks, and see what it is that is limiting this sort of addition in the development of India. There are two different conditions which have to be fulfilled if there is to be a certain amount of investment done in any country. The first is what one might call a financial condition : either the people or the corporate bodies or the government of the country, or all three taken together, must be willing and able to save the necessary part of their income, or as an alternative they must be willing and able to borrow the necessary savings from abroad. The second condition is a physical one : it must be possible to translate the potential sources of finance into those real goods which are wanted for the country's development.

The first condition is a very familiar one, and I only emphasize it because it is so very important. It raises that well-known problem the vicious circle of poverty : incomes are so low that it is virtually impossible to set aside very much from them for securing the tools which would enable incomes in future years to be considerably higher. And as what stops the poor from advancing is their poverty, it is very natural to move on to the idea that the vicious circle should be broken by introducing capital from outside.

Now this is where, in the Indian case, we must have a minimum of simple statistics, because the amounts required when you have a population of 450 million growing at a rate of over 2 per cent a year are simply staggering. The labour force—not the population—in India is growing by four or five million people every year and even for handicraft production a new enterprise needs

something over £100 worth of capital per person for tools, etc. So that if we were going to equip India with capital from abroad £400 to £500 million of external finance a year would be needed merely to deal with the increase in the labour force, not counting anything for the capital needed for houses, or for raising the amount of capital per head, and of course without allowing anything for modern type industries where the requirements are so much higher. The rest of the world may be prepared to do quite a lot in the way of aid, but India is not the only country wanting it, so clearly there must be something else besides external aid to cover her need for savings.

This fact—that you cannot expect unlimited supplies of finance from abroad—is reflected in the very simple fact that the main bulk of the finance needed to cover India's total investment does come from India's own savings. In the five years covered by the Second Plan up to 1961 the proportion of savings from Indian sources to the total of investment was something like 80 per cent. External aid was helpful, but quantitatively it was internal savings which were providing the bulk of the finance for the development. Even the Third Plan, which envisages a much higher level of investment and capital expenditure, looks to external finance for only about one quarter of the total.

The plain fact is that external finance is well worth having so far as adding to the total goes, but the main effort is coming from within the country, and I think one must say always will come from within the country. The idea that India's development has been finance mainly from abroad is either just mistaken or may relate to Government projects taken by themselves. Even that is not really true, but you can arrange the statistics to make them accord with the idea.

On the real side of investment—the actual goods which go into these projects—again it is commonly said that one of the characteristics of an underdeveloped country is that the bulk of the capital goods have to come from abroad.

That is true if you don't say 'capital goods' but 'machinery.' But if you are looking at the investment as a whole it just isn't true. The very substantial preponderance of the value of the capital goods which constitute the investment for the Second Plan or the Third Plan is made in India. The reason is a simple one. All capital development plans include a tremendous amount of building and civil engineering work. The roads, the dams, the air ports and so on, must all, broadly speaking, be made in the country in which they are going to be used. Even industrial development generally requires a building to contain the machinery, and that building will be made in the country. For the Third Plan, the estimate of the amount of capital goods which will be imported and go into the investment represented in value about 20 per cent of the total.

IMPORTED MACHINERY

Having made that point about how much of the capital goods were made in India, however, I do want to stress how vital the imported component is. Most of the machinery is imported, and in a sense must be imported; and not only is it qualitatively important, but although it is only 20 per cent of the total, for the five years it amounts to £1,500 million.

What does this fact that the machinery has to be imported mean? It does not automatically follow that an underdeveloped country will be in balance of payments difficulties if it tries to have a development plan just because the machinery has to be imported. Kuwait, for example, is an underdeveloped country and does not rely on external finance at all; far from it—it finances us. This follows from the fact that its oil production yields an income large enough to enable its rulers to save and afford such things as a sea water distillation plant. Kuwait could, if it were wise to do so, finance the oil development as well, rather than getting that abroad through the companies. Kuwait exports capital. Well, that is all right for the savings side; and the translation of the savings into machinery which has to be imported also raises no problems because the oil has its market essentially abroad, and therefore if you are prepared to save you can import machinery instead of importing Cadillacs. So it is not an automatic consequence that importing machinery means balance of payments problems for a developing country. But it happens pretty often, and it certainly happens in the case of India.

In India's case the difficulty in expanding her exports is very great. In consequence a sub-

stantial development plan which involves substantial imports of machinery was bound to lead to foreign exchange problems, however much of its income the country has been prepared to save. India has had balance of payments problems since 1957 and I think it is fair to say that it will go on having them for as long as it goes on having a development programme which is even remotely in line with its requirements. It is the characteristic of external finance that it not only adds to your total supply of savings but it also provides the means for enabling those savings to be taken out in the form of machinery. The great role of external capital is that it helps with both the problems I have mentioned as needing to be solved.

Perhaps I may add a little homely analogy to make this point clear. Not so very long ago we had exchange control in this country, which limited the amount which tourists could spend abroad, so that the amount which you could spend on travel was limited by whichever was the lower of two figures—the amount of pounds that you could provide and the amount for which you could get permission to convert your pounds into foreign exchange. For a family man like myself the first limit frequently proved the effective one, but it might also be that the limit came from the conversion. External finance—say, friends living in America who will put you up—solves both problems in one. The same is true for Indian development.

It is frequently deduced from that that the role of external finance for a country like India is simply to pay for imported machinery and that it should only be used for that purpose. The World Bank, for example, normally adopts the rule that its loans to a country are to be used to pay for imported machinery or equipment of some kind which is needed in a specific development project, the nature of which has been agreed with the country concerned. The internal expenditure needed for that same project usually has to be provided by the country itself from its own financial resources. We can sum up this general philosophy in the words 'A country does not need to borrow dollars or pounds to cover expenditure in rupees.'

AID FOR GENERAL IMPORTS?

I want to look at this rather carefully as a basis for considering what aid does and how much is required. It is obvious that external finance provided on this principle is a very real help to the recipient country. It is true that the

procedure is generally a very cumbrous one, that there are long delays between the agreement providing the finance and the actual expenditure of the money, and these delays unfortunately create a situation where there seems to be a large carry-over of unused aid, and legislators in the donor countries are liable to take the view that there is no need to give any more aid until that already given or promised has been used. But while that is a real drawback, it is not the one which I want to talk about today.

The point I want to make is basically a simple one. If one thinks of aid as being needed simply to cover imported machinery for specific projects it is easy to see that there are a certain number of paradoxes. If the country develops an engineering industry of its own, as India is slowly doing, this seems to lead to the proposition that it won't need any aid for projects where it can use Indian machinery. So far as the savings side of the aid goes, that is obviously wrong, because aid provides not only foreign exchange but also savings. If the country is poor, it still needs foreign capital for the purpose of adding to the available finance. But that is not the worst consequence of faulty logic. If the country is finding it hard to expand its exports, as India certainly is, then growth in national income will mean that there is a bigger need for imported materials, fuels and all the rest of it, very frequently including food. (A notion we are only too familiar with in this country.) This means that the process of development stimulates a general need for more imports, and if exports don't grow it throws up a need for an inflow of foreign exchange to cover what in Indian terminology is called 'increased maintenance imports.' It is a feature of the Indian situation that the people find themselves much more anxious to get foreign exchange for maintenance imports than to get foreign exchange for the machinery to be included in new projects.

This is not confined to India. I might add here a story drawn from earlier days, in 1958, in Pakistan. We had a refresher course for Pakistani economists, and one of them who was working in the Government put to me the following problem. 'I only have a limited amount of foreign exchange. Should I, in order to get a good development, use it for importing new machinery to carry on with industrialization, or should I use it to import raw materials to keep the machinery which I bought last year fully employed?' In his case there was the option, because the foreign exchange was not tied to any particular purpose. I found it a very embarrassing

question to answer. The Indians in the main don't get that question, because the foreign exchange which they are getting under aid has mostly been tied to machinery imports, and it has been quite clear that all the foreign exchange which they have which is not tied is needed for maintenance imports: a very embarrassing situation, because it means that you have got to get external finance for almost any machine you need. That is the situation in India as things are. There greatest need is for foreign exchange to be used for 'non-project purposes'—the other jargon which is employed for general balance of payments support for maintenance imports.

I want to use the remainder of my time in considering whether it is legitimate to give foreign loans for this sort of purpose. Many people have an instinctive objection to supplying what seems to be 'external finance for current purposes,' and indeed that sort of objection would be thoroughly justified if the recipient country were not making any real effort to mobilize its resources for development but were taking the easy course of living on foreign money. But when there is a real plan for development, aid of this kind for current imports is a thoroughly logical thing. It does not mean that aid is being just eaten up with nothing to show for it, it means that the foreign finance is being converted into capital assets—for example, irrigation dams produced by Indian labour—*indirectly* instead of being converted into capital assets directly by using the money to pay for imported machinery.

This may seem a strange notion, and as it is so important I want to look at it from several angles. One angle which sometimes appeals more to an audience than any other is simply to apply the analogy of Marshall Aid. You will probably remember that when we were given Marshall Aid there was a certain amount of uneasy discussion as to whether it was really right to be using the dollars thereby obtained for importing wheat or cotton or even tobacco. Aid was supposed to be for a capital purpose, to cope with a recovery problem. That argument was quite rightly countered by saying that we were not burning the aid, not running into debt, we were adding to our assets far more than the amount of Marshall Aid. We were building our own power stations, and the people building them were receiving incomes and spending them, and part of what they were spending them on was tobacco. It would clearly be ridiculous to have imported ready-made power stations, on the grounds that this was a capital import and therefore legitimate, rather than to have made them

ourselves and imported the consumer goods, or the raw materials to make consumer goods to supply the people on the job. More realistically, in our case the choice was between using our electrical engineering industry to produce power stations for ourselves and relying to a much smaller extent on Marshall Aid to import the raw materials needed, and as the alternative, exporting the electrical machinery in order to buy the essential food and raw materials. This is essentially the position in India too.

THE FINANCIAL MECHANISMS

Perhaps I may take an actual important programme to sketch the financial mechanism which operates, so that one can see how it is that aid in the form of consumer goods adds to the capital assets of India. The example is wheat, supplied by the United States under what they call Public Law 480. If that wheat were simply distributed to individual Indians as a free gift then it would do virtually nothing to add to the capital assets which India would have at the end of the year. Indians might as a result be stronger and therefore able to build more. But fundamentally this would be a gift straight to consumption by the Indians. But in fact Public Law 480 doesn't work that way. In effect it provides that the wheat is received not by individuals but by the Government. The Government sells the wheat to its citizens for rupees, and then it spends the rupees for capital purposes such as paying wages of the people building the irrigation dam, which I mentioned just now as a project indirectly financed by foreign finance in the form of wheat. The actual mechanism of the finance is more complicated than that, but that is its essence, and it shows how a loan or gift of pure consumer goods gets indirectly converted into capital assets.

The position is similar when finance is given in the form of cash loans for balance of payments support or general imports. Again, the essential fact is that the loan is made to the Indian Government in pounds or dollars and the Indian Government sells those pounds or dollars to the Reserve Bank for rupees, and spends the rupees for capital purposes. The inflationary effect of the capital expenditure is neutralized by the deflationary effect which is produced when the Reserve Bank sells the pounds or dollars to importers who bring in additional goods, usually raw materials.

Perhaps one can visualize an alternative mechanism whereby this foreign exchange was

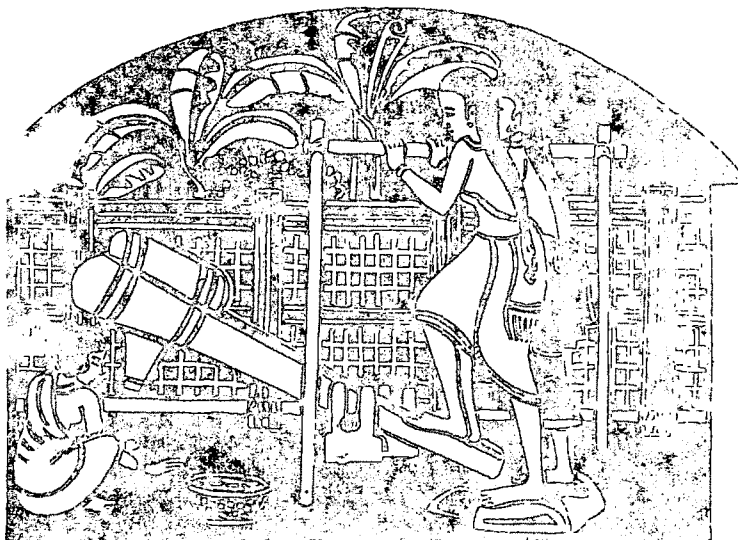
made available for general purposes which might not create the same prejudices. If the loan to the Indian Government were made not just for a part of a project—the imported machinery going into a hydro-electric scheme, for example but were made for the whole cost of the project, this would seem, according to nineteenth-century notions, a perfectly proper procedure. But of course then the workers engaged in construction work would not be paid in pounds and dollars: you would have just the same mechanism as I have described—pounds and dollars would be sold to the Reserve Bank for rupees, and the procedure would continue from there. The only thing would be that in that way the use of the rupees obtained by selling the dollars to the Reserve Bank would be controlled; they would have to be used for building the hydro-electric scheme. On the other side, the use of the pounds and dollars would not be controlled in any way, and that perhaps is one of the reasons why it is not done. When aid is given for balance of payments support it is usually on the condition (sometimes a very mild one) that the foreign exchange shall be spent on goods from the donor country. That is quite reasonable when you are giving a loan for balance of payments support, but it would seem rather odd to say, of a loan in pounds given for a hydro-electric scheme, that the pounds must be used for importing goods from the donor country, even when in fact the Indians are converting them into rupees in order to pay the labourers for doing the construction work in their own country.

I want to say a word also about private investment. I ought to be giving you a lot of statistics, but there is only one statistic that is in a sense necessary, and that is the quantitative importance of the private flow of finance into India as against Government-to-Government or World Bank-to-Government finance which goes under the Aid-to-India consortium. Quantitatively the flow of private investment into India is almost negligible. There is an inflow, but there is an outflow as tea plantations and merchant businesses and so on are Indianized and the proceeds repatriated. Thus, the net flow is very small, but that is not to say that it is unimportant. Remember the finance needed for that stick to dig the holes to put the seeds in—it was very small quantitatively but it was an essential part of getting a much higher rate of output. The role of private investment in India's development is essentially just that. It goes along with expertise, know-how and all the rest of it, and this can be important out of all proportion to the funds involved.

TRADE AS WELL AS AID

But the final point which I want to make is this. If we see the most important role of foreign finance in India's development as providing the vital foreign exchange element not merely for imported machinery but for general balance of payments, then it follows quite quickly that there are other ways of providing that foreign exchange as well as the provision of foreign capital. 'Trade as well as Aid' should be the keynote: the balance of payments problem of India springs more fundamentally from the difficulties of increasing her exports than from her development programme. A great deal of the responsibility for developing India's exports obviously rests on the Indians themselves. There are all sorts of things which they might do, but

I want to look from the developed countries' end and say quite bluntly that one of the major obstacles to the development of the exports from India, and from other countries in a similar position, is the formidable number of devices adopted (which are sometimes contrary to the letter and the spirit of GATT) to keep down the imports of what are branded as low-priced Asiatic manufactures. The benefits which these devices bring to the industries in the developed countries (which are in any case partly matched by the losses to consumers in those countries) are really of quite a different order of importance from the detriment which they bring to the development of poverty-stricken countries like India; and incidentally they do a good deal to perpetuate the need for aid.



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NOTES

The World

At the time of writing these notes, there were only two Zones in the international areas of unrest and tension where there were chances that armed conflicts, that had erupted at the beginning of August and then had died down, might assume major proportions. The Zones were situated firstly along the coastal areas of the gulf of Tonkin and within the border areas of North and South Vietnam and secondly in the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

The U. S. version of the incidents that led to the mounting of tension to a critical point in the Gulf of Tonkin is given in the following extracts from the *N. Y. Times* (Weekly Review) editorials as given in the Sunday, August 9, issue. The Sunday on which the first incident is said to have taken place, was on August 2. The narration is as follows :

The first word reached Washington in the early hours of Sunday morning. It was relayed from practically the front doorstep of the Communists in Southeast Asia—from the Gulf of Tonkin, which is three-quarters enclosed by the shores of North Vietnam and Communist China.

The word came from the American destroyer Maddox. She is one of the ships of the United States Seventh Fleet that have been patrolling Southeast Asian waters for the double purpose of observing coastal

movements by the North Vietnamese and "showing the flag" for psychological effect.

Maddox's message was that she had been attacked with torpedoes in daytime by three North Vietnamese PT boats about 30 miles offshore—well beyond the 12-mile limit of territorial waters that Communist nations claim (the U.S. recognizes a 3-mile limit). The destroyer and fighter planes from the carrier Ticonderoga counterattacked, damaging two of the boats and leaving the third dead in the water. The American forces suffered no damage or casualties. They did not pursue the boats because their orders were to repel attacks, not to destroy attackers.

In Washington the incident seemed to cause concern but no great alarm.

Monday Washington again sounded this note of warning to the Communists. Mr. Johnson called reporters into his office and told them that another destroyer, the C. Turner Joy, was joining Maddox on patrol under air cover and that they now had orders to destroy any attackers.

Tuesday the realization that a crisis was at hand burst upon Washington. It came with the news of a second North Vietnamese attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. It was a night attack, about 65 miles offshore, and longer and fiercer than the one of Sunday ; the PT boats were driven off and at least two sunk, and again there was no American damage or casualties.

At the White House the atmosphere was

tenze. The President took counsel with his highest advisers.

They discussed the question of why the North Vietnamese attacked; how they should be answered; what would convince the North Vietnamese and their Chinese backers that the United States was determined not to be driven out of Southeast Asia.

Close to midnight, after informing Congressional leaders and Senator Goldwater, Mr. Johnson went on live television to announce:

"... repeated acts of violence against the armed forces of the United States must be met not only with alert defense but with positive reply. That reply is being given, as I speak to you tonight. Air action is now in execution against gunboats and certain supporting facilities in North Vietnam which have been used in these hostile operations."

In California Senator Goldwater backed the President's decision, saying, "We cannot allow the American flag to be shot at anywhere on earth . . ."

Wednesday Secretary McNamara told newsmen that the American reprisal was "very successful." He said that in 64 sorties by carrier-based planes about 25 North Vietnamese PT boats—a "substantial" part of the North Vietnamese navy—had been destroyed or damaged; four PT-boat bases and an oil depot were damaged. Two American planes were shot down. Whether there would be any further action against North Vietnam, he said, "depends entirely on the North Vietnamese."

The reaction to the American move in countries other than those directly involved, varied widely. Peking warned the U.S.A. that it had "gone over the brink". A Government statement said that its aggression against the Vietnamese bases meant aggression against China. It added "The debt of blood to the Vietnamese people must be repaid and the Chinese people would not sit idly by without lending a helping hand." Mr. Khrushchev at first referred to the American relation as a "stupid act", but later issued a warning that the Soviets would honour their pledge to defend all Communist countries if they are attacked.

Australia, Britain and Japan have supported the action. Indeed all the powers of the NATO and SEATO have approved with the exception of France. The press in Arab countries reacted strongly against the American move. New Delhi expressed grave concern over these incidents as they threatened peace in South-East Asia and hoped that at least the atmosphere of an uneasy peace would be restored soon.

The U.S.A. has taken the case to the Security Council of the U. N. citing the original incidents as acts of aggression. The Soviets have referred to the American air-strikes as aggression in a counter-accusation on behalf of North Vietnam.

The position has remained tense since the U.S.A. struck at the North Vietnamese torpedo boats and their bases round the gulf of Tonkin. But until the time of writing these no further "incident" has happened to bring the crisis to a head. North Vietnamese and the South Vietnamese armies have been put on the alert along their borders, which in the case of South Vietnam seems very indeterminate as the border-line on the Western side adjoins that area of Laos which is under virtual control of the North Vietnam assisted Pathet Lao forces. The Viet-Cong guerillas, who are fighting an internecine war against the South Vietnamese Government, are being regularly supplied by North Vietnam with munitions etc., through the Pathet Lao occupied areas of Laos. It seems that the Viet-Cong is somewhat less active since the American attack on the North Vietnam ports.

In South Vietnam two *coups d'etat* have taken place in August, in quick succession, towards the end of the month. The first followed soon after General Nguyen Khanh had promoted himself from Premier to President and took over virtually absolute power. This was done by an "arranged" ballot in South Vietnam's Military Revolutionary Council, and it cleverly manoeuvred General Duong Van Minh out of the political set-up although the original *coup* that brought down the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem was led by General Minh. Students launched a vigorous agitation against the new

dictatorship of General Khanh and their campaign developed in a nationwide demonstration. Khanh abdicated and a new caretaker Government was set-up pending elections for a Civil Government chosen from elected representatives of the South Vietnamese peoples. This caretaker Government was dissolved and a new Military Government of three members was set-up, inclusive of General Khanh as Chairman to act as Caretaker till the elections were over, by the military junta now in control of South Vietnamese affairs.

Some thousands of miles further West the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean region experienced severe aerial strafing, by rockets, bombs, highly destructive napalm bombs, and by machine-gun and cannon fire. The planes were U.S.A. jet planes but they were manned by Turkish airforce men. This aerial action erupted out of the blue when the Greek Cypriots had come within an ace of either exterminating the determined core of Turkish Cypriot resistance in the North-West coast of Cyprus. The Greek Cypriots who were immensely superior in numbers, equipment and ability to manoeuvre had ringed a small 10 mile long strip of coastal villages with Turkish population.

The Greek Cypriots had received large supplies of arms, munitions and other military stores from the Greeks. And according to some reports quite a few thousands of trained Greek army personnel had "volunteered" into the Greek Cypriot forces, thereby greatly emboldening the Greeks in their attempt to "liquidate" Turkish opposition by annihilation or by capitulation of the Turkish resistance forces. The U.N. peace-keeping forces were practically rendered immobile by Greek Cypriot restrictions and despite protests by General Thimayya (from India) the United Nations Commander, Archbishop Makarios, the dictator President of Cyprus, refused to remove them. He was confident of victory and further he had "Grivas" of the Cyprus underground, who was back from Greece, in command of his forces, so he did not stop the Greek Cypriot "Operation Extermination."

Village after village fell before the Greek Cypriot attack, launched along the coastal strip with bazooka, mortars and machine-guns. The Archbishop had rejected all proposals for a peaceful settlement and had demanded that the Turkish Cypriots lay down their arms and accede to majority rule by the Greek Cypriots. The only alternatives left to the Turkish Cypriots was either to fight to the bitter and bloody end of their existence or to fly the country. And it was to this final end that the stage was set when the Turks on the mainland came to the end of their patience on the 8th of August last when three Turkish jet planes made two strafing runs on the Greek Cypriot positions in that area. The first news said:

NICOSIA; Aug. 8.—Turkish Air Force planes made a series of rocket and machine-gun attacks today on Greek Cypriot positions along the north-west coast of the island between the towns of Polis and Xeros on either side of the Pilliria promontory, the U.N. Command here announced, report AP and Reuter.

While in Paris the NATO permanent council held an emergency meeting to study the latest developments, both Turkey and Greece separately asked the U.N. Security Council to meet immediately to discuss the Cyprus crisis. It was later announced the world body would meet at 11-30 p.m. (GMT).

The U.N. Cyprus Command reported that Turkish jet fighters made two separate strafing runs on Greek Cypriot positions around the embattled Turkish Cypriot village of Kokkina.

A U.N. spokesman said a total of three aircraft flew in low from the sea, machine-gunning Greek Cypriot forces who had been encircling Kokkina.

At the Port of Xeros, four Turkish jets strafed a Greek Cypriot gunboat setting it on fire and forcing its crew to beach it.

He said at least five Greek Cypriot crew members were killed and 13 wounded in the attack on the patrol boat.

The Cyprus Government later announced that a fourth violation of Cyprus air space since yesterday took place when eight Turkish Air Force jets in two groups of

four hit the Greek Cypriot towns of Polis, Pamos, Pahyammos and Xeros.

The Turkish Government later in a communique said that the air action carried out over Cyprus by Turkish aircraft was a "limited police operation" aimed at "cleaning up" all Greek Cypriot military vehicles on their way to "annihilate Turkish Cypriots in the Mansoura area."

Meanwhile the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Papandreou, made an urgent appeal to President Makarios of Cyprus for an immediate cessation of all military operations in the island.

The *New York Times* commented thus, immediately after receiving the news:

The abiding danger all during the seven-month-old Cyprus crisis has been that it might precipitate a military struggle between Greece and Turkey. Yesterday that grave possibility heightened when Turkish planes made strafing attacks on the island.

Although tiny, Cyprus occupies a strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean, and the controversy over her future has brought all the major powers and the U.N. into the arena. For the West the situation is especially alarming since war between two NATO allies would have disastrous consequences for the defense of Europe and might shatter the alliance altogether.

At the heart of the conflict is the longstanding suspicion and hostility between the island's inhabitants of Greek and Turkish descent, now numbering about 400,000 and 100,000 respectively. Under the constitution and treaties promulgated when the island was granted independence from Britain in 1960, the Turkish minority was given certain veto rights over legislation, and Turkey—along with Greece—was granted certain rights of military intervention.

The Greek Cypriot Government under President Makarios has found the concessions onerous, and last fall it sought constitutional changes to reduce the power of the Turkish community. With passions strong on both sides, clashes between the two communities erupted last December and soon both Greece and Turkey were threatening military action on behalf of each side."

The short background summary in the

N. Y. Times editorial has left out another feature in the agreement which was signed by British, Greek, Turkish and Cypriote (both Greek and Turkish) leaders on Feb. 19, 1959 and under the conditions of which agreement Cyprus became an independent republic. By a clause in that agreement Great Britain retains sovereignty over two military enclaves with a total area of 99 sq. miles. Further the ethnic Turkish Cypriot community though only 20% of the total population in numerical strength, has 30% of the seats in the House of Representatives. There are some other complex arrangements in the agreement regarding communal affairs. In short the British design was to keep the communities apart and in a state of smouldering hostility right from the beginning. This has borne inevitable results, as it did in India, and Palestine.

The Turkish strafing continued for two days, during which the U.N. called for a ceasefire all round. The Turk discontinued strafing but kept on with reconnaissance flights over the areas where the Turkish Cypriot minorities were hemmed in. But finally, with the NATO powers adding their efforts to the U.N.O. an uneasy peace was restored. President Makarios had asked for military and other aid from many countries, in the event of the threatened Turkish invasion materializing, inclusive of the U.A.R. and other Arab countries and the Soviets. The Arab countries inclusive of U.A.R. had responded sympathetically saying that they would render all aid within their power and the Soviets had given a definite assurance of a strong military response in case Cyprus was invaded. It was this threat of military reprisal on the part of the Soviets that brought a sense of urgency and of an imminent danger of a major conflagration to all parties concerned.

Greece was preparing to withdraw air and army units from NATO when the Turkish strike at Greek Cypriote forces took place. But the Greek Government likewise expressed its strong disapproval of the military action launched by Archbishop Makarios at the Turkish minorities despite the Greek Premier's clear advice and requests to the contrary. The Soviets

also expressed their firm desire that the Greek Cypriot moves for the annihilation of the Turkish minorities should be immediately stopped and that Archbishop Makarios should reverse his attempts to blockading, supplies—inclusive of water—to the Turkish minorities and that he should reopen the roads etc., leading to their villages.

All these seem to have helped in opening the intransigent Archbishop's eyes to the consequences that might accrue to his thoughtless decisions. This again goes to show that the millenium is almost as far off today as it was a century back. In any case the Turkish aerial strafing has made it possible for the U.N. to reopen its proposals for a peaceful settlement of the tangled issues involved in the Cyprus affairs.

Some curious interludes seem to have come to light during the critical phase when the Turks were striking at the Greek Cypriote forces and were threatening an invasion, resulting in a broadcast appeal for help by President Makarios. Commenting on the favourable response to this appeal for military aid against the Turks that came from Syria, U.A.R. and other Arab countries, President Ayub said that this promise for military aid and action against the Turks displayed an "un-Islamic" attitude on the part of the Arab States concerned. This comment brought forth a strongly worded reply from President Nasser, pointing out that when Egypt was subjected to aggression of the most blatant and violent type by Britain, France and Israel, during the Suez Canal incidents, neither Turkey nor Pakistan seemed to have displayed even a trace of pro-Islamic sentiments. This reply seems to have effectively stopped the outflow of pro-Turkish effusions from President Ayub.

In the Congo some tribals and others have been equipped with arms and given training in guerilla warfare by Red Chinese emissaries who are based just outside the borders of the State. It is a major rebellion and has assumed formidable dimensions due to the reluctance of the Government troops to face them. Moise Tsonbe, the ex-secessionist head of the Katanga province, has been appointed Premier of Congo by the desperate Congo President, and he has

been given some "aid" by the U.S.A., in the form of transport planes, "trainer" planes that can be used for strafing, helicopters, arms, ammunition and a certain number of "advisers" and paratroopers to "guard" the planes. Ground Transport has been given in the form of 70 jeeps and 250 trucks and amongst the "advisers" some 70 American officers and men have been working closely with the Congolese army on paratroop and guerilla warfare techniques. The affairs of the Congo State are, therefore, in a very liquid state, with day to day changes in the situation.

There was little else to note in World affairs which indicates a change from the drift of circumstances that has been going on during the previous months of this year.

The latest American spacecraft, Ranger 7, has successfully taken and transmitted 4316 photographs of the moon's surface at the beginning of this month.

Independence Day

The seventeenth anniversary of our Independence Day has come and gone. This anniversary was saddened by the absence of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Man of Destiny, as was said by our President in his Independence day message.

The President's message contained some significant comments, on anti-social practices, corruption, etc., which we append below as they are worthy of record, coming as they did at this critical moment in our nation's life.

The President said :

It is my privilege once again to say a few words to you on the eve of the seventeenth anniversary of our Independence Day. This would normally have been a day of rejoicing ; but we are living in the shadow of the loss we have suffered by the passing away of our great national leader—Jawaharlal Nehru—who left an imprint on our life and gave a new outlook to it. He strove to build a new future for India and gave to us a purpose in national life ; and we should adhere to this purpose and dedicate ourselves to the task of accomplishing it. He gave us the ideals of parliamentary

democracy, a non-communal State, planned development, sobriety in international affairs and friendship among nations. There were many in our country who were impatient with what they called the unnecessary patience of Nehru, but being a democrat, he wished to carry the bulk of the people with him in whatever he did.

Our situation at home is not free from difficulties. Our achievement in the industrial sector is somewhat encouraging. It is a matter of satisfaction that, at long last, work will be begun on the Bokaro Steel Project. What is necessary is increased production in agriculture and industry and equitable distribution of the products. Soaring prices of foodgrains and other essential commodities are causing great concern among our people. I am glad that the Government is taking speedy and effective measures to check this rise in prices.

We should face the present situation with concerted action. The members of all parties, I dare say, are interested in fighting this evil and so would co-operate and work together in increasing food production and organising fair distribution of the produce. Personal rivalries and group factions have caused much injury to our progress and our good name. We should avoid them at all times, specially at a time like this, when we are facing many problems. Lawlessness should be discouraged and it is my hope that members of all parties would help in putting down any expression of violence. Democracy and lawlessness are inconsistent with each other.

A recent report shows that food adulteration is being practised on a large scale. Of all anti-social practices there is none more heinous than adulteration of foodstuffs. The practitioners of this evil, the hoarders, the profiteers, the black-marketeers and the speculators are among the worst enemies of our society. They have to be dealt with sternly, however, well-placed, important and influential they may be. If we acquiesce in wrong doing, people will lose faith in us.

The increase of corruption against which we are putting up a heroic fight is due to a considerable extent to our misplaced kindness and indifference to wrong

doing. Maudlin sentimentality is not to be confused with generosity or compassion. If we are soft to the anti-social wrong-doers, we will be doing a great wrong to society itself.

When we speak of a free, classless society, we mean that we should not use other people as tools for implementing our desires. Democracy strives to provide all individuals with the wherewithal and opportunity for self-expression and development. Artificially imposed barriers should be removed and the opportunities for self-development of all individuals should not be restricted. Whatever they are capable of by their genius and ability, all individuals should be able to manifest. We have still the problem of the hungry, the neglected, the poor and the downtrodden. We should avoid the extremes of colossal affluence and grinding poverty, and whatever measures are necessary to bring about greater equality among our people should be attempted. We are attempting to bring about a revolution—economic and social—through consent and not through coercion.

An essential element of socialism is the application of social purpose to our national life. Most of us suffer from a streak of laziness; and a progressive society has little scope for lazy people.

The other major problem, which is engaging our attention today, is that of national integration. We have been attempting to build a structure of society, where everyone, whatever his tribe, race, religion or caste may be, has equal rights with every other citizen.

I hope the members of all communities will seek areas of agreement and co-operation and not of discord and dissension. It is easy to rouse the lower passions of human nature but what we have to do is to enlist the higher qualities of understanding and appreciation of one another.

We have had people following different cultural patterns and all these by action and reaction brought about a common spiritual outlook. We also, from the beginning, spoke different languages and looked upon all these languages as vehicles of culture. Because our people speak different langu-

ages it does not follow that they belong to different species. A twelfth century (1125 A.D.) Kannada writer observes :

sarvajnam tad aham vande
param-jyotis tamopaham
pravrtta yan-mukhad devi
sarva-bhasha sarasvati

All the languages are the utterances of the great goddess Saraswati and we should try, as far as possible, to understand the languages of others and the cultures they express.

In our country we have banned untouchability by law, but, in practice, it is still be met in many places. To root it out, law alone will not do. Education is necessary. The recognition of human nature leads to elimination of race prejudices and social discrimination. We are committed to a continuous process of self-education and self-discipline ; without them we will fall apart. History is a dynamic process and we cannot escape from it. If we try to do so, we will fail to survive. No pride or prejudice should prevent us pose of time—the purpose that has not spent itself in the past but moves onward to fulfilment in the future. Our future is larger and longer than our past. We can change history and are not merely to be changed by it. In the matter of industrial development, food production and such other vital topics, the country has to be treated as one whole — all parts of it should receive equitable treatment.

We are trying to remove hate and violence from our national and international life. We cannot say that we have succeeded in this attempt though we are working for these ideals."

We would lay special emphasis on the remarks of President Radhakrishnan in regard to the punishment that should be meted out to those who are guilty of corrupt practices and the adulteration of food. Indeed our Freedom is being deeply affected by these vital afflictions on our national life. The exhortations towards national uplift contained in the message can only bear fruit if these cankers are removed from our nation's body politic.

After Seventeen Years of Independence !

It is indeed a tragic reminder of the prevalence of an insatiable greed for illicit gain on the part of those who have gained a strangle hold on the trade and industries of the country, when one reads between the lines of the President's Independence Day message. We find an echo to that in the report of a statement made by Mr. Subramaniam while inaugurating a two-day Conference on agricultural development and economic progress organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. We quote from the report as follows :

'It is not, however, a question of ideology but a grim administrative responsibility of Government to see that speculators do not get a chance to exploit people's hunger to make money,' Mr. Subramaniam said.

The Food Minister referred to the views expressed by Mr. S. L. Kirloskar, Vice-President of the Federation and some others that the trade had been blamed "unjustifiably" for the present rise in prices. Views had also been expressed that it was the producer who had acquired a substantial holding power due to large amounts of co-operative credit.

"I do not quite accept this pose of wounded innocence on the part of the trader. The producer could not have acquired this holding strength overnight. Every year, crop credit has been pumped in and it is not as though the last year marked any particular water shortage," Mr. Subramaniam declared.

"What one sees is that over the years, there have been increasingly speculative trends in the economy, aided and abetted by substantial sums of unaccounted money. The trader and the producer who want to get rich quick (who does not ?) sees a golden opportunity in foodgrains where they can put their money with every hope of its multiplication," Mr. Subramaniam said.

We are glad that Mr. Subramaniam refused to accept the pose of wounded innocence on the part of the trader, and he is quite right that over the years speculative trends in economy has increased.

Regarding the innocent trader and the

immaculate capitalist with "unaccounted money" who is his principal, we seem to remember that a few years back Sir Ramsamy Mudaliar lamented at a similar meeting or Conference that things had come to such a pass that captains of trade and industry are taken to be dishonest as a class. Today, following the rampant profiteering and adulteration practised all over the country in the nation's food, they are more likely to be taken as habitual criminals. Mr. Kirloskar and others of his ilk should realise that sober men are seriously thinking of advocating and agitating for the death-penalty for profiteering, adulteration etc., in foodstuffs. They say that this would prevent the real criminal from securing willing stages due to extreme risks involved in such nefarious ventures.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari gave pressmen the information on his arrival at Bombay on August 28, that Government proposed to make attractive rewards to people giving information leading to the detection of black money. We are unable to guess how attractive the awards would be or how efficient the follow-up after information is received would be, but the statement certainly does indicate a change in the attitude of the Government. If it be a serious statement and if it be pressed forward into really forceful executive action then Mr. Krishnamachari's firm conviction that the black money in the country will be unearthed in due course would be justified undoubtedly.

In connection with the unearthing of "black money", we have to mention the reports of large sums in cash and gold that have been unearthed from the hidden hoards of film stars in Bombay. We must say we are not impressed—indeed on the contrary and for the following reasons.

The artists mentioned are undoubtedly guilty unless they can prove that the proper dues regarding income taxes etc., have been paid on the sums involved. In the absence of such proof they are guilty of tax evasion and their guilt ends at that. They have not earned those sums by either swindling the public, or swindling the innocent investors in shares etc., of concerns under the

management of shady financiers. They have earned their money through gainful display of their artistic talents. And indeed they have more reasons to grumble at the imposition of heavy taxes on their earnings than any businessman, because like all artists they are subject to the vagaries of public likes and dislikes and what they earn in a few years may have to provide them for the rest of their lives.

To pillory them as they have been done in the press, can only enhance the disbelief in the minds of thoughtful peoples about the bona fides of government protestations against black money hoarders. Why were the names of those who had evaded taxes to the tune of crores, as found by the Varadachari Commission, never published? Their money was neither earned in straightforward business nor were the immense sums involved—the taxes due alone were in crores in many cases—used in open transactions. And yet the guilty ones were neither penalised as they should have been nor were they publicized as in the case of these Cinema Stars.

We are no Cinema addicts, indeed the total number of Cinema shows we have attended within the last six years would not amount to more than ten in all. So we are not in a position to judge whether the artistic talent of the film stars concerned does deserve the sums unearthed over their years of work. But from the very nature of the finds it is transparently clear that the large sums they had hidden away were not being utilized by them to finance crooked transactions or anti-social deals that might harm the public. In short their's were not part of the "unaccounted moneys" that are being criminally utilized to harm the common man, body and soul.

The "unaccounted money" employed to enhance prices to famine levels by creating artificial shortages of essential foodstuffs and other commodities and to adulterate foodstuffs on large scale, belongs to a class of men who seem to go unscathed and untroubled by the tax and other revenue officials. And they seem to be able to impose their will on the common man's life in every aspect of his being, with impunity

without any interference from the powers that be. And that is why the nationals of India are in this sorry state after seventeen years of Freedom, and that is why the name and style of India as a Welfare State is a mockery today. Let us hope that those in whom we have put our trust and in whose hands we have put the reins of state are fully cognizant of all that.

At the A.I.C.C. meeting at New Delhi on August 29, there was an eight-hour debate on the steps the Government propose to take in order to control the prices of daily necessities for the life of the Common Man. After the debate the Working Committee's official resolution was passed by the A.I.C.C. The resolution expressed its general satisfaction with the way in which the food problem has been tackled on the whole. It particularly welcomed and endorsed the policy statement made by the Prime Minister in his letter to the Chief Ministers. In regard to the tendency on the part of traders and producers to keep back stocks, it said "The country will be wholeheartedly and solidly behind the Government in any action they might take against anti-Social elements."

Yes, but where is there any indication that the Government has made up its mind to deal out condign and drastic punishment to the profiteer, hoarder and adulterator? Deterrent sentences are urgently awaited.

The A.I.C.C. meeting itself was a pointer showing up the mentality of some of those who had ruled and led the factions inside the ruling party upto the implementation of the Kamaraj Plan. This was particularly marked in the attendance of the members

on the two days of the meeting. On the first day, when the burning problem of food and necessities of life for the common man was being debated and discussed, the benches were half-empty. But on the second day, when the Kamaraj Plan was being assailed, the sleek well-fed looking gentlemen—who had little interest in the half-starved hundreds of millions but had intense concern for the loaves and fishes of office and the bye-products thereof—filled the benches to capacity.

There were others too who were interested in this attempt to get the Kamaraj Plan reversed. The visitors who filled the seats kept for them, included quite a few of Delhi's Society Ladies when the discussions were resumed after the lunch interval, although most of them had seldom appeared at such meetings. It was evident that something more than were feminine curiosity had drawn them there, it was hardly likely that they would have abandoned their beauty sleep after lunch otherwise.

The move to get the Kamaraj Plan condemned—which would have meant re-casting of Central and State cabinets—was defeated. The quietus was given by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who spoke for fifty minutes in support of the Kamaraj Plan and its consequences. Shri Dhebar had, prior to Shastri's speech pointed out the damage that was being done to the image of the Congress by the proposed resolution. The resolution was finally withdrawn by the mover after a day-long bitter debate, which did no good to any of the participants and maximum damage to the anti-Kamaraj groups.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

FOOD PRICES AND THE PLAN

Shri Ashoke Mehta, Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, whose reaction to the currently developing demand in the country for a shift in the approach to planning was not altogether unexpected is not, by any means, in a minority of one in his desire to save the Fourth Plan from being severely pruned in size. That the demand for attenuating the size of the Fourth Plan to conform more closely to the financial and physical resources of the economy, especially in the context of the currently raging inflationary price spiral impinging a near crisis in food prices which can be said to have reached the brinks of a wide-spread famine, would seem to have been inescapable in view of past performances. We have just completed thirteen years of planned growth the average annual rate of which has barely been more than 3.5 per cent, if really that much, over this period, at 1952-53 constant prices. The population of the country has been estimated to have risen at an average rate close to 2.5 per cent during the corresponding period. This would not seem to leave, especially when the incidence of rise in taxation burdens have been accounted for, a great deal for any improvement in the standards of living. Performances during the last two years have been especially depressing not merely from the point of view of significant shortfalls in the growth rate but also from the angle of very substantially accelerating price pressures especially in the sector of essential consumables, edibles in particular.

Available Choices

Recent discussions persistently pose the question, first, whether it were wise to continue to accelerate the rate of investment and, secondly, if there should not be a shift from the emphasis on physical capital investment to what is broadly and rather vaguely described as human capital.

Toning down investment efforts is generally demanded because of doubts about the ability to sustain a fast growth rate without causing critical inflationary pressures. There would seem to be cogent grounds for such apprehension especially in view of recent experiences and their obvious and disastrous impacts on food prices. Inflation of a certain measure may be altogether unavoidable in the process of fast economic growth especially when regard is had to the fact that the very nature of this growth process has to accord first priority to the development of essential producer and key economic bases far ahead of consumables. But when the incidence of inflation reaches altitudes where it inevitably affects the levels of subsistence, it unquestionably acts as a retrogressive factor. This, as it visibly has, leads in turn, to inadequate development yields in terms of the size of the investment incurred. In such a situation the factor of investment itself, acts as a stimulant to rising demand and corresponding pressures on the price structure.

The advocates of planned growth like Sri Ashoke Mehta and his high level expertise, seem to dismiss these arguments as being of no particular substance. Many Latin American countries, they argue, have had a larger rate of rise in prices in a year than we have had in this country in a whole decade. And if these countries in South America could nevertheless sustain the processes of growth, they do not see why India could not achieve comparable results if the acceleration in the rate of new investments could continue to be sustained. They concede, however, that failures of development targets in the agricultural sector, especially in the context of burgeoning population explosion, has been a seriously dislocating factor. Agricultural performances, especially in food production, will have to be significantly raised in the next two years and followed through to the next two Plan periods, to eliminate shortages in supply and, consequently, the present dislocations in the rate

of development. These arguments, however, disregard a factual analysis of the realities of effective consumption demand of foodgrains in the country. A realistic analysis will demonstrate that although production has been marginal, there is no actual, at least not more than nominal, shortage. What has actually been happening is that for the overwhelming majority of the country's population this is the most vulnerable sector of the consumer market and is consequently far more deeply sensitive to price pressures than any other sector. According to a study (*Towards A Self-Reliant Economy*) published some years ago, more than 70 per cent of the disposable income of well above 60 per cent of the population is, at normal price levels, absorbed in the purchase of food grains and salt only. After covering other undeniable claims on the balance of this income there is practically nothing left over for other subsidiary edibles. The whole thing may be nonchalantly dismissed that it affects only a few essential commodities, but having regard to the realities of the economic level of the overwhelming majority in the community, even these very few essentials are so vitally crucial that they are able, as clearly they have been doing, to significantly affect the fortunes and prospects of the entire national economy.

Cause and Effect

The obvious confusion in thinking—conceding that each of the parties to the dispute is equally honest and sincere in its convictions—would seem to stem from the basic confusion in indentifying cause and effect and the realisation that the present crisis in food prices is not the cause but the end-result of a series of causes that have been accelerating inflationary pressures over the entire economy does not seem to have been dawning upon the consciousness of those who seem to argue so glibly for or against a larger Fourth Plan. There can be no other indictment against a bigger next plan on fundamental grounds except the apprehension of infructuous investments failing to yield commensurate growth rate in actual rises in production, thereby uselessly and, correspondingly in the measure they fail to provide yield, increasing aggregate demand, and consequent inflationary pressures. Demands for attenuating the size of the coming Plan can only be justified on this ground. The

causes that may have contributed to failures and shortfalls in yield must be a matter of a wholly independent and separate analysis. Broadly it may be stated that they have been the inevitable consequences of wrong priorities and ill-balanced coordination between mutually complementary factors in planning and cannot be said to have stemmed from within the framework of the Third Plan alone and is also a part of the inherited spill-overs from the wrong priorities and mal-adjustments of earlier Plans. The apprehension was not, therefore, entirely unfounded that the spill-overs from the wrong priorities and mal-adjustments of earlier plans, in which those of the Third Plan would occupy a sizeably larger share, would similarly be bound to bedevil the Fourth Plan as well. And since the larger the plan correspondingly wider would be the area of dislocation and failures, one naturally pleads for a sizeably attenuated Plan. This does not, however, repudiate the scope, given the determination and clarity of thinking and vigorousness of action, for readjustment of priorities and rephasing of plan projects to eliminate the continuing consequences of past mistakes and failures.

Agricultural Priorities

It is, however, gratifying that the realization of the importance of a far more accelerated rate of agricultural development as a basic factor in economic growth appears to have been increasingly impinging upon the consciousness of both the school of opinion pleading for a slower growth rate as well as those advocates of planning who insist on sustaining the growth rate at a faster pace than hitherto. The development of agricultural potentials as an essential factor in over-all and balanced economic growth is inherent in all developmental programmes with a widening industrial base. The history of growth in all developed economies will bear out the truth of this assertion. But this need is especially vital in the particular contexts of the overwhelmingly agrarian economy with its present rural-orientations. The trends of urbanization that have been increasingly characterising current development planning is not an unmixed good and threaten to dislocate social balances and values which may end by permanently according a dangerously low priority to the agricultural sector. The fact that even after thirteen years of massive indus-

try oriented planned development and in spite of the comparatively anemic agricultural performance during the last half a decade, agricultural output constitutes well over one-half of the gross national product, appears to be regarded in a widening school of opinion as a deeply deplorable condition. Such thinking and the fact that supplemental modern employment resources are not being developed in a rural orientation reinforced by the low priority for agriculture in the Plan framework hitherto, have been factors that would appear to have been playing a crucial role in the increasing urban orientation of the community as a whole. If a serious breakdown in existing social balances has to be averted, this trend must be arrested, first by restoring to agriculture a much higher priority in conformity with its vital importance to the national economy and, secondly, by adequate supplemental job opportunities in the agrarian context. Important as the development of key producer and economic bases in an accelerating growth process admittedly is, no less deserving of an almost equally high priority are the claims of balancing development in this all-important sector of the economy. This will help to create incentives for agricultural enterprise which has been visibly and increasingly yielding place to the more spectacular and the quicker and more adequately yielding industrial adventure.

Abstemeousness In Administration Outlays

But to revert to a consideration of the basic issue under discussion, infructuous plan investments are not the only, nor even the most important factor responsible for creating the conditions, of the sum-total of which the present crisis in food prices has been an end-result. Extravagant administration outlays out of all proportion to the real resources of the economy both actual and potential in the immediate future context, have been another important factor in the process. A very large measure of abstemeousness is immediately called for as also a complete reorientation of taxation trends which also have been contributing their quota of complications to the general malaise.

Prices and the Plan

But to confine our discussion within the limits of the chosen issue, that of the food crisis and the Plan, it is necessary to realise and

clearly understand that the food crisis is only a facet of the composite and complex problem of prices. The Third and, to a limited extent, even earlier Plans in the manner they have been conceived and implemented, leaving as they did a fairly substantial lag between investments and their actual yield-shortfalls in relation to the targets envisaged, whatever the causes, inherent or otherwise in the Plan itself, that may have produced these lags, have largely contributed to the pressures that have been generated with their more disastrous impact on food prices. To attenuate the growth rate by slowing down the rate of investments in the next Plan is not a real curative of enduring worth but a mere palliative to deal with an intractable and immediate crisis. To resort to an analogy, it is very much like administering a palliative to a dangerously sick patient to avert imminent disaster. It is only an expedient to earn a respite and, therefore, mainly negative in its application. But even a negatively worthwhile palliative may become an inevitable condition of survival. So with planning. The need for immediate survival may dictate the application of the brake for the while, but it is neither an end in itself nor a very desirable method of treatment if its application can at all be averted by the use of more wholesome remedies. A far better way would be to redraw the basic design of the coming Plan to eliminate the gaps that had been left yawning and their consequential reactions. Then it would neither be impossible nor unwholesome to programme for a faster rate of outlays and growth.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AND RURAL CO-OPERATIVES

The recently reawakened awareness of the need to accelerate agricultural development as one of the basic pre-requisites for sustaining growth under planned development, has induced larger allocation of funds for short and medium term agricultural credits. The Union Minister of Community Development was reported to have demanded that funds in this behalf should be specifically allotted and ear-marked for the weaker and more vulnerable sections of the rural community if optimum benefit is expected to be derived from these credit allocations.

Complaints about the misdirection and wastage of credit facilities which, it has often been alleged, are exploited by the more affluent and politically powerful sections of the rural community largely for boosting their personal financial status and political pulls, rather than for the bona fide purposes of agricultural development and farming progress have often been heard. It has also been alleged, on occasions, that parts of these credit facilities are exploited by the more affluent and politically powerful groups in the rural society, also partly for purposes of speculative hoarding of essential edibles.

Although a recent survey carried out by the Evaluation Division of the Planning Commission is reported to have disputed the truth of such assertions, knowing how rural co-operatives function in general, through which these credits are usually routed, the results of the Planning Commission's survey in this behalf, would not appear to be entirely convincing. According to this survey, 87 per cent of short term credits, which cover the bulk of operations in this field, are reported to be deployed for bona fide agricultural purposes and, of medium term loans, some 71 per cent are said to be absorbed in farming needs. It does not, however, seem to be clearly indicated if these credits can be proved to have been supplementing the farmer's own usual and normal investments in agricultural outlays or have been used as substitutes for the same. If the latter supposition is even partially correct, then it would seem to change the very basis and complexion of agricultural credits. Rural credits, in that event would seem to have been deployed not for bona fide purposes of agricultural **development** which should and are expected to be their basic function, but for raising the farmer's staying capacity on the basis of currently static production norms and of being able, thereby, to exploit marginal shortages in supply for exorbitant profits to themselves by withholding stocks from the markets. The scheme of making these credits available to the farmer not in cash, but mainly in kind, if it could be successfully applied, might have, atleast in

large measure, obviated these possibilities. Unfortunately such a scheme has been found to be unworkable except to the extent of providing some quantities of fertilizers and seeds, which some village co-operatives are known to continue to offer.

It is curious that the workings of rural co-operatives through which the bulk of these credits are routed—their volumes are not quite insignificant; Rs. 290 crores were deployed to this end during 1963-64 which have been raised during the current year (1964-65) to Rs. 330 crores—do not appear to have been as closely investigated as would seem to have been urgently called for. It is generally known that well over 50,000 out of the 220,000 rural co-operatives in the country are moribund and are defunct all but in name. There must be a large number of others who function only on paper for the benefit of certain vested interests which have entrenched themselves in control over these societies. Of the balance which can be said to be really functioning in a manner of speaking, most are too small to be viable. It is not unknown that some of these societies, obtaining credits from Government at little or no interest, reinvest them by loans to farmers at rates of interest which are well-nigh usurious. Interest rates charged by rural agricultural co-operatives at anywhere between 9 to 18 per cent are not altogether unknown and no bona fide small farmer could pay interest at such ruinous rates and still hope to survive. Then, again, most of these co-operatives fulfil no other purpose than of mere credit agencies and only a very selected few all over the country perform additional functions such as ware housing, marketing etc.

It is heartening that Government seem to be awakening to an awareness of the need to tighten their supervision over rural co-operatives and have announced the appointment of two Committees, one under Prof. Dantwala of Bombay and the other under Sri B. N. Mirdha, Speaker of the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, to report on the existence of spurious societies and recommend measures for their eradication (this will be the function of Sri Mirdha's Committee) and

to report on the scope of co-operatives in the processing and marketing of consumer co-operatives. The terms of reference of the two Committees as indicated above would, however, seem to have been side-stepping the basic issue of greater functional efficiency of rural co-operatives as an instrument of agricultural development. This may, one apprehends, have been deliberately done because no close probe into the management of agricultural credits made available by Govt., through the rural co-operatives may, at all, have been desired. It is notorious, the crucial role that village level Congress leaders are known to play in the management of rural co-operatives, and how they are quick to exploit facilities of public funds mainly to widen the base of their own and the party's political pulls and, not infrequently also, to line their own pockets in the process.

It may, however, be extremely uncomfortable for the ruling Party as a whole to carry out any close probe into the functions and methodology of these credit institutions more or less in the same manner as Shri G. L. Nanda's campaign against corruption was proving too embarrassing for the Party presidium. It is a curious development of Congress power in the country that action to eradicate corruption from the administration—which, of course, would be quite abortive of any achievement if measures were not taken to eradicate corruption from public life at the same time—should have been publicly repudiated by the ruling Party at its highest levels and that the Union Home Minister should also have been let down by his own Prime Minister. It is, we believe, entirely without any parallel in the history of Parliamentary democracy anywhere in the world, that action initiated by a senior Cabinet Minister of proved rectitude and worth to deal with a universally acknowledged to be widely prevalent public evil, should be officially declared to be only the personal responsibility of the Minister concerned and not either of the Party in power nor even that of the Government of which the initiator of the measure in question is a very senior and responsible member. This is an open and

brazen-faced invitation to more and wider corruption in the community and if anyone can imagine that the country can be pulled out of this putrid mess by mere so-called constitutional methods, he must obviously have been indulging in absurd pipe dreams!

INDIAN REPATRIATES FROM BURMA

The first question that would be inevitably asked in connection with the mass repatriation of Indian nationals from Burma that has been going on for the last several weeks, is what may have been compelling these large masses of Indians who, for the most part, have been carrying on their various avocations in Burma for generations together, to leave their hearths and homes for a wholly unknown future in the country of their origin? For, to most of these Indians, Burma was their real and only home and India a virtually unknown land with neither a home to come back to, nor friends and relations on whom one could hope to depend for material assistance to build a new home and a new future here.

The answer is obvious. They have, with the wholesale nationalization of all industry and trade in Burma, been deprived of their legitimate occupations and sources of living without any hope of any kind of alternative or matching occupation in other than their own fields of enterprise in that country. Most of these unfortunate people have ordinarily been men of substance. But with their occupations wrested away from them, without any hope of recompense, financial and otherwise, there was absolutely no means for these people to continue to stay in the land of their adoption even at bare subsistence levels. For they have also been deprived of all their cash savings. By two separate legislations the Burmese Revolutionary Government made this deprivation complete and final. [By demonetizing all K 100 and K 50 notes and permitting reimbursements in exchange upto a limit of only K 500]- in currencies of smaller denominations—balances to be forfeit to Government unless evidence satisfying to the executive Government as to the manner how these moneys were

obtained—and by holding payments of all compensations for Indian assets taken over by the Burmese Government indefinitely in abeyance, all Indians in Burma including those who had been in circumstances of lavish affluence, have been reduced to the same level of abject destitution and penury.

To stay on in Burma in the circumstances and without hope of any means of subsistence would obviously mean that these large numbers of Indians would either have to starve or be a charge on the revenues of the Burma Government. Naturally the Burmese Government were not prepared to acquire this liability and they have been doing everything in their power to push them out of the country with as much expedition as possible. But that they are not prepared to concede even the least facility to these unfortunate people is obvious from the fact that they would not permit these Indians even to deposit for safe custody within the country, any of their valuables with the Indian Embassy in Rangoon and all that would be allowed by way of out-of-pocket travelling expenses when leaving the country is K 75 to all those above the age of 18, K 20 to those between 12 and 18 and only K 10 to those below 12 years of age.

What would seem to be especially tragic in this connection is the apparent helplessness, if not quite unconcern, of the Government of India to protect these large masses of their own nationals from this overt, wholesale and inhuman oppression by the Government and people of Burma. Generations of Indians had taken over large volumes of capital savings from across their own country into Burma and invested them there. The Burmese are a traditionally indolent and ease-loving people without much initiative and creative enterprise and most of the exploitation of Burma's own economic resources and the resulting development has been done by foreign capital, initiative and enterprise. The share of the contribution by generations of Indians to the process has, indeed, been phenomenal. Now they are thrown out wholesale and are deprived from enjoying their legitimate share of participation in the fruits of their own sacrifices and enterprise by a stroke

of legislation which cuts away at the very roots of all conception of civilized and humane behaviour. This is just not simple expropriation which all modern States may be compelled to resort to on occasions in exchange for legitimate and appropriately valued compensations, but brazen misappropriation with a vengeance and belongs to the same kidney as broad daylight highway robbery. The fact that a legally constituted Government, authoritarian though it may be, has been guilty of the wrong cannot, in any way, take away from the heinousness and brutal inhumanity of the crime.

And, if the case of those who retained their Indian nationality is thus pitiable, those among the Indians in that country who, deluded by the thoughtless propaganda of the Indian Government, elected to embrace Burmese nationality, is in a situation of extreme misery. Pushed out by the country of their choice—that was inevitable on account of their wholesale deprivation from all employment opportunities there—they are in the far more unhappy position of being virtually a people without any country of their own and who cannot expect the least consideration from either side.

And India does not, characteristically, seem to have any wholesome and realistic plan whereby these large masses of humanity—for generations used to a fairly decent level of living—could be appropriately rehabilitated and settled. Failing to provide any protection at the Burmese end, all that has been thought to be enough is to offer loans of upto Rs. 2000 per family only to those who are travelling back by steamer for starting some business of their own or other. No assistance is said to be promised to those who are travelling back by air—whose numbers are far larger, steamer services being few and far between—presumably because air travel being more expensive they are thought to be in sufficiently affluent circumstances to need any such assistance. True, if they were permitted to carry away reasonable compensation for their assets in Burma forfeited by the Government of the country, or even to bring away their legitimate savings in

cash and valuables, they might have been affluent enough to do without any assistance. But the Government of India should be well aware of their actual plight which is no whit less tragic than their steamer-travelling compatriots and this distinction in their treatment of the former can only be described as inhumanly invidious.

The failures of the Government of India, it may be observed in passing, to afford legitimate protection to their nationals abroad in the matter of ordinary civilized and humane treatment in the countries of their sojourn, have already been notorious. In Ceylone, in Mauritius, in Fiji and a host of other countries in the former British Empire, and now also in Burma, the Government of India have been helpless onlookers of brutal oppression of their own nationals without being able or even willing to compel normal civilized treatment. In all these countries India maintains diplomatic legations at colossal expense to the public exchequer. What good, one may pertinently question, is such colossal waste of public revenues to maintain these costly show-pieces, if the country and her nationals where these legations are located cannot benefit even to the elementary extent of obtaining ordinary civilized treatment due to every human being? It may be added that when Burma was in sore straits with the Karen disturbances in 1949-50, India advanced Rs. 6 millions besides giving arms assistance to help her in emergency. This is how Burma seeks to pay back her debt and the Government of India do not seem to have anything to say about the matter:

It is time that the Government of India reconciled themselves to the inevitable fact that they will eventually have to make themselves energetically responsible for large numbers of their nationals ejected

out of their occupations and employment in many other places abroad and, as in Burma, also deprived of their life's hard-earned savings in the bargain. One is almost afraid that encouraged by the complete ease with which the Burmese Government have been allowed to get away with wholesale misappropriation of all Indian assets in that country, and the apparent helplessness and impotence of the Indian Government to do anything in the matter, other countries also where Indians have played significant roles in developing their resources, may be tempted to emulate the Burmese example. Long-term integrated programmes will have to be evolved, sooner or later, for their appropriate rehabilitation and reabsorption in the community. Knowing that most repatriates from Burma have been men of initiative and enterprise, they might easily be expected to make useful, even significant contributions to the processes of development currently being pursued in the country. But to enable this to be done to most advantage, forethought and planning would have to be an essential pre-requisite. Lack of it—just as in the case of a majority of East Pakistan refugees—would lead to colossal wastes of good, potential human material on the one hand, and extreme misery and distress—all the more deplorable because they are wholly unmerited by the sufferers—and the attendant problem of growing masses of frustrated humanity, without dignity, without even hope of a future, on the other. If this is allowed to drift uncared for, as is apparently being done, the whole thing will be bound to soon get out of bounds eventually and there will have to be such a reckoning in the end, even to contemplate the nature and magnitude of which, any one cursed with an imagination and a sense of history, would shudder in his shoes!



THE LATE BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By Late KALINATH RAY
Editorially, in the **Tribune** 14 November, 1943

Among the little band of distinguished Indians who have served their country and humanity during the last half a century with intense and unfailing devotion as well as with conspicuous ability and distinction, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, whose death is being mourned today by millions of his grateful and admiring countrymen will always have a pre-eminent and abiding place. And the most remarkable thing about this devoted and life-long service is that it was rendered not in the way in which most other illustrious Indians of Mr. Chatterjee's time and generation served their country and humanity, by taking an active and leading part in public movements or by moving or thundering public orations, but by quiet and unostentatious work in the field of journalism, and particularly of journalism of that most unobtrusive variety, periodical literature. It is true that for some years Mr. Chatterjee had regularly attended sessions of the Congress, and towards the close of his life he had been prominently associated with the Hindu Mahasabha. But he had won his laurels independently of and without any reference to his association with the Congress, and long before he joined the Hindu Mahasabha; and it is safe to assert that in thinking of him and his great services to his country and humanity not even the most ardent Congress man or Hindu Sabhaite ever thinks of his association with those great organisations. Primarily and principally if not solely he was known and admired as the editor of two monthly magazines, one in Bengali the other in English, both founded by him and raised by him to the pinnacle of glory.

Here, indeed, was his chief distinction as a public man. There have been other cases in which Indians have before now served their country and won enduring fame as journalists, but they were for the most part associated with daily journalism, which necessarily riveted public attention

on their work from day to day. The editor of a monthly magazine suffers from the great disability of appearing before the public eye only once in a month. The average reader cares more for topical subjects than for subjects of permanent interest, and most topical subjects naturally become stale by the time that a new number of a magazine makes its appearance. Another and equally serious disadvantage of a monthly magazine is that the space at its disposal for dealing with matters of current interest is necessarily limited as compared with a daily or even a weekly newspaper. If in spite of these obvious and undeniable drawbacks the two magazines edited by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the **Prabasi**, and **The Modern Review**, won resounding fame and wielded tremendous influence over contemporary life and thought in India, it was because he had qualities which distinguished him from most other editors of monthly magazines in this country. It was these qualities that enabled him to impart to the two magazines, almost from the first, the character of public institutions rather than of individual enterprises in the field of periodical literature. That character they retained to the last day of his life.

What are these qualities? The first and most noticeable of these qualities, of course, was Mr. Chatterjee's intense and passionate nationalism. I know of no newspaper or periodical in India which in every single issue bore the unfailing impress of this nationalism in a larger measure or a more unmistakable manner than Mr. Chatterjee's two magazines. In his selection of articles and of contributors an editor has naturally to think of many things, and no one can deny that Mr. Chatterjee had a peculiar knack of choosing the best contributors and articles available to him. But the discriminating reader was sure to find that even in this matter Mr. Chatterjee's guiding prin-

ple was his passionate love of country and his intense solicitude for its all round well-being. This love of country and this solicitude for its well-being literally dominated and were, indeed, the most conspicuous feature of his editorial comments, even as those comments themselves were the dominating and most conspicuous feature of every issue of each of his two journals. In most other magazines editorial comments are regarded more or less as a conventional thing, and are over-shadowed by contributed articles. Very different was the case with the **Prabasi** and the **Modern Review**. Here the first thing to which the habitual reader of either magazine was sure to turn was the editorial comments, and he was sure to turn to them not merely for pleasure or enjoyment, but for inspiration and guidance. And in most cases he was sure to find what he sought. There was hardly any event of public importance, political, social, educational or economic, which had occurred during the preceding month, on which, until age and ill health had enfeebled him and made it impossible for him to attend to his editorial work personally, the editor did not make his comments, and there was hardly any comment which was merely a repetition of what others had said or which did not bear the stamp of his genius. As time passed, his task in this respect naturally became one of increasing difficulty. The thoughts and ideas that had at one time been confined to a handful of writers and speakers of the first rank, among whom Mr. Chatterjee was one, gradually became current coin. Here as elsewhere the paradoxes of one age became in the course of time the truisms and commonplaces of another. It thus came to pass that almost every single event of public importance and every public utterance of a statesman in an official position or an unofficial social or political leader was examined critically in most Indian newspapers from the point of view of nationalism, long before any monthly magazine could possibly appear with the editor's comments on it. But it is to the lasting credit of Mr. Chatterjee that even this did not deprive his comments entirely of their freshness and of their individual autochthonic quality.

The second noticeable quality of the two magazines, or rather of the editorial comments in them, was a singular combination of strength and self-restraint. The large majority of speakers and writer habitually mistake strong words for strong judgment, and cannot write strongly on any matter on which they feel strongly without losing all control over themselves. Temperamentally as well as by his training and character Mr. Chatterjee was, from first to last, at the farthest possible distance from belonging to this category. He never wrote otherwise than strongly on any subject on which he felt strongly, but his strength was the strength of argument and not of invective. Better than most men he knew that there are few things so essentially weak as strong words, that adjectives are too often the greatest enemy of the substantive. Partly no doubt Mr. Chatterjee, like other writers and speakers of potent stamp belonging to his category, was able to avoid the use of strong words by his style and his manner of dealing with public questions and events. Unlike so many others, he did not consider himself a "public prosecutor for the universe," whose business it is to draw up an indictment against all who differ from him, but a judge whose business is to examine patiently all sides of every matter that comes up for adjudication and having done so to make out a case for one side or the other on the basis of evidence and by means of argument, and then deliver his judgment. It was this analytical and argumentative manner that really distinguished Mr. Chatterjee's treatment of public questions from that of so many others, and made the use of invectives both repugnant and unnecessary to him.

The third noticeable quality of Mr. Chatterjee, and it is the last with which I am concerned in this short review, was his indomitable passion for freedom and for the independence of his country. He was among the first band of public men in India who worked for India's complete freedom, and he used his two powerful magazines for the propagation of the idea of independence. With him, moreover, independence was no mere matter of dream, no remote ideal to

be realised in the long processes of time and endeavour. It was an immediate political objective which it was the right no less than the duty of his people to try and attain with all conceivable speed and by every legitimate means in their power. Here again Mr. Chatterjee's advocacy was argumentative and not dogmatic. He fully believed with Bal Gangadhar Tilak that Swaraj was India's birth-right, but he was not content with the mere expression of his belief. He built up a tremendously weighty case for the attainment of independence by India by means of an invincible array of facts and arguments based partly on logic and partly on history, a case which no one ever attempted to answer and which to this day remains unanswered. Of course, he did not stand alone in this matter. Others did the same work, and to some, by virtue of their personality or the accident of their position, it has been given to do it far more powerfully and effectively. But he was undoubtedly among the pioneers of the movement, and its life long and indefatigable persecutors and champions, and when in the not far-off future India will attain her independence he is sure to be one of those whose names will be written in imperishable letters in the golden pages of its history.

THE DYNAMICS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

By CHESTER BOWLES,

U.S. Ambassador to India

I

By "rural areas" I mean not only the villages and their surrounding farm areas throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America but also the rural towns, ranging from two or three thousand population to many thousands, which serve as marketing centers for the peasants and landless labour of the countryside.

By "rural development" I mean not only agricultural expansion but the growth of small industry, schools, training centers, improved communications, rural electrification, public health, population control centers and even the stimulation of a rural cultural awakening.

Although the *Kural* pointed out nearly 2000 years ago that, "The agriculturalist is the lynchpin of the whole social chariot," this truism was largely ignored in practice. In Asia and Africa a procession of invaders, emperors, and later colonial powers came and went for centuries with little effect on the rural people most of whom were conscious of their government only when it raised taxes or inducted more young men for military service. In Latin America the rural areas, too, were largely by-passed by history.

Following the struggle of the developing countries for independence after World War II, and the withdrawal of the colonial powers, the primary concern of most of the new leaders was for industrial growth which they accepted as the glamorous symbol of western economic advancement. In this regard India had her full share of urban-oriented skeptics who saw the peasants, in Karl Marx's terms, lost in the "idiocy of rural life," and industrial expansion as the only true measure of progress.

More recently the key rôle of the 80 per cent of the people who live in the rural areas of the developing nations has become strikingly apparent. Politicians are beginning to understand that peasants who see no tangible signs of economic progress cannot be expected to identify themselves with their government, and that an orderly political system, therefore, largely depends on what happens in the countryside.

Economists increasingly recognize the need to increase the supply and variety of food available for domestic consumption, and, if possible, for export. In many developing countries agriculture is virtually the only existing industry; it must be expanded to the fullest if there is

to be any hope for a reasonable rate of capital accumulation. And since half of the gross national product in such nations consists of agricultural products, their output decisively affects the indices of national production on which broader economic judgments are based.

Furthermore, rupee for rupee, capital investment in the rural areas will affect more people and accomplish more growth than anywhere else. A market road or a deeper well provide potentially immediate economic benefits without requiring foreign exchange.

The more farsighted also see rural development as an essential prerequisite for industrial growth. If the 80 per cent of the people in a developing nation who live in rural areas lack the purchasing power to buy manufactured goods in increasing amounts—and right now the rural areas in many such countries are not even part of the money economy—the growth of urban industry is bound to be retarded by lack of customers. Moreover, since food constitutes half the weekly budget of an urban worker, the supply of food and the efficiency of its distribution have a direct and major impact on the well-being and political mood of the urban centers.

Finally, sociologists see rural development in its broadest sense as the only democratic means of slowing the movement of ambitious and promising younger people from rural areas to the cities, which in Gandhi's terms drains "the life blood of the villages." This population flow becomes more and more intense as developing nations gather economic momentum and young men, bogged down by the limitations of village life, see the cities as a promised land abounding with employment opportunities and the excitement of modern living.

The actual transition to urban life, however, is often an unhappy one. Once the newly arrived peasants have exchanged the comparative security of their villages with their familiar family relationships, rivers and fields, for the harsh life of a crowded city slum, they are likely to experience a sense of personal frustration and insecurity which inevitably expresses itself in political unrest.

The only effective way to slow down this movement to the urban centers is to provide increasing economic opportunities in the rural areas in an environment which gives the indi-

vidual some meaningful personal role to play; he must matter.

II

If more rapid rural development is essential to the orderly political and economic growth of an emerging nation, it is also the most difficult aspect of development. Rural societies are usually dominated by traditional ways of thinking and doing which are not easily changed; because of this, rural improvement is not susceptible to crash programmes which yield immediate, tangible results.

The very vastness of an Asian, African or Latin American countryside with its thousands of villages provides in itself a formidable obstacle to dramatic progress. Although a hydroelectric plant can cause an industrial complex to flower virtually overnight, it may be years before the first electric pump appears in a nearby village and an even longer interval before the irrigation water is used with full effectiveness.

This brings us again to a point of great importance which I shall take every occasion to stress. The most difficult aspect of rural development, and at the same time the most significant aspect, is that it deals primarily with PEOPLE, endless numbers of independent hands and minds which cannot be centrally controlled but which are the only significant source of creativity in a developing rural economy.

Without the awakening enthusiasm and cooperation of the masses, often buried under centuries of hopeless repression, development is impossible. This underscores one of the five essentials which was discussed in my first lecture: the need for a reasonably equitable and speedy distribution of tangible benefits and the cultivation of a widespread sense of personal participation.

Although many economists, with their eyes glued to the movement of the gross national product, overlook this factor, it is of critical importance. Unless the millions of rural people can be engaged in building for the future, no amount of glamorous industry will produce the fundamental economic and social changes which are the proper goal of national development. The primary focus of any rural development programme, therefore, must be to release the energies of rural majority in their villages and towns.

Now let us frankly admit that this challenge

is an awesome one for which we have no fully adequate answers. The complexities of tribal loyalties in Africa, caste distinctions in Asia, and ancient values everywhere have little relationship to the priorities of modern planners. They create obstacles to change which should never be underestimated.

Nevertheless, certain positive steps are obvious. For instance, with sensitive leadership the peasant's efficiency as a producer can be raised through education, extension work and demonstration projects. His requirements as a consumer can be increased through exposure to new products. Finally, his position as a citizen can gradually be enhanced, for it is an article of faith in a democracy that the participation of the citizens is a prerequisite for effective and responsible government and that such participation directs the energies of the state into the most desirable channels.

The objective of all these approaches is to enable the cultivator slowly but steadily to develop his own capacity for growth and increasingly to use those abilities effectively for his own benefit and the benefit of his family and community.

The emphasis, however, must be on the delicate process of opening people's minds to new possibilities; efforts at arbitrary control will almost certainly fail—as the Chinese have discovered.

III

In this context it may be worthwhile briefly to consider why communist efforts in rural development have failed in China and lagged in Russia.

Marx's primary concern was for the urban "proletariat"; he devoted relatively few paragraphs to rural problems. *The Communist Manifesto* of 1848 limited its policy for the tens of millions of impoverished and exploited peasants of Europe to the following rather casual recommendation: "The establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture, combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries, a gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country."

In short, Marx saw the peasant simply as another industrial worker in a particularly low

state of development. As an economic historian with a tidy concept of both past and future, Marx considered the peasant an intruder and something of an annoyance.

It was part of Lenin's genius that he understood this weakness of Marxist theory and, therefore, sensed the decisive importance of the Russian peasant to the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. Only when he proclaimed on November 7, 1917, that all Russian land belonged to those who tilled it, did Lenin feel confident that the revolution had in fact become "irrevocable." The peasants, he knew, would defend their newly acquired land to the bitter end against any effort to restore the status quo.

From 1918 until 1928 the Russian peasant was relatively free and in most cases possessed his own land. By 1930, however, Stalin abruptly reverted to the old industry-oriented revolutionary dogma. Sensing that thirty million Russian peasant families, most of them with their individual plot of land, offered a formidable political barrier to the creation of a communist state, he embarked on a savage effort to force them into huge collective farms. According to Stalin's own admission to Winston Churchill, some ten million peasants died in the process.

In this massive reorganization of Russia's rural life, Stalin was favoured in several respects by the make-up of Russian agriculture. Food production per capita was high and population per square mile, relatively low. Before World War I, Czarist Russia had exported as much as ten million tons of grain annually. Although this built-in food surplus provided a sizeable cushion against lagging production, the Stalinist collectivization programme brought the Soviet Union to the brink of political and economic disaster.

In China the situation developed along somewhat similar lines but under even less advantageous conditions. As we shall see when we contrast the Chinese and Indian experiences China now faces a grave national crisis.

Although Soviet and Chinese Communist agriculture has failed in different degrees and in different ways, the basic reasons are similar. Both countries ignored the need for a reasonable balance between economic and social growth; instead of providing meaningful incentives, they depended on a maze of controls which drained the vitality of the cultivators and offered them

no real hope of improving their condition, no matter how hard they might work.

The significance of incentives for peasant families was impressed upon me some months ago by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia. When I asked him why most Cambodian farmers with their rich soil and bountiful rainfall produced only one crop of rice annually, he answered, "Because we do not produce enough bicycles."

In the absence of an appealing assortment of consumer goods to improve his living standards, why indeed should a Cambodian peasant with ample food for his family work the extra three or four months in the fields necessary to produce a second crop?

In the United States, the nine per cent of our population engaged in farming produce more than twice as much grain as we can consume. Each year we ship nearly two crores tons of wheat abroad, nearly one-fourth of which comes to India.

There are several reasons for this extraordinary agricultural productivity. For instance, Americans have always been willing to get their hands dirty experimenting with new techniques for improving their output. Furthermore, the government has always played a vital role in assisting the farmer.

But above all, the great majority of American farmers have had the incentive which comes from owning their own land. Low interest loans for implements and fertilizers are readily available. Each farm family has real and tangible reasons for improving its operations and thereby raising its own living standards.

Our first steps to provide a favourable framework for increased agricultural production were taken more than a century ago. In 1862 our Homestead Act offered what was then considered a "family-sized farm" of 160 acres free to any American or foreigner who would till it.

The Morrill Act of the same year gave each of our state governments vast tracts of public land, the income of which was used to establish our so-called "land grant colleges" for research and training in agricultural sciences. In 1887 the Hatch Act provided additional federal funds to the states for research and experimentation in agriculture.

The fruits of this extensive government-supported research were carried to our millions of farmers through a comprehensive farm to farm, rural extension service which operated through

the land-grant universities and which continues to function today. Since the Second World War the federal government has also provided generous agricultural price supports and crop insurance to guarantee our rural population a steady income.

As a result the hardy, independent farmer of American folklore not only exists in modern times, he flourishes. This is largely because his government has helped him to develop improved techniques within a framework of personal economic security and at the same time has respected his independence and initiative.

An indication of the nostalgic feeling we Americans have for our rural tradition is the lengths to which most candidates for public office will go to identify themselves with the agricultural community. A political leader fortunate enough actually to have been born on a farm never ceases to remind the voters of this fact.

IV

The American rural experience is challenging and instructive but, in my opinion, the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have most to learn from a study of Japan.

Japan was the first Asian country to transform a tradition-bound agricultural economy based on subsistence farming and hierarchical social relationships into a dynamic, contributing element of a modern economic system.

This effort goes back many years. When the Meiji emperors regained power in 1868, a major effort was made by the Imperial Government to stimulate agricultural production as part of a national effort to arouse the slumbering Japanese society.

In order to unify the economic life of the country internal tariffs were eliminated. A tax was imposed on the feudal landholders, part of the proceeds of which were used for the establishment of educational, extension and seed improvement services which directly benefited the rural economy. Local banks began to offer credit to landowners at what were then considered low rates of interest. Warehouses were built to store products for which there was no immediate market. Agricultural prices were more or less stabilized.

Although those steps helped to increase Japanese agricultural output to an average of 2.3

per cent a year, the tenant farmers still remained grossly underprivileged with most of the benefits accruing to the large landowners. Independent farmers were increasingly burdened by debt and exploitation and more and more of them drifted into the status of tenants. By the 1930s half of the land of Japan was tenant-cultivated, with land rentals averaging more than half of the crop.

In the bad crop year this meant that the tenant farmer was bound to fall into debt, on which he paid usurious interest rates either directly to the landlord or to the local bank which the land lord often controlled. This tied him tighter and tighter to the land which he tilled but did not possess.

The landlord paid only the modest land tax. The tenant paid for the fertilizer, buildings, implements, seed and various dues. Even in a good year this left him a net share of not more than 25 to 30 per cent of the crop. Thus, the politically explosive gap in the Japanese countryside between the few thousand "haves" and the millions of "have nots" grew dangerously.

While the real gains of the early Meiji period were not wholly lost, by the late 1930s they were largely emasculated by the injustices of the near-feudalistic land tenure system. As incentives declined, production slowed down. In poor years the cities suffered food shortages. Even in more favourable years, agriculture had become a depressed area of the economy which no longer contributed to Japan's industrial growth.

Shortly before the war the Japanese Imperial Government attempted to stop this drift. Legislation was passed which forced landlords to renew leases with their tenants except in cases of proven "bad conduct." An effort was also made to fix the value of land at sixteen times the annual rent and to provide easier credit so that the farmers could purchase their land in twenty-five annual installments.

But an effective revolution in Japanese agriculture did not come until after the war. In 1946 the Japanese Government, on recommendation from General MacArthur's Allied Military Government, embarked on the world's most sweeping land reform. Its purpose, in the language of the legislation, was to "insure that those who till the land of Japan shall henceforth have an equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour."

Seven and one half acres became the upper

limit on all land holdings, except in a relatively small number of cases—largely orchards—where the owner could himself care for a larger area. All land in excess of this amount was bought by the government with bonds and within two years distributed to the farmers. As a result 94 per cent of all Japanese farmers now own and cultivate their own land; the average holding is two acres.

The social, economic and political effects of this rural revolution were dramatic. Suddenly the emancipated Japanese farmer realized that for the first time in his life, or his father's or grandfather's lives, he, a peasant, really counted: At last he had some rights of his own; most important of all, he had land of his own. As a result for the first time he had self-respect, hope and, consequently, the will to better himself, his family and his community.

With assistance from the government, he promptly set up credit co-operatives to provide readily available credit at low rates. He also established marketing co-operatives which now assure him an average return of nearly sixty per cent of the retail price of his produce in the city markets. The existing extension service was improved and expanded to familiarize him with the newest techniques.

As a result of this many-sided development effort, the per acre yields in both rice and wheat on the average Japanese farm are now among the highest in the world; a full fifty per cent above the pre-war level. The cultivator's return from his labour has increased proportionately.

The impact of this comprehensive development effort on rural life in Japan has been dramatic. Villages which until twenty years ago had been virtually unchanged for a thousand years are now electrically lighted. Many Japanese farmers' wives now do their laundry in electric machines. Nearly one half of all rural homes sprout television aerials, while thousands of farmers take their wives shopping on motor-cycles.

V

Significantly, one of the causes of the rural prosperity in Japan, and a major by-product of it as well, is the large number of prosperous small factories now sprinkled through the countryside. Although sufficiently modern and mechanized to compete effectively in an industrial economy, they

are specially suited to the available part-time labour and to the special commercial needs of rural areas.

Three out of four Japanese farmers now add to their agricultural earnings through part-time and seasonal jobs in small fish-processing plants, canning factories, agricultural implement manufacturing concerns and scores of other industries and service organizations.

In the immediate postwar period, the extraordinarily efficient cultivation of Japan's small farms which had been sparked by the land reform was carried on largely by each family's own hand labour. Because of the care with which each plant is tended, it is more accurately described as "gardening" than as farming.

Now as more part-time jobs become available, many Japanese farmers are purchasing small-scale farm implements to free more of their time for work in the small factories and service organizations which are springing up everywhere. The decline in agricultural production which might otherwise occur as a result of mechanization has been made up by increased use of fertilizer and innovations in cultivation. Because the new industries are rooted in the countryside, the traumatic social cost of uprooting millions of peasants for work in the cities which so deeply concerned Gandhi has largely been avoided.

Although the Japanese rural revolution is dramatic and instructive, it is a mistake to assume that it will easily be duplicated elsewhere. Japanese farmers already had advanced techniques at their command. Thousands were familiar with the use of fertilisers and irrigation and needed only the all-important incentive provided by the ownership of their own land to increase their investment and production.

Furthermore, they were literate, and this was probably the greatest single legacy of the Meiji emperors. Nine out of ten recipients of land in the great reform of 1946 could read the legislation which granted it. Since everyone was aware of his new legal rights, the reform could be carried out quickly and fully.

Many leaders of Asia, Africa and Latin America who despair over the political obstacles to an effective land reform also stress that the Japanese land reform was vigorously backed by the United States Military Government which at that time held the ultimate political power. They remind us that in our modern era only two

democratic countries, Czechoslovakia in 1926 and Mexico in the mid-1930s, were able to distribute farm land widely to all cultivators through the vote of democratic parliaments.

Although this is sobering testimony to the political power of the traditional social structure and the landlord opposition in predominantly agricultural countries, it does not follow that competent democratic governments genuinely dedicated to the welfare of their people cannot win the political support necessary for these essential reforms.

VI

I began this discussion with a principle in which I deeply believe: Successful rural development can be achieved only by liberating the energies of the people. In the light of the Japanese experience, let us now consider how this principle may be applicable here.

In dealing specifically with India's development I am treading difficult ground. The subject itself is complex and open to many differing interpretations, and as a foreigner I necessarily speak with some hesitation. However, the fact that I have had a unique opportunity to observe India's economy over a period of many years encourages me to offer my views.

Although the problems of India's rural areas are still appalling, a substantial beginning has been made in meeting them. The community development programme was conceived in 1952 as a modest effort to show villagers how to help themselves in a way that would liberate their energies, make them active participants in their own development, and show them that their government was concerned about their future.

This concept of local co-operation and self-help has been given an important boost by the recent establishment of the Panchayati Raj, the purpose of which is, as the Prime Minister has emphasized, to give "the millions of our people the chance to share responsibility, do good work, and grow in the process."

As we have seen, nothing can be more important in a developing country than the creation of this sense of responsibility. If the Panchayati Raj is well organized and vigorously supported, I believe that it has a significant contribution to make to rural development in India.

Another important objective of the original community development programme was to promote

integrated growth by improving educational, health and sanitation facilities, and roads and communications while placing special emphasis on agricultural production.

It was felt that an interdependent programme of this kind would give the villager a feeling of his own worth and that the values fostered would encourage him to work for the improvement of every aspect of his daily life. These new values, with the help of land reform, better seeds and improved techniques, were expected to improve his agricultural output.

Because of budget limitations, because of the newness of the approach, because of the obstacles which the tradition-ridden guardians of the status quo always strive to place in the path of change, and because of the massive administrative task of organizing such a complex effort in 500,000 villages, progress thus far has failed to meet the excessively optimistic standards of the programme's proponents.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that a debate should develop between those who might be described as "community firsters" who believe in the balanced development of the whole rural community and the "agriculture firsters" who think primarily in terms of increased agricultural output.

In my opinion those who favour integrated development have the best of this argument. Experience in every developing country has demonstrated that the sustained increase of agricultural output simply cannot occur in a social and political vacuum. It must be at one and the same time a product and a cause of a general betterment in the life of the farmer.

In this context let us consider what is clearly the most formidable question of all—land reform. The Congress Party has been traditionally aware of the importance of individual ownership as a basis for community development. In 1935 a party resolution adopted in Allahabad correctly stated that "there is only one fundamental method of improving village life, namely the introduction of a system of peasant proprietorship under which the tiller of the soil is himself the owner of it and pays revenue directly to the government without the intervention of any zamindar or taluqdar."

In the first years after independence there was considerable progress towards this objective. The zamindars, some of whom controlled thousands of acres, were eliminated, in several states ceil-

ings were placed on land holdings with additional ceilings on land rentals, and tenure of rented land was made somewhat more secure.

However, the most difficult part of the task lies ahead. The zamindars were a small minority and the fact that their privileged status was created under the British made them an easy political target. Even with their removal from the scene and some additional curbs on large holdings, ten per cent of India's cultivators still own more than fifty per cent of the land, while one per cent of them own nearly one-fifth.

Here the debate in regard to India's rural development takes on a new dimension. Some agricultural authorities accept the existing pattern of land ownership as reasonably satisfactory and argue that the process of land redistribution has gone far enough. By and large, they assert, it is the larger landowner—the man who still controls 50 to 250 acres—who has the education, the skills, and the personal incentives which enable him to understand and accept new techniques and rapidly to expand his production.

According to advocates of this theory, the primary task is to identify a single cultivator in each village with the necessary qualities and then train him in modern farming techniques. He then may be expected rapidly to pass on his superior knowledge to his neighbours and thereby unlock the door to vastly greater agricultural output for the entire nation.

Although this trickle-down concept of rural improvement may seem appealing at first glance, I submit that it ignores the fundamental principles of rural development. The reasons for my doubts may best be explained by a conversation which I had recently with just such a "door opener" in a village in South India.

This cultivator was greatly pleased with the increased yields per acre which he had achieved with the help of new techniques sponsored by the Village Level Worker. As the conversation continued, however, it became evident that his personal success was unlikely to have much effect on his fellow villagers.

When I asked him how many acres he owned and how he farmed them, he told me that he controlled 150 acres and that his land was farmed not by tenants but by "servants." Since only thirty-seven families lived in his village I found myself wondering how many of them worked as

his "servants," and how many had any land of their own.

I also wondered how much good his increased yields were doing the other villagers, how much more they were able to buy and contribute to the economy, how much incentive they had to work the extra hours which are essential to increases in their own production.

Most important of all, I wondered how much personal dignity among the villagers generally would be developed under his guidance. As I looked at the subservient, insecure attitudes of those standing nearby, I knew there could not be very much.

Although the larger and often more productive farmers in Asia, Africa and Latin America undoubtedly have a role to play as leaders and initiators, there is, I believe, a strict limit to what can be accomplished under their sponsorship. Rural people the world over want land of their own and the fertilizer, better seeds, and credit required to till it more effectively. There are no shortcuts, in my opinion, to the rural democracy which offers the only assurance of orderly political growth in the developing countries.

VII

Yet, as important as I believe it to be, individual land tenure is only one aspect of the problem. Although it provided the essential stimulus for the rural boom in Japan, it was particularly potent there, as we have seen, because the education, modern techniques, fertilizer and credit and marketing facilities were available to allow and encourage the farmer's new initiative literally to bear fruit. In Mexico, where these additional features were absent, a sweeping land reform in the 1930's following years of bloody fighting, resulted in lower outputs and increased peasant frustration.

In the last few years India has made impressive progress in experimentation with fertilizers, seed improvement, livestock improvement and pest control. As I visit India's rural installations and talk to India's agricultural scientists, I am impressed with the strong foundation of agricultural research that already exists in India.

The fruits of this research may be made available to the farmer through the Village Level Workers on a mass scale, through printed material

for the farmers who can read, and through film strips, radio, and perhaps even village puppet shows for the many who can't.

Such information can also be distributed through sales programmes and demonstrations by public and private fertilizer and seed firms. In the United States these have been among the most effective vehicles for communicating improved techniques to the farmers.

The Indian cultivator must also have the credit facilities necessary to avail himself of advanced techniques. More efficient marketing mechanisms are needed to ensure him a worthwhile return on his salable produce. This suggests marketing co-operatives as in Japan with more easily accessible marketing centres in the rural areas themselves. Finally, I believe that consideration should be given to realistic price support on essential crops with a two or three year guarantee to enable the cultivators to plan their production with assurance of a fair income.

Although expenditures for food comprise half of the budget of Indian urban workers, little more than one third of the prices charged in the markets for foodgrains goes to the cultivator. The rest, as in most developing nations, is absorbed by a maze of middlemen and speculators. With well organized and financed marketing co-operatives this gap can gradually be reduced; indeed, experience has demonstrated that retail prices to the consumers can be lowered while the income of the cultivators is being increased.

India can also benefit from Japan's success in creating local industries as a source of supplementary rural income, as employment for surplus agricultural labour, and as a market for farm products. Gandhi himself foresaw this need for small-scale industries when he remarked that while khadi was the "image" of Swadeshi—self-sufficiency in the rural areas—it was not the only kind of industry appropriate to rural needs.

Recently I read with interest of the small-scale Panchayat industries, using modern skills and equipment, which are now being enthusiastically revived in Orissa. Although these industries are government-financed, they are run by the local Panchayats. The six official objectives of these particular enterprises are worth quoting, because they also constitute a concise summary of the role of Japanese rural industries:

"(1) to improve local skills and to introduce new skills;

"(2) to diversify the occupational pattern and help in reducing unemployment and under-employment ;

"(3) to meet the requirements of the consumers in regard to building materials to provide better housing facilities ;

"(4) to provide servicing and repair facilities for agricultural machinery and implements used in the Panchayat blocks ;

"(5) to process agricultural produce to ensure better cash returns to the producers ; and

"(6) to provide a growing source of income to the Panchayat Samities without straining the taxable capacity of the people."

The small industries in the Orissa experiment include tile factories, saw mills, a cold storage plant, and others, each directly relevant to the needs of the local population and appropriate to the existing level of skills. Here we see the Gandhian ideal of *Swadeshi* interpreted in modern terms.

The enthusiasm of the Gram Panchayats in Orissa for these industries as well as the Japanese experience suggests that such Panchayat industries can and will make a major contribution to rural development all over India.

The success of American mass market experiments in Latin America also illustrates the possibilities of marketing the products of local and urban manufacture in the rural area. In several countries Sears Roebuck of Chicago, after studies of local needs, available skills and poten-

tial production facilities, opened large local stores and proceeded to stock them with locally produced products. Craftsmen with the necessary facility and energy were given intensive technical training in mass production plus loans to purchase the necessary equipment.

The result was the creation of hundreds of local producers and a rapidly increasing output of appealing, moderately priced consumer goods which in some instances are now peddled through the villages in marketing trucks. I see no reason why a similar producer-to-market-to-consumer system cannot be set up under both co-operative and private management throughout rural India.

At the risk of entering a particularly controversial area, I suggest that until local industries are created in adequate number to provide more employment for rural labour, agricultural mechanization except in some exceptional situations will prove to be uneconomical. A good team of bullocks require no spare parts or gasoline, rarely get out of order and, as one cultivator reminded me, produce bountiful manure.

Although this particular subject is open for debate, on the central theme of this chapter there should be little disagreement : What happens in the muddy little villages and rural towns so often by-passed by economists and technicians of development, will largely shape the economic and political history of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the coming years.



SOCIAL VALUES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By BIREN KISHORE ROY and SANDWIP KUMAR DAS

"It may not be easy to elucidate the relation of a philosophical or religious idea to economic change"—Prof. Galbraith.

THE purpose of this article is to explore the following hypothesis: that the process of economic growth must be preceded by transformation in society and a dynamic change in people's attitude to social institutions and ideas. Social as well as economic forces must combine together to create an atmosphere which is conducive to economic growth.

Most underdeveloped countries are situated in an advantageous position as regards natural resources. They can lay their hands upon these latent natural resources when they begin their march towards progress. What they lack is capital and scientific techniques and knowledge. But even in this respect the horizon is brightening up. A number of specialized United Nations agencies as well as advanced countries are willing to provide economic assistance in the form of capital and advanced techniques of production. Even with these favourable factors, underdeveloped countries are not able to achieve the expected rate of economic growth.

To explain this curious phenomenon we have to take resort to social values. It is not often understood that social values have a close connection with economic development. We will now try to give a precise formulation of this relationship.

Our contention is that a requisite social order must precede any stage of economic development. But what, in concrete terms, are the ingredients of a new social order? The term admits of a very broad connotation. And this is where the economists have partly failed to provide any tangible horizon of ideas. Schumpeter failed in his growth model of a capitalist economy to provide a clear exposition of what he meant to be the social factors facilitating growth through innovations and new technological changes. We also do not hope to do better. We will now give a picture of a dynamic society which is fitted to develop itself.

In a dynamic society preparing itself for economic development, the enlightened masses believe that economic development is possible. There is a desire among the people to broaden economic activity. Enterprising men come forward and set up new industrial ventures. They are willing to accept any kind of risk that may be associated with it. Demand for food articles lose their previous importance as the demand patterns of the people gradually change. A smaller portion of income is henceforth spent on essential food items. People begin to get accustomed to implements of modern living. Thus, new enterprising men can easily expand their undertakings and move into new spheres.

The existence of a group of entrepreneurs and enterprising men who are willing to take risks plays an important role in the transition from underdevelopment to development. Discovery of new natural resources and technological progress greatly accelerate the rate of economic growth. A high rate of technological advance is dependent to a great extent upon entrepreneurship. Introduction of inventions is a very useful function performed by entrepreneurs.

In the society outlined above, changes in the industrial structure call for changed attitudes towards social institutions and ideas. Transformation in economic sphere is preceded by a similar transformation in society. Society should welcome these events and adapt itself to the needs of a modern industrial economy. Failure to comply with this need may mean unnecessary slackening of growth. Political, social and institutional framework must be ready for changing times and situations so that it can give an effective support to new ventures. Society should take advantage of new ideas of expansion in the modern industrial sector. In a society which is eager to exploit the opportunities for self-development a favourable climate is naturally created.

Let us now shift our attention from the study of objective factors to reality and see how far it falls short of these factors. W. Arthur Lewis says, "a much better insight could be obtained by studying the facts of history. . . ." Looking back into the immediate past, the obvious facts that stand before our eyes are the philosophy of indifference and the belief in immutable destiny which pervade and influence the people's attitude to material factors in underdeveloped countries. People in these countries have some sort of "long-run fatalism" because of the limited production possibilities. People are occupied with some sort of inertia and disincentive to work because the possibilities open to men to improve their fate and fortune are extremely limited. It is, indeed, striking to note that this situation is going to change slowly, perhaps, too slowly, if it changes at all during the era of economic development.

It is very difficult to encourage additional effort in an underdeveloped country. Backward rising curves of work and effort stand as a great barrier in the way of progress. A climate of contentment baffles all attempts to increase work-efforts of the people. They are hardly eager to raise their standard of living by working more. A static philosophy prevailing through centuries looks upon every change with suspicion and uneasiness.

Underdeveloped countries have little or no entrepreneurial talent which is so necessary for economic development. Existing social conditions do not favour the formulation of such talent. The entrepreneurial spirit cannot find a free expression in a tradition-ridden and custom-bound society which most underdeveloped countries have. In these countries feudalistic ideas and medieval concepts still hold good. People look upon business and commercial activity with great contempt. As such, an entrepreneur does not get due respect and reward in a traditional society. Managerial, technical and labour skills required for economic development are also phenomenally scarce. Attachment to old ways of life by magnifying risks and labour associated with skill formation discourages it.

Social mobility is an essential precondition for economic growth. But such mobility is absent in most underdeveloped countries. Age-old

conventions and customs stand in the way of social mobility. As for example, in India, a person who belongs to an upper caste will think twice before he will start a shoe factory. In such a traditional society, economic growth is possible only at a slow rate after people have been educated in terms of modern ideas of living. Even educational systems in these countries do not give proper attention to the eradication of such harmful customs and practices.

It is necessary to see before introducing advanced techniques and methods of productions borrowed from developed countries whether the people are capable of utilizing them. In the absence of achievement-oriented population, introduction of new techniques becomes all the more difficult. New production techniques always carry with them some burden of risks and uncertainty. Even if the government of an underdeveloped country is willing to render any kind of help, the people will not reap the full benefit of it. A generation that has known limited production possibilities naturally shrinks from using any advanced technique of production.

There are many who suppose that changes in people's attitude will occur during the process of development. But it is difficult to understand how any economic development worth its name is to be achieved unless the prior obstacles to the adoption of better techniques are removed. Social values must change in accordance with the needs of an industrial economy before an ambitious programme of economic development is launched. In a society marked by "fatalist" attitude, only a few people are willing to take risks to better their conditions. External preparedness alone is not sufficient for economic development. Without a greater degree of elasticity in society any plan for economic development would fail to realise its goal. Only optimism which is strong enough to be stretched to the level of absurdity can advocate economic development in a society where old social values still predominate.

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IS OUR PRESIDENT LIKE THE BRITISH MONARCH?

BY PROF. JAI NARAIN LAL

Strange though it may look, our Constitution, which contains 395 Articles and eight Schedules, 'has created a curiously ambiguous picture of the Executive branch of government'¹ and has not clearly defined the real position of our President. The executive power of the Union has been vested in the President² who is elected by the elected members of the Union Parliament and the elected members of the State Assemblies.³ The Constitution requires him to exercise the executive power either himself or through the officers subordinate to him.⁴ At the same time, there is a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the President in the performance of his functions.⁵ It has nowhere been said in the Constitution that the President is the Constitutional head of the state and as such bound to accept the advice tendered by the Council of Ministers. It has been, some point out, deliberately left vague⁶ to be determined by political practices as they crystallise under the stress of circumstances of the time.⁷ The result of this vagueness is that there is no unanimity of views as regards the real position of our President under the system of our government and, ever since the Constitution was inaugurated in 1950, different views have been expressed about his real position.⁸ At one extreme is the view that our President, notwithstanding the letter of the Constitution, is, as Dr. Ambedkar said, 'only a figure head' or 'merely a nominal figure head'⁹ and at the other extreme it is held that our President, as R. S. Ruikar said, 'is a super Hitler.'¹⁰ Other views range in between these two extremes.

However, ever since the Constituent Assembly passed the Constitution, the most popular view held about the position of our President is that he is like the British King (or Queen). This view carries the weight of great prestige because it has been supported by such eminent persons as the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,¹¹ the father of our

Constitution, the late Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru,¹² the first Prime Minister of India, and M. C. Setalvad,¹³ the first Attorney General of India.

If we look a little deeper into the problem, we shall not fail to see that to equate the position of our President with that of the British King is neither to define nor clarify his position; it is rather to confuse it. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was never precise about what the real position of the Indian President was, though, a number of times he said that the President was like the British King.¹⁴ It was natural for him to say so, at least for one reason because the position of the British King himself is not clear in absolute terms,¹⁵ and different writers and constitutional lawyers have expressed different views regarding the exact place of the British King in the British system of government.¹⁶ Hence, when we say that our President occupies the same position in our system as the British King in U.K., we tend to admit tacitly that his position is not clear.

As a matter of fact there is no solid ground for holding this view about the position of our President except that, as Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, we have adopted the British model as our model.¹⁷ The hollowness of this view cannot be demonstrated more clearly by anything than the fact that even though we have adopted the British model, we have introduced many things which are not British in their nature as, for example, Fundamental Rights, or the Federal Principle, or the Supreme Court. Then, even the executive government of the British type has taken different forms in different countries¹⁸ and the British political institutions have seldom been imitated truly in any country of the world. Our experience shows that, of all the political institutions of Britain, the Cabinet is the most difficult and Head of the State almost impossible to imitate. Even in monarchies

like Japan and Denmark, leave alone the Dominions like Australia and Canada and the Republics like France and Ireland, it has not been found possible to have a head of state exactly on the same pattern as in England. It has, rightly, been asserted, therefore, that no doubt we have decided to adopt the cabinet or the parliamentary form of government, in contrast to the presidential type of government of the U.S.A., but it does not necessarily follow that the Head of the State in India occupies the same position as the King in England.

The real reason why we have been so much inclined to equate the position of our President with that of the British King seems, to many, to be that 'political thinking in this country has fallen so deeply into ruts cut by exclusive study of the British Constitutional history that few are willing to make the extraordinary efforts needed to get out of them.'¹⁹ We have been so much impressed by the constitutional practices of England that we unquestionably regard them as the best. There is, therefore, a tendency among us Indians to quote British practices with reference not only to the Head of the State but also to other institutions like Cabinet, Prime Minister, Parliament etc., and it seems sacrilegious if one goes beyond what is British.

In the very nature of things, we, as also other nations, cannot mould and shape our institutions on the pattern of England. To justify any institution or practice of India, without reference to Indian conditions and mentality, is simply untenable. And yet during the last fourteen years, our President has not only functioned as a prototype of the British King, but also the belief is common that his functioning like the British King is a matter of convention and, as such, part of our Constitution. Not only that, some would like to go a step further and treat this question as settled for all time to come. It is true that this notion has held sway so far but it would be unrealistic to hold that the matter is closed because all these years since the attainment of independence the impression has persisted that, because of the overwhelming majority of one political party, i.e., the Indian National Congress at the

Centre and in the States, the Constitution is not being worked out as it should be. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, to whom the credit goes for having functioned just like the British King, is known to have raised a number of times the question of the real powers and position of the President²⁰ and, ultimately in 1960, he expressed grave doubts whether we are right in importing the conventions of the British Constitution, particularly in reference to the President.²¹ Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, termed this remark of the President as casual,²² but there are people like Rajgopalachari, the last Governor-General of India, who think that there was something deeper in it.²³ Some have even criticised Dr. Prasad for acting just like a figure-head, thereby laying down wrong precedents which might damage the prospects of democracy in our country.²⁴

The fact, however, remains that the President, during the last 14 years has chosen to function under the notion that he was only a figure head. We cannot ignore the fact that the political conditions obtaining after independence, the historically evolved personalities of Jawaharlal and Rajendra Prasad and the all-embracing character of the Indian National Congress which made for the success of that notion, will not be available in the future. When we make any study of this problem, we should first be free from the political bias or consideration of circumstances that have affected, undermined or atrophied the position of our President during the past 14 years.²⁵ It is, therefore, necessary to examine, in some detail, how far it is correct to hold the view that our President is like the British King. If we examine the various constitutional provisions, we shall see that it is impossible for our President to occupy the same position in India as does the British King in England. We shall, in the main, examine the following provisions to show that they would continuously tend to make our President different from the British King.

1. The British King holds a hereditary office whereas the office of our President is an elected one. This very fact introduces

the follow-points of difference between the two offices :—

(a) The British King does not depend upon the support of any electorate for coming to his post and, hence, it is possible for him to remain aloof from political controversies. This enables him to remain not only above party politics but also neutral politically. Our President, holding an elected office, on the other hand, cannot be completely free from political arguments,²⁶ because election, direct or indirect, means choice and choice necessarily involves controversy. The very fact of his election will give rise to all sorts of controversies about his work and conduct, character and personality, and achievements and services in the various fields. Thus, it will not be possible for our President to remain absolutely neutral in politics like the British King.

(b) The British King represents the entire British people and is the symbol of their unity, culture and civilisation. Our President, on the other hand, represents the electorate that has elected him and nobody else;²⁷ he cannot represent the entire Indian people in the same way in which the British King does. The entire British nation treats the King as their own; the entire Indian nation will never treat our President as their own in the same sense.

(c) The allegiance that the British King commands from his people lies deep in sentiment and history.²⁸ The allegiance that our President would command from the Indians will depend upon his worth and achievements and not on sentiment. It is significant to note in this connection that the respect that President Rajendra Prasad commanded from the Indian people depended, apart from official pomp and show, more on his services to the nation, and his saintly character and sweet temperament than his holding that high office. Similarly, the high respect in which our present President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, is held, is, for the most part, due to his character and eminence as a great philosopher and scholar and less to his high office.

(d) The personal ambitions of a British King are always kept under control by his devotion to his dynasty. He will always be

unwilling to take any such step as is likely to jeopardise the fate of his dynasty. This factor does not operate in case of the Indian President.²⁹

(e) In England, the King is not a representative of the people and hence an undemocratic institution in the otherwise democratic set-up of the governmental system. People in England would get alarmed if the King were ever to try to interfere with the working of democratic and responsible institutions like the Cabinet and the Parliament. In India, the President, the Cabinet and the Parliament are all democratic institutions in that they are all elected authorities. Hence, in India, people would not be alarmed in the same way if the President tries to check undemocratic and unconstitutional actions on the part of either Parliament or Cabinet. People look to the President, in certain circumstances, to uphold the people's rights and see that the spirit of the Constitution is faithfully observed by the party in power.³⁰

Keeping the above points of difference in mind one cannot but agree with P. G. Ramamurti that it is difficult to reduce an elected President to the position of a mere titular or formal constitutional Head of the state.³¹

2. Our Constitution is a written constitution while the British Constitution is an unwritten one. This in itself is a very important factor introducing important points of difference between the position of our President and that of the British King. The following points may be noted :

(a) The status and authority of the King are based on conventions and traditions; the status and authority of our President are based on the powers that he exercises under the Constitution.³² The British King has little power but the whole show is maintained on a level so as to make it appear as if he still possesses all those powers which he ever did. In the case of our President, if he has no power, he will have no authority moral or otherwise.

(b) Since the powers of the King are not written, legally there is no limit to the powers of the King. But there is a definite limit to the powers of the Indian President

and the limit is prescribed by the Constitution. The Indian President cannot exercise those powers which have not been given to him under the Constitution, or which have been given to some other authority by the Constitution.

3. The British Constitution is based on the theory of parliamentary sovereignty. Our Constitution, on the other hand, recognises itself as supreme. This means the British Parliament can change the powers and position of any organ of the government including the King; it can increase or decrease the powers of the King, subject of course to the public opinion prevailing at the time; it can even abolish the kingship if it so likes. Our Parliament cannot do so unless the Constitution itself is amended. In England it is the Parliament in which have been reposed almost all the powers that were exercised by the King in the hey day of monarchy. In our country, unlimited powers are reposed in no organ. The arbitrary powers that were exercised by the British King have been snatched from the King from time to time. Now, any interference by the King with the powers of the Parliament would be treated as an encroachment of autocracy on democracy—the last thing which the British nation would ever tolerate. In India, the powers of the Parliament are as much granted by the Constitution as those of the President. Hence neither can interfere with the other. Politically, therefore, the British Parliament is far superior to the British King, whereas our Parliament is not so superior. The President is, even if indirectly elected by the same electorate as the Parliament. Hence, he may be expected to be even equal to Parliament.³³

4. In England the King is above the law and can do no wrong. In India, nobody is above the law; the President does enjoy certain immunities under the Constitution³⁴ but that does not mean that he is above the law. He can be impeached for the violation of the Constitution.³⁵ He is under oath to protect and defend the Constitution.³⁶ That means he can be impeached if he fails to protect the Constitution.³⁷ There is no such responsibility devolving on the King of England. This means that if the King is

allowed any discretion, it would tend to make him autocratic and irresponsible. On the other hand if our President is allowed some discretion, it cannot make him autocratic because, after all, two-thirds of the members of each House of Parliament can always impeach and remove him.³⁸

The existence of impeachment provisions in our Constitution also means that our President will always try to see that the majority required to impeach and remove him is never set against him which, in its turn once again, shows that, whereas the British King can afford to be disinterested in party politics, our President cannot. Therefore, it is more than doubtful whether our President would remain disinterested if the party in power at the centre tries to change the fundamental principles of our Constitution because as defender of the Constitution, he does possess certain powers which the British King does not possess. In the face of this provision for impeachment, it does not seem to be possible to develop a convention in India to the effect that the President will be bound in all cases to accept the advice tendered by the Cabinet; such a convention can develop only if it is provided either in the Constitution itself or made a convention that the President shall not be liable to be impeached if he acted on the advice of the Cabinet. In the absence of any such provision in the Constitution, or, a convention to this effect, the British convention that the King is obliged to accept the advice of the cabinet in all cases, has absolutely no validity in India. To accept an advice which is against the Constitution is a greater violation of the Constitution than not to act according to the conventions of parliamentary government, which were developed in other countries and which were never constant and always changing.

5. In England, they have a unitary government; we, on the other hand, have a federal polity. There is thus no occasion, in England, for the Central Government and the local authorities to be politically opposed to each other. A general election in England gives general power to rule over the entire

field of the country's life, to the party that wins at the polls, that is, the decisions of the Cabinet, backed by the Parliament, are the decisions of the nation with regard to anything and every thing. This is not so in India. Here we may face a situation, in which the government at the Centre and the governments in some States may be totally opposed to each other as the political parties running the respective governments at the Centre and in the States, may be believing in different ideologies. Hence, there may arise occasions of political, as different from legal, clashes between the two and the President may be called upon to arbitrate between the two. The demand of justice is that the President should not be bound on such occasions to act on the advice of the Central (Union) government as they themselves would be a party to the dispute; he should rather be free to adjudge the issue on merits. Hence our President functions in two capacities—as constitutional Head of the Union Government and as Head of the Federal State—whereas the British King functions only as the constitutional Head of the Central Government in England. It has, therefore, been aptly said that "The British Parliament and Cabinet exhaust the whole of British polity while our Union Government is only a part, albeit a large part, of the governance of our country."³⁹ Although no serious situation has arisen on this point because the central leadership of the Congress Party was in a position to decide any dispute that arose between the Union Govt., and the governments of the States, yet the States, it is significant to note, has not been completely free from stress and strains on this point. On the occasion of the Central intervention in Kerala, the then President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, is reported to have expressed the view that on such occasions the President should not be guided completely by the advice of the Union Cabinet.⁴⁰ A similar voice was raised in the Parliament also where a Communist Member, H. N. Mukherjee, suggested that on such occasions, the President should not treat the advice of the Union Cabinet as sufficient but should also take advice from the Members of

Parliament.⁴¹ In England the King is free from such situations, but in India the President has to face such situations. Such situations have been rare so far but they will increase with the decline of the Congress majority in the Union Parliament and the State legislatures.

6. Position of the President vis-a-vis Ministers.

The position of our President is not the same as that of the British King vis-a-vis their respective Ministers. This would be clear from the following:—

(a) In England the portfolios are allotted by the Prime Minister and the orders of the King are countersigned by a responsible Minister. In India, it is the President who allocates the portfolios among the Ministers and frames rules to prescribe as to how his orders are to be authenticated.⁴² The rules framed in this behalf require the President's orders to be authenticated by the permanent Secretaries etc., and not by the Ministers.⁴³ The difference to be noted is that the British King cannot do without Ministers, whereas it is, technically speaking, possible for the Indian President to act without Ministers, at least for some time. This also means that in England the King can do nothing against the wishes of the responsible Ministers. In India, again, it is possible for the President to issue orders without the advice of the Ministers or even against their advice, under the signature of a permanent Secretary.

(b) The Constitution itself does not say that the advice of the Council of Ministers is binding on the President. All that the Constitution says is that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at its head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.⁴⁴ Some writers and constitutional experts, notably Dr. Ambedkar, M. C. Setalvad, D. N. Banerjee and D. D. Basu, read so much behind the expression 'aid and advise' that they regard the advice tendered by the Council of Ministers to be binding on the President. They seek to justify this con-

tention of theirs on the basis of the fact that the expression 'aid and advice'⁴⁵ or 'aid',⁴⁶ has led to the growth of responsible government of the British pattern in some countries, particularly the Dominions like Canada, Australia, South Africa etc., where the Governor-General has come to occupy the same position as the British King, accepting the advice of the Council of Ministers in all cases. But it is forgotten in this connection that the story of growth of responsible government in those countries is not so simple as it is made out to be. Many other factors than the expression 'aid and advice' have made for the growth of responsible government in those countries. For instance, take the case of Canada. Besides the expression 'aid and advice', it was also provided in that Constitution that the constitution was based on principles similar to those of Great Britain.⁴⁷ Then that constitution was guided by the conventions of the British constitution through the instrumentally of the Governor-General. Even then troubles arose in the course of development of that constitution with regard to the position of the Governor-General whose position could be made clear only after years of practical experience. Above all, it should be remembered for all times that an elected President cannot be equated with a Governor-General who is appointed by the King of England and has no electoral backing.

Hence, it may be, at most, a pious wish, and not a constitutional mandate that this expression should lead to the growth of such conventions as would render the advice of the Council of Ministers binding on the President. Even the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the former President, disputed this point and counselled that sufficient research should be done to determine the exact meaning of this expression.⁴⁸ It would, therefore, be wrong to suggest that this expression has acquired a fixed meaning which is applicable to India, binding the President to accept in all cases the advice of the Council of Ministers.⁴⁹ In short, the British King is bound to accept the advice of the Cabinet according to the conventions well-established there whereas our Presi-

dent is not. While our President is normally expected to act according to the advice of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, he is, at the same time, required to exercise his powers in accordance with the Constitution.⁵⁰ 'It would seem then, that he would be entitled to reject advice if it involved taking a line of action which he believed to be unconstitutional.'⁵¹ He is, therefore, obliged at the most to accept the advice of the Cabinet only so long as he is not asked to commit a violation of the Constitution.

(c) Then, there are certain matters in which the Constitution itself requires the President to act on the advice or opinion other than that of the Council of Ministers. The President, for instance, is empowered to seek the advice of the Supreme Court on any issue in which any question of law or fact is involved.⁵² It should be reasonably expected that the President should act on the advice of the Supreme Court even if it goes contrary to that of the Council of Ministers. Similarly, the President has a duty to consult the Election Commission for deciding whether any member of Parliament has become subject to any of the disqualifications. It is required of him to obtain, in such matters, the opinion of the Election Commission and to 'act according to such opinion.'⁵³ In England, it is significant to note, the King accepts, in all matters the advice of the Ministers.

(d) Lastly there are certain other matters in respect of which, the advice of the Council of Ministers will not be available to, let alone be binding on, the President. Special mention may, in this connection, be made of the following matters:

(i) The President has been given the right to send messages to either House of Parliament 'with respect to a Bill then pending in Parliament or otherwise.'⁵⁴ In contrast to this, the British King hardly requires to send a message to Parliament when his Ministers are present there. The existence of this right in our Constitution only means that our President has been given powers to send such of his views to the Parliament as may not be in agreement with those of the Council of Ministers.

Obviously the Council of Ministers is hardly competent to give advice in such matters.

(ii) The President has also power to address either House of Parliament or both Houses assembled together.⁵⁵ It would be well to remember that this power is in addition to his power to address both Houses of Parliament assembled together at the commencement of the first session after each general election to the House of the People and the first session of each year.⁵⁶ The British King does possess this latter power but not the former. The latter power in India as well as in England is exercised on the advice of the Council of Ministers so much so that the addresses of both the President and the King are actually prepared by the Council of Ministers. But what about the former power? No occasion has so far arisen in India for the President to exercise this power. However, it was in the air at one time that the former President, the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, intended addressing the Parliament on the issue of the Hindu Code Bill against certain of its provisions but the occasion did not arise because its introduction was, as he wished, postponed till after the general elections of 1952. It is the considered opinion of many eminent persons that whenever there arises an occasion, it will, in all probability, be exercised not only against the advice of the Council of Ministers but also to take a stand against some course of action of theirs. The British King can hardly think of addressing the Parliament against the advice of the Cabinet because it would be treated as something entirely unconstitutional.

(iii) The President can send for any information regarding the affairs of the Union government from the Prime Minister, besides and above that which the Prime Minister himself sends to him.⁵⁷ If we follow the British convention, it should be on the advice of the Prime Minister that the President should send for any information from the Prime Minister but it looks anomalous. It is difficult to see how the Prime Minister can advise the President as to what information the latter should send for from the former. This

clearly points out that the President would necessarily decide for himself on this point.

(iv) The President can ask the Prime Minister, who may not refuse, to place before the whole Council of Ministers for its consideration any matter on which decision has been taken by an individual Minister.⁵⁸ This raises very important constitutional questions. First, it fetters the discretion of the Prime Minister in that he might consider it politically inadvisable to bring a particular question before the Council of Ministers at a particular time but under this provision he is duty-bound to do so. By doing so the President may, in certain circumstances, bring the Prime Minister into trouble, and, if the question referred to by the President is one on which there is strong controversy, it may divide the whole Council of Ministers. Secondly, while this provision is intended to ensure collective responsibility, it gives in fact power to the President to interfere with the working of the Cabinet. The British King, let it be remembered, has nothing to do with the internal working of the Cabinet. It is totally foreign to the British way of thinking that the formal head of the State should have authority to interfere with the working of the Cabinet. There has, it appears, been no occasion when this power has been exercised so far. But its very existence shows the difference between the British King and our President.

7. The British King is known to have little discretion. The only discretion, which he, if at all, enjoys, is with regard to the appointment of the Prime Minister and the dissolution of the House of Commons in certain special circumstances. As against this, our President, as many constitutional provisions suggest, enjoys personal discretion on many occasions. 'In this,' says K. M. Munshi, 'it is noteworthy that the Constitution uses a variety of words in relation to the powers and functions, some of which necessarily involve the use of personal discretion. They are 'is satisfied' (Article 123, 347, 352, 356, 360), 'is of opinion' (Article 124(3)), 'consent' (Article 127), 'determine' (Article 128), 'deem necessary' (Article 124(2)), 'notifies intention' (Article

108), 'decision' (Article 103), 'pleasure' (Article 72 (2)) etc.⁵⁹

The question of using discretion has not arisen so far because, speaking constitutionally, it has been held by those at the helm of affairs that the President means the Government of India⁶⁰ and, speaking politically, there was no occasion for it on account of the predominance of the Congress party in the affairs of the country.

However, the above provisions in the Constitution, says Valmiki Choudhary, are enough to show 'that no provision has been made in the Constitution for the President to exercise his powers only on the advice of his Council of Ministers.'⁶¹ The above analysis of the powers of the President goes to prove, if anything, that there are powers in the exercise of which he must take advice from others; there are powers in the exercise of which the advice of the Council of Ministers will not be available to him at all; and finally, there are powers in the exercise of which he can use his discretion,⁶² without violating any provision of the Constitution, of course in such a way as not to have to face impeachment. It is, therefore, that N. C. Chatterjee, a noted constitutional lawyer, is of the view that the President is not, in every case, bound to act according to the advice of the Council of Ministers.⁶³ The obvious conclusion, as K. M. Munshi, another constitutional lawyer of repute says, is that, although our President is a constitutional Head of the state, he is not bound by the Cabinet's advice like the British King.⁶⁴ In fact, says K. M. Munshi, the President has, in the form of emergency powers, in the opinion of the Supreme Court and that of the Attorney-General, been provided with a constitutional machinery enabling him to act independently of the Ministry to prevent the Constitution from being twisted out of shape by political pressure or constitutional mishaps.⁶⁵

After analysing the above constitutional provisions, it becomes sufficiently clear that the position that our President occupies in our system of government is different from the one occupied by the British King, both in form and content. As a matter of fact, any elected President can never be fully

equated with a hereditary king like that of England. He will be either more than a king or less than a king, but in no case, just equal to him. Fortunately or unfortunately, our President is both more and less than the British King. He is more than the British King in so far as (i) he heads a federal government in which he may, on certain occasions, be called upon to arbitrate between the Union and the State Governments; (ii) his powers are expressly written in the Constitution; and (iii) he can act without, or even against, the advice of the Council of Ministers if the needs of the nation demand and/or the political situation in the country so permit.

He is less than the British King in that (i) he can never command that sentimental devotion and allegiance from the Indian people which the British King does from his people; (ii) he can be impeached and removed from office for violation of the Constitution; and (iii) he cannot represent the Indian people in the way in which the British King does.

It would, thus, be a vain attempt to equate the position of our President with that of the British King. Even if we admit, for a moment, that he can be so equated, it would be undesirable as it would be dangerous, may be even fatal. If we treat our President just like the British King, we may face the following dangers:

(i) Our cabinet will become a dictator⁶⁶ unparalleled in history. The British Cabinet which possesses only normal powers, has, under the pressure of the political developments, become a dictator. Our Cabinet, which possesses many abnormal powers, will, exercising those powers, beat many a dictator.

(ii) It will place the President in a very awkward position in certain circumstances and render the functioning of that office impossible. For instance, what has the President to do if a defeated Ministry refuses to resign? Whether he dismisses the Ministry or allows it to continue, he would be liable to be impeached in either case, if the conventions were given more weight than the letters of the Constitution,

for, some may hold that it is unconstitutional for the President to dismiss a Ministry and others may, with equal, if not greater force, hold that it is the violation of the Constitution if the President allows a discredited Ministry to continue in office.

(iii) It will destroy the quasi-federal character of our Constitution, and reduce the principles of a federal government embodied in it,⁶⁷ for whatever they are worth, to a mockery because the Union government, exercising all the powers of the President and treating him just as a formal Head of the State, can very easily treat the State Governments as municipalities. Besides, if we treat our President as if he were like the British King, our Constitution and the whole system of government embodied therein will prove inadequate in certain situations inviting dangers not only to democracy but also to the Constitution itself. One such situation has been visualised by K. Santhanam. He says:

‘.....there may be no stable Ministry, there may be a change of Ministry every day. No remedy has been provided in the Constitution for such a contingency..... If a general election does not result in the emergence of a stable government, he (President) is helpless.’⁶⁸

As a matter of fact, the unfortunate effects of this notion, under which our President laboured and acted during all these years just as the British King, are already before our eyes. He has been treated, during these years, as a Post Office⁶⁹ to convey the decisions of the Cabinet of the day; the Cabinet exercising all the powers of the President has come to acquire a position which was never intended. The position of the President during all these years has been in no way different from the position of the French President in the third and the fourth Republic.⁷⁰ The powers of the President have been used in a way that has given the impression that the Cabinet was working to advance party interests over and above those of the nation. This may be particularly seen in the case of appointments to the high posts of Governors, Ambassadors etc., which have often gone to such members of the ruling party as were

rejected by the people in the elections. This charge, according to K. Santhanam, stands in the case of some High Court Judges also.⁷¹ Again according to K. Santhanam, the Nanavati case has demonstrated only too clearly how the Executive has been tempted to interfere with the judicial process.⁷² There have also been complaints that the Emergency powers of the President, particularly those relating to the breakdown of the constitutional machinery of the States, were used for party purposes.⁷³ On the whole, the Executive Government, pointed out an M.P. in the Lok Sabha, has tended to act in a way which has had a corrupting influence on our institutions.⁷⁴ The Constitution itself has been amended again and again without any specific mandate from the people. Our President has been a silent spectator to all this all the time because he was working just as the British King. The result is that an unfortunate feeling has been created that our President has no political value.⁷⁵

However, this notion has not been able to do much harm because the Congress party which ran the Union and State Governments during almost the whole of this period, was a democratic party, and, containing divergent elements as it did, could not be tyrannous to any one section of the people. But if a different party with a different complexion, comes to form the government at the Centre, and, treating the President just like the British King exercises all his powers, it will, there is reason to fear, create havoc and may bid good-bye to democracy itself. Thus, this notion is fraught with dangerous possibilities. There is a constitutional limit to the dictatorial tendencies of a President but none to those of the Council of Ministers at the Centre if we treat the President as being just like the British King.⁷⁶

We can, therefore, say that it is neither constitutionally possible nor politically desirable to equate our President with the British King. Hence, K. M. Munshi is right in holding that our President's position is different from the British King.⁷⁷ To say that our President is just like the British King is simply a myth. Like all

myths, it will be exploded. That it has not, been exploded so far is mainly due to the character of the Congress party and its predominance in the Parliament and the State legislatures. The President has so far been elected through the pleasure of the party in majority at the Centre.⁷⁸ The President and the Cabinet both belonged to the same party or depended on the same party for their continuance in office. It was, naturally, the Congress party which had complete control over both and therefore it mattered little whether a particular power was exercised by the President or the Cabinet. As soon as this predominance of the Congress party withers, or even diminishes, this myth would not stand even for a moment and would be exploded.

The position of the President during all these years has been standing under the shadow of the powerful personality of Jawaharlal Nehru backed by an overwhelming majority in the Parliament and immense popularity and support in the country. If no party gains a majority, the President may, says K. Santhanam, use all the powers allowed to him by the Constitution.⁷⁹ It is, therefore, wrong to judge the position of the President on the basis of the practices of the last 14 years.⁸⁰ It is too much to expect that in future, in case the President belongs to a party different from that which has formed the government at the Centre, he will be content to be guided entirely by the Central Cabinet in all matters.⁸¹

Sometimes, it is suggested that our system with a President enjoying a position similar to that of the British King is already established and there is nothing to worry about it. Nothing can be farther from the truth. We may advance the following considerations to show that the country has not finally accepted this notion :

(i) There have been demands that the President should act independently of the Cabinet, consulting somebody other than the Cabinet on certain occasions.⁸²

(ii) C. Rajagopalachari has on one occasion suggested that the Cabinet should act on the advice of the President, and not the President on that of the Cabinet.⁸³

(iii) During the Chinese invasion, there was a demand from many responsible quarters that the President should dismiss the Cabinet which had failed to protect the frontiers of the country.

(iv) Finally, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President, was not happy with the position assigned to him.⁸⁴ He raised questions regarding the powers of the President as apart from those of the Prime Minister from time to time,⁸⁵ and ultimately gave vent to his feelings publicly and urged rather pointedly that it should be seriously studied how far the President should be equated with the British King.⁸⁶

Many other proofs can be given to show that the Indian people, as a whole, are not for treating the President just as a prototype of the British King.

Lest the notion should do more harm in changed situations and prove fatal to our system of government and the Constitution, we should do well to recognise in all sincerity that our President is distinctly different from the British King and that there are certain occasions when he, unlike the British King, is expected to protect the Constitution, defend the fundamental principles of our system of government and save the nation from party dictatorship, even if it involved taking a line of action unsupported by the Cabinet. For this, he has been allowed sufficient discretion under the Constitution.⁸⁷ The argument that the use of any discretion on the part of the President would make him a dictator, does not stand to reason because there is sufficient guarantee against it, particularly in the provision of impeachment.⁸⁸

However, if, on the basis of the experience of other countries, it is felt that the weapon of impeachment will not be very effective in checking a President from being an autocrat or using his discretion indiscriminately, the remedy does not lie in making him politically impotent and incapable of checking a Cabinet which, with the help of its majority in the Parliament, is bent upon changing the Constitution beyond recognition, by adopting policies which are against the best interests of the country and behaving undemocratically otherwise ; it rather

lies in rendering the President incapable of becoming a dictator. For that we can—

(i) either provide, on the pattern of the Irish Constitution,⁸⁹ that whenever the President chooses to exercise his discretion, he shall do so only in with consultation with some authority, other than the Cabinet, to be provided for in the Constitution itself. (This authority may consist of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chairman of the Council of States, the Speaker of the House of the People, all the former Presidents who are alive and the retired Chief Justices of the country, etc.)

(ii) Or, do away with those powers of the President, which can be used in a dictatorial manner, as, for example, the power to declare an Emergency or issue Ordinances.

For either of the two, the Constitution may be needed to be amended, which should not be shirked. There is also a feeling in certain quarters that the Constitution should be amended while the Congress Party is in a commanding position both at the Centre and in the States. It will be easier for the Congress Party to make the necessary amendments in the Constitution now, than for any party including the Congress in the future. To leave the things as they are, is not only to refuse to face realities but also to invite dangers to our system of government.

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WESTERN AND EASTERN SPIRITUAL VALUES OF LIFE

By Dr. ANIMA SEN GUPTA, M.A. Ph.D.

The Concept of the Spirit and Spiritual in the West

There is obvious difference between the Eastern and Western approach to the philosophical problem of the Spirit and the Spiritual. The Western mind has an objectivistic outlook which refuses to recognize any distinction between the soul, self or mind. It is because in the objective world, Consciousness finds its expression through images, ideas and concepts etc. (which are the ingredients of Mind) that the Self or the Conscious Principle has been equated with Mind which can be studied objectively through its external manifestations. Spirit, for the West, is therefore, something which can be known rationally and scientifically and the existence of which is verifiable in a logical sense.

The being of a Pure Soul, separate from all kinds of psychical functions, cannot be justified through western logic, and its existence, therefore, has not been admitted in Western philosophy. The Self which has been established by the cogito argument of Descartes or has been regarded by Locke as the permanent substratum of all mental ideas or has been denied by Hume in favour of an impermanent stream of changing mental states and processes is nothing but the Mind, the different functions of which fall within the domain of our psychological study. The word 'psychology' too was originally used in the sense of the Science of Psyche or Soul obviously due to the fact that according to Western definition the Soul can become the subject-matter of a rational and scientific study. The definition of Psychology as the Science of Consciousness is a recent one and even then by Consciousness, the Westerners do not mean Pure and Transcendental Consciousness which is beyond the range of any scientific study. Here, consciousness refers to different forms of experience of normal human beings and as

such it is the subject-matter of Psychology which is an empirical science. Bergson, for example, has said: "when we speak of mind, we mean above everything else consciousness." Again, in the opinion of A. C. Ewing, "Mind is used to cover the whole of man's inner nature and not merely his intellectual side.....The notion of a Pure ego or any substance over and above its qualities, could not be defined in terms of anything else, so how can I know at all what it is like, how can I attach any meaning to statements about it?" This statement of Mr. A. C. Ewing proves conclusively the attitude of the Westerners towards the problem of a pure transcendental soul which can never be known or verified through Logic and Discursive thinking. Against this background, the term 'spiritual' in the West refers to efforts of emotion, will and reason, directed towards the external world. In other words, in the West, the mental is equivalent to spiritual. Due to this identification of the spirit with the mind, the status of the spiritual depends exclusively upon the status given to the mind. If mind is nothing else but brain as has been held by the Realists and the Behaviourists of the Western world, then although from the pragmatic point of view, we may attach more value to the spiritual, yet from the metaphysical point of view, we will be bound to place both on the same level. Then there can exist no difference either between spirit, mind and matter or between spiritual, mental and material. Although such identification is the trend towards which the West is gradually advancing, still for the purpose of this paper the word mind should be restricted to normal experience alone and a reconciliation between the East and the West will be sought on that basis.

Now, due to this equation of mind and self and recognition of mental effort, feeling, emotions, understanding and knowledge as spiritual, the fulness of life, perfection of

emotion, will-force and reason have become the highest ideal of the West. It is for this reason that they are so eager to enrich life with worldly possessions, to spread it as far as possible and to pierce its depths by finding out simply its physical and psychological secrets. They do not realize the significance of that infinite and immeasurable volume of the eternal life: only a small portion of which is colourfully manifested. The Pure Self which is the "Life of Life, Hearer of ear, Speaker of all speech, Seer of eye, Mentor of the mind" is only a philosophical fiction for the West:

S'rotrasya s'rotram manaso mano yad,
vaca ha vacam,
Sa u Pranasya Pranah, Caksusah Caksuh:

The West, therefore, does not believe that the Infinite transcendental life alone justifies the existence of this finite empirical life and that the finite can have no value apart from the Infinite of which it is only a dazzling spark—a manifestation of the glory of the Life Divine. The West believes firmly that human beings, by themselves, are capable of growing intellectually and morally to such an extent that the whole plan and purpose of the universe can be fully unveiled. With the completeness of the world-perspective, an era will come into being when selfish interests will be totally given up and world-harmony can be established on a very sound and unshakable foundation. Perfection of humanity and perfection of the world constitute the final goals of man. It is indeed a very firmly rooted belief of the West that limitations of knowledge of human beings can be completely overcome by the progress of Science and that things can be arranged in a perfectly rational order, thereby satisfying fully the spiritual demands of man. To an Easterner such a belief is the offspring of a false vanity of the conditioned being whose very existence is supported wholly by the unconditioned and the Infinite.

The Concept of the Spirit and the Spiritual in the East

The cardinal belief of all Indian philosophy and religion, on the other hand, is that

the Supreme Truth is a Being or Existence which is beyond the intellect, ego, mind and all physical appearances we contact in this world. Intellect, ego, mind, etc., are changing principles and being changeable, they need an unchangeable consciousness to know them and also to be their support. So, beyond mind, life and body, there is to be found a transcendental and original spirit or self which comprises all that is finite and infinite and surpasses all that is relative and conditioned. Nature and Life are only limited manifestations of this Conscious Eternal. The Upanisads have again and again declared that this supreme spirit alone is real and that all things and beings of the world have emerged from this Self which in the form of this world:

"Karmadhyaksah sarvabhutadhipasah
saksi ceta kevalo nirgunas' ca"

"Vis'vasya ekam parivestitaram jnatva
devam mucyate sarvapas'aih"

Since the self is the one supreme reality and all are true only by dependence upon it, all life and thought are, in the end, a means towards the realisation of the self which is the soul of all souls and the being of all beings.

According to Indian conception spiritual does not mean mental or psychical; on the contrary, it refers to supramental consciousness which is the central core of a human being. This trans-psychical pure, immutable and self-revealing consciousness is not, however, a mere philosophical dogma propagated through the Indian scriptures. This has been established firmly on the evidence gathered from the intuitive realisation of the yogins and also on the basis of yukti or rational argumentations. The consciousness that constitutes the innermost self of man is the only thing spiritual because it is the spark or reflection of a Great Spirit which forms the transcendental background of this worldly life and spiritual movement, therefore, means movement of Life and Nature towards that Great Atman or towards transcendence and freedom.

Each one of us is provided with a life-basis, here in this world and the main end

of each one of us should be a movement not only towards a scientific knowledge that aims at revealing simply the secrets of this life but also towards the liberating knowledge of the Highest Spirit which alone is capable of bringing about a spiritual transcendence and release. Moksa is, thus, the only spiritual thing which possesses supreme value and significance and as such it constitutes the highest Purushartha according to Indian view. Knowledge of all other things of the world is necessary only as a means to self-realisation. This is because it is only by a thorough analysis and evaluation of all things of the world that one is able to discover how much truth is involved in this world and by knowing fully the limited value of the world, one is able to turn his eyes towards the Supreme value. The word spiritual has been used in Indian Philosophy to imply the standpoint of the transcendental reality where all relativity and limitations get merged in one Eternal Life of Unconditioned Freedom. The path of the Sreyas is the path of self-knowledge and self-realisation. The ethical virtues like self-restraint, tranquility, truthfulness, etc., are of the highest instrumental value because these moral excellences alone can purify one's mind thereby preparing it for self-realization. The highest spiritual value, however, is beyond the good and evil of worldly-life and experience. The ideal is always the spiritual regeneration of man and as such it is supra-moral and transcendental (Mundaka 3.1.).

Distinction between Moral and Spiritual: Indian View

In India, therefore, there is a difference between Moral and Spiritual values. Since Moral refers to the standpoint of relative existence and spiritual to the standpoint of transcendental existence, what is of value in the moral sphere appears as colourless in the domain of the spirit. Although the vision of the spirit may not involve the practice of ethical duties, still one who develops this vision sticks scrupulously to the path of the supreme value.

In fact, moral excellences are generated in the embodied soul or in its **antahkarana**: so these are the auspicious qualities of empirical life on the awakening of which the impurities of intellect, emotion and will are totally eliminated. As a result of moral purification, the **citta** or **antahkarana** becomes a fit instrument for catching the glimpse of the Highest Reality which is actually realised through meditation. In the Yogasutra, it has been stated that citta alone gets coloured with good and evil dispositions. The natural tendency of the river-like citta is to flow both for good and evil. So, the moral qualities serve as a sign to indicate the purity of citta or antahkarana. These are not the qualities that belong to the spirit in its pure form. Some hold that these are the dispositions of buddhi or citta whereas according to others, these are generated in the soul in association with antahkarana. In other words, antahkarana is either both the generating cause and the substratum of the moral qualities or it is only the generating cause while the embodied soul is the substratum. In both the ways, the moral qualities are the qualities of this relative world where all living beings live in the midst of diversified relations. So long as an individual regards himself as an individual living in association with many other individuals in many forms of relations, the question of cultivating the ten dharmalakshanas of Manusmriti becomes his primary obligation.

In India the socio-moral good is closely linked with the good of the spirit and for this reason a four-fold scheme of human-life has been prescribed in the sutra literatures and also in the smritis with detailed instructions for his duties in every stage of life. Relative morality in the forms of domestic, social and political morality is to be cultivated seriously and sincerely, because moral qualities in diversified forms constitute the sole basis of the spiritual culture of human beings. The ultimate truth can never be grasped merely by an intellectual endeavour. It is to be realised by the whole of a purified personality—a personality that has passed through different stages of life and has been purified both externally and internally in

and through the observance of all scriptural discipline of mind and body. Truth is not to be seized either as a mere philosophical speculation or as a mere theological dogma; it is something that is to be lived fully and is also to be made the central ruling principle of thought, life and action. Thus, in India, there has never been any gulf between philosophy and life. One who seeks to taste truth, must first of all make his mind pure and clean and this he will be able to do only if he will follow scrupulously and rigorously the prescribed rules and principles of moral life. In India moral life has always been viewed as antagonistic to natural life or Pravritti marga and so moral life is nothing but a life of struggle with the grosser aspect of a man's life. The pure natural life is a life in which sattvaguna remains in a subdued condition with the result that natural life or the life of lower self includes all the six passions (lust, anger, greed, pride, infatuation and envy) which stand as obstacles in the path of spiritual progress. Moral life is the life in which all these baser passions are subjugated fully by the ever-increasing influence of the sattvaguna. Since sattvaguna is directly connected with the spirit, the moral life too is harmoniously integrated with the spiritual life. Moral progress, therefore, means gradual realisation of the Good and the Divine in us till at last we get beyond the ethical sphere and realise the absolute good and attain liberation. This moral struggle is, therefore, both a struggle and achievement. It fights with and conquers a purely natural life and finds its fulfilment in the life of the spirit. The best instrument to be used for the purpose of conquering the evil passions of a natural life is the cultivation of the spirit of **aparigraha** which constitutes the basic foundation of Indian civilisation and culture. In the negative aspect **aparigraha** implies giving up the spirit of selfish monopoly after realising the evil that results from such greed. In the positive sense on the other hand, it means giving every man what is his due and also administering justice to all in a spirit of Love and Service. In other words, **aparigraha** is synonymous with **vairagya** which implies total renunciation of

the ego-centric spirit. It is the firm belief of an Indian mind that nobody can do good either to his own self or to society as a whole unless he cultivates the moral power of renouncing his own worldly happiness in favour of a greater happiness and higher truth.

Views of the West

In the West, no distinction has been drawn between mind and spirit or between two kinds of knowledge—transcendental and empirical—revealing truth and reality from two different standpoints. Therefore for them morality or spirituality means fulness, richness and nobleness of human mind. Christ was a man of this world and He was the repository of all moral values. To awaken all the moral values in life is, therefore, the highest spiritual and moral end of man. "Christ is born and Christ spirit must be formed in men." Personal passions and affections should not be given up and the distinct sense of individuality should not be destroyed. The goal of man is to unfold in freshness and fulness his own fine and noble personality in and through his various worldly-relations. Dr. E. Caird, for example, has said that a philosophy or theology which teaches men to abandon all earthly concerns to uproot all passions and desires for the purpose of entering into an intimate relation with God simply means "an attempt to go empty-handed into an empty house." The thinkers of the Western world find it difficult to understand how man can have a nature which is not limited to the mind that is being continuously manifested through various functions of life. This is because the psychological study of the West has, so far, been able to discover in its own way the secrets of waking, dream and dreamless states of the mind. The fourth and the turiya state in which pure consciousness is directly grasped is still beyond the sphere of Western psychology. The spiritual values of the West are, therefore, empirically fashioned and as such these have been identified with the moral values which are to be cultivated in the midst of worldly conditions and world relations.

Difficulties in the Way of Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Spiritual Values

From what has been stated above, it is clear that the fundamental metaphysical difference relating to the true nature of the Spirit or the individual soul, is such that both India and the West have failed to appreciate mutually the merits and excellences of these two philosophical traditions.

To an Indian, the so-called spiritual values of the West are simply the values of the moral life which is a life of struggle between the opposite tendencies of citta or mind. Ethics belongs to this worldly life and its value lies in the fact that it is the only avenue to the realm of the supra-moral values of the life of Spirit.

The West, on the other hand, is not willing to believe that everything belonging to our empirical consciousness is of a limited value, that our affections, bonds of friendship, great moral courage, sense of self-respect and dignity etc., have only limited ends and that for higher spiritual values, these should be left behind. Spiritual transcendence is something that is unintelligible to the West and for that reason, they very often declare that Indian philosophy preaches asceticism leading to a total renunciation of this world.

Reconciliation

If we ponder deeply over the philosophical positions of both India and the West, we will certainly discover a meeting ground where the two philosophical traditions can be brought together to form a sanctified confluence of the East and the West.

In the first place, we should remember that in India, due to the distinction between the empirical life and the life of the pure spirit, a chasm seems to have emerged between moral values and values of the transcendental life: but this is more artificial than real. Spiritual values are nothing but the final flowering of the moral values without which the highest spiritual development cannot be dreamt of. Just as will, intellect and emotion are inseparable for the highest psychological development of a man,

in the same manner moral and spiritual values are inseparably integrated. So, in India also, a man's life in this world as well as his various social relations are fully recognized and it is also asserted repeatedly that a man should first of all discharge properly all his duties which his various relations with the social life imply and should attain the ethical ideal in this world before he can become fit for the Life of the Spirit. In the Sutra literatures as well as in the Smritis, we can find a strong and positive outlook on life which is chiefly concerned with social good, social stability and general well-being of the people. The maintenance of social order has become a very important topic in the Rajadharma section of the Mahabharata where Bhishma had advised Yudhishthira to be morally and physically strong enough to punish all transgressions of social and political laws. Like the humanistic approach of the West, India, too, is interested in the promotion of moral virtues with a view to bringing about a betterment of social relations in this huge family of mankind. It is the practice of the moral duties in the worldly-life which alone can promote equitable adjustment of relative demands of smaller societies in a higher ethical life of humanity. The world is not to be despised but it is to be looked upon as the necessary stage for preparation for the highest attainment. Here, the Westerners, who believe in the spiritualisation of human flesh as well as the worldly life can join hands with the people of India who, too, believe in the transformation of the natural life to the pure life of Sattvika-bhavana when moral excellences bloom forth in their bright radiance and pure glory. Though Sattvaguna does not constitute the nature of Spirit, yet it has direct contact with Pure Consciousness. In the yoga philosophy, Sattvaguna has been treated as the upadhi of God. From this point of view, even though India does not believe that the moral and spiritual are identical, still, being a believer in the close intimacy between Sattvaguna and Pure Consciousness, the Indian view does come very near to the Western conception of spiritualisation of the baser emotions of the human mind.

Moreover, the West too believes in the crucifixion of the flesh; and if this expression has any moral significance, it means nothing but giving up of the selfish pursuit of gross and individual pleasures. This is both the moral and the spiritual goal of the West because in the opinion of the West there is nothing else than perfection of humanity to which the highest spiritual value can be accorded. This perfection, the West seeks to attain in and through the family-life, the political life and also the life of society as a whole. In order to do so, the Westerner too has got to expand own self so as to cover his family-life and also the life of the nation. Unless one identifies one's own self with the self of another person he can never sacrifice his own good for the good of that person. Identification lies at the very root of all altruistic feelings and emotions. The altruistic spirit is prominently present in Western Philosophy. The only thing is this, that the Westerners do not believe in the Indian ideal of **Vasudhaiva kutumbakam**, because in their view, there is no transcendental soul which can be regarded as the soul of all finite souls. But if we can believe in the identification of an individual mind with the mind of a nation or of the whole society, there is no reason why we should feel lost when we are advised to identify our individual souls with the soul of the whole universe. A Western mind shudders at this very idea thinking that this is equivalent to depriving his own self of all the good of this earthly life and reducing his blessed existence to such a state which is as good as non-existence. This idea is wholly wrong. Indian philosophy, too, does not advocate such as the ultimate goal. It simply teaches us to go on expanding our soul in a manner that it becomes large enough to cover the whole kingdom of living beings and non-living things. Limited possessions as well as partial conquest of the world can give us only limited joy and limited happiness. If we can win over the whole of Life and Nature and can become their spiritual master, then our bliss and happiness will know no bounds. If the West makes a sincere endeavour to expand its mind with a view to covering at least the whole world

of mankind, she can come very close to the teachings of the Indian scriptures. The West will not have merely to lose. She will lose the lower and gain the higher. If the West is not willing to give up her sense of ego then let her develop the sense of ownership of the whole world so as to be able to have the feeling of becoming the all, the great and the happiest. The West has already learnt the lesson of "dying to live" and this means nothing but the process in which an individual soul goes on becoming larger and larger and in the end it includes within itself the selves of all other beings. He dies in his narrow limited self to live the life of a larger self. This is exactly what Indian spiritualism means when it desires the abolition of the narrow sense of ego and development of the spiritual capacity of treating all on an equal footing. **Samadristi** implies nothing but the expansion of self to become the Self of all. The only thing is that the expanded self in Indian view covers both spirit and matter, ego and non-ego both of which are the manifestations of the Original Self. This sort of conception too is not foreign to the Western idealist who declares that the so-called antithesis between ego and non-ego are ultimately reconciled in God as there is reason in all of them. If the West can be made to realise that the Indian spirit of **vairagya** does not imply "other-worldliness" and that Indian spiritualism, too, is not anti-moral; if the West can accept that the Indian attitude to the worldly-life is strongly positive and that the spiritual values depicted here are the final fulfilment of the moral values, then the West will surely feel a close affinity with Indian spiritualism.

In the midst of the present-day world crisis, it is, therefore, the imperative duty of every philosopher to bring to the notice of the world such common elements of all systems of philosophy of the East and the West so as to explore regions where all can meet and feel sincerely and fully that mankind has a common heritage of culture and civilization.*

* This article is a part of author's book "Essays on Samkhya and other systems of Indian philosophy." now in the press, which is likely to come out in September this year.

ANATOMY OF PRICES : AN ANALYSIS OF CAUSE AND EFFECT

By KARUNA K. NANDI.

Wholesale prices in India are stated to have risen, according to an available official assessment, by 20.3 per cent between March, 1963 and June, 1964. During the preceding eleven years, the aggregate rise of prices, according to the same official source, were assessed to have been of the order of 27.4 per cent over the eleven year period, or approximately at the average rate of 2.5 per cent per annum. Accepting the official assessment of the incidence of aggregate increase in the national income during the decade 1950-51 and 1960-61 at its face value at 42 per cent over the decade or at the average rate of 4.2 per cent per annum at 1955-56 prices, and having especial regard to the heavy and continuing emphasis on producer-bases in the process of industrialization and, particularly, to the comparative stagnation in agricultural production, this latter incidence of rise in prices during the first decade of development planning, would not be likely to be regarded as being either unduly high or to have created any very special stresses and tensions in market and price trends beyond what would be normally expected in an inflation-oriented developing economy.

Incidence of Retail Prices

It is not easy, in the absence of available official studies, to assess the extent to which rises in the wholesale price structure may have been impinging upon the retail price bases. On the face of it, during the eleven years preceding March, 1963, the incidence of retail prices on the whole, and barring periodic minor variations within circumscribed regional limits, have remain-

ed more or less within comparable proportions of the incidence of rise in wholesale prices. But with the sudden and steep jump in wholesale prices of the order of very nearly 800 per cent of the aggregate average of the preceding eleven years between March, 1963 and June, 1964, retail prices, visibly, appear to have been jumping up to levels far higher than their comparable proportions in the incidence of rise in wholesale prices. This acceleration would appear to have been especially significant in the consumables sector of market supplies, more particularly so in the more vulnerable essential edibles. The extent to which speculative operations may have been responsible for the emergence of a situation of such unprecedented magnitude and criticality, in the absence of any reliable official studies on the subject, must remain largely conjectural. It is, however, far too obvious that speculative pressures have been quite heavy, as would be evident from the steep rise, despite its so-called selective control by the Reserve Bank of India over bank credits during the last twelve months, that in a market already highly stimulated so far as prices are concerned by scarce supplies, these credits have been and are being largely utilized for purposes of speculative hoardings. This would be obvious from the heavy squeeze on market arrivals, especially of basic edibles, which have lately dwindled down, all over the country, to no more than merely a trickle. The impact, necessarily, would be bound to prove heavier upon the retail sector, in the circumstances, than on the wholesale market. It is necessary to clearly and realistically assess and evaluate the factors that can be located to

have contributed to the emergence of a situation like this in the economy which, in its immediate and visible effects, seems likely to dislocate materially, if not quite completely immobilize, the dynamics of development in the economy.

First Decade Of Development

Aggregate production during the first decade of development between 1950-51 and 1960-61, as reflected in the rise of the national income, as already observed, has been assessed to have been of the order of an average 4.2 per cent annum. The approximate average annual rise in the incidence of wholesale prices during the corresponding period, we have already seen, has been of the order of 2.5 per cent per annum. Net investments in the public and private sectors excluding the additions to commodity stocks during the period between 1952-53 and 1960-61 were found to have aggregated Rs. 3,890 crores. Government's consumption expenditure during the corresponding period on general administration, defence, development and social services, were assessed to have aggregated Rs. 3,930 crores of which expenditure on defence was said to have absorbed Rs. 865 crores. Exports during the corresponding period aggregated Rs. 2,505 crores. Thus, the order of aggregate demand during this first decade of planned development would be found to have been of the order of Rs. 10,325 crores. The increase in the incidence of demand over that of each preceding year would be found to have been of the following order :

Thus, over the eight years between 1952-53 and 1960-61, the aggregate rise in demand would appear to have been of the order of Rs. 1,560 crores, which is approximately 15 per cent of the gross aggregate demand of the entire period. In other words the rate of average annual increase in demand throughout this period would be found to have been of the order of approximately 1.87 per cent or, say, 1.9 per cent per annum. Against this the average rise in the wholesale price incidence at approximately 2.5 per cent per annum would appear to have been both legitimate and to have remained within the bounds of normal expectations in a developing economy.

Incidence of Demand Between 1960-61 and 1963-64

During the three years between 1961-62 and 1963-64, net investments in the public and private sectors, excluding commodity stocks have been of the order of Rs. 4,970 crores ; Government's consumption expenditure on general administration, defence, development and social services aggregated Rs. 5,530 crores of which expenditure on defence absorbed Rs. 1,600 crores ; exports over these three years aggregated Rs. 2,130 crores. In addition increases in bank advances on commodity stocks during these three years aggregated Rs. 565 crores, the total outlays on this account, together with the amounts outstanding at the end of 1960-61 at Rs. 1,430 crores would amount to very nearly Rs. 2,000 crores. The increase in demand over this three-year period would,

Year	Increase in net investments over previous year	Increase in Govt. consumption over previous year	Increase in exports over previous year	Total increase in demand
(In Rs. Crores)				
1952-53	610	660	600	....
1955-56	+250	+200	+40	+490
1956-57	+200	+110	-5	+305
1960-61	+300	+470	-5	+765
	+750	+780	+30	+1,560

thus, be of the following order :

Year	Increase in net investments over prev. year	Increase in Govt's consumption expenditure over prev. year	Increase in export over prev. year	Increase in commodity stocks (bank advances) over prev. year	Total increase in demand over prev. year
	(In Rs. Crores)				
1961-62	+150	+80	+40	+130	+400
1962-63	+150	+270	+10	+195	+625
1963-64	+150	+430	+100	+240	+920
	+450	+780	+150	+565	+1,945

On the face of it, therefore, the incidence of rise in demand compared to the aggregate demand of this three-year period would appear to have been of the order of over 15 per cent. In other words, the incidence of annual rise during this period has been of the order of 5 per cent per annum. The gross rise in the national income between the two years from 1960-61 to 1962-63 has been assessed, in course of the midterm Third Plan reappraisal, to have been of the order of just about 4.7 per cent at 1960-61 prices. Evaluation of the increase in the national income during 1963-64 has not yet been finally completed, although, tentatively, its incidence is expected to be somewhere near 5 per cent. Thus, the average annual rate of increase in the national income during the period between 1961-62 and 1963-64 would work out at approximately 3.2 per cent per annum. With the incidence of rise in effective demand assessed at 5 per cent per annum, this would be found to have far outpaced production incidences during the corresponding period.

This, however, is only an incomplete picture of the situation in its entirety and in all its varied aspects. No reliable data are available of commodity stocks in the private sector especially where such stocks are financed by sources outside the organized and recognizable credit sector. But even within the organized credit sector, increases in credits extended to private and co-operative agencies against hypothecation of

commodity stocks, which stood at approximately Rs. 772 crores including Rs. 12 crores advanced directly to co-operatives by the Reserve Bank of India in 1955-56, rose by the end of 1960-61 to Rs. 1,430 crores and to very nearly Rs. 2,000 crores by the end of 1963-64. This can be taken broadly to indicate the trends of stockholding generally in the country and should yield some approximation of the aggregate pressures on demand. It is not possible to assess the magnitude of total stockholding in the country, a great deal of which must obviously be for purposes of speculative hoarding, outside the purview of the organized credit market and which would, consequently, inevitably exert more than its corresponding share of pressure on the price structure. Additional factors in this aggregate pressure upon demand would obviously be the larger money incomes in the community resulting from the increasing outlays indicated above, the extent of which, however, it is not possible to assess with any degree of accuracy. It should, however, be safe to assert that the total increase in demand in 1963-64 compared to its level in 1960-61, would be considerably above the Rs. 1,945 crores listed above.

The Incidence of Supply

On the supply side, only two principal sources would seem to merit consideration; domestic output and imports. So far as imports are concerned, having regard to the complete shut out of all consumer goods and

the continuing and severe restrictions on the imports of even spares and essential industrial raw materials, supplies could not have increased materially from this source during the period under consideration. In the absence of official data in this regard to hand as I write, it would not, it is hoped, be too conservative to assume that aggregate net imports could not have increased by more than a Rs. 100 crores altogether during the period between 1961-62 and 1963-64. Domestic output, as already observed, was assessed to have increased only by about 4.7 per cent between 1961-62 and 1962-63. There was some increase in output, especially in the industrial sector during 1963-64, but its exact incidence is not yet known. Assuming that it might have been, at the outside, of the order of 5 per cent, the aggregate increase over the three year period would be only 9.7 per cent in all. This would work out at approximately Rs. 1,400 crores at 1960-61 prices. Thus the total increase could not, presumably, have exceeded Rs. 1,500 crores on the supply side, whereas direct increase in demand derived from the outlays already listed above aggregated Rs. 1,945 crores. To this has to be added additions to demand emanating from unknown quantities of stocks held by and financed from sources outside the purview of the organized credit market as well as the additions to demand flowing from the increases in money incomes in the community. As already observed, it is not possible to assess with any degree of certainty the actual increase in the incidence of demand derived from these sources and any assessment in this behalf would be bound to remain largely conjectural. Assuming, however, that the addition to demand derived from these sources would not be likely to be less than one-half of the demand derived from other more identifiable sources listed above, the order of aggregate addition to demand would work out to approximately Rs. 3,000 crores. The obvious imbalance between demand and supply discernible here would inevitably endeavour to adjust itself by a corresponding rise in prices which would, leastwise, work out at approximately 18 per cent. It has been seen that

the actual incidence of rise in wholesale prices between 1960-61 and 1963-64 has been approximately of the order of very nearly 25 per cent (20.3 per cent between March, 1963 and June, 1964). From this it may be assumed that the additions to the pressure on demand derived from the unidentifiable credit sector together with that derived from additions to the money income in the community, would approximately be quite as much as that derived from the other more identifiable sources which then, would wholly account for the actual incidence of upward adjustment of wholesale prices that have been in evidence in the meanwhile.

Character of Price Rise

It is not easy to discern a uniform norm in the incidence of price rises. Prices go up in eccentric fashion over different sectors of the economy, the underlying character of which would seem to be conditioned by a variety of factors and which would not seem to yield any very recognizable pattern of uniformity or even trends. In this country, during the periods corresponding to development planning, the heaviest impact of rises in prices would seem to have fallen on agricultural products principally and obviously for the reason that production in this sector has risen the least rapidly. The crucial status of agricultural production in the total national economy would be obvious when regard is had to the fact that agricultural activity accounts for one-half of the total national income of the community. Stagnation in the dynamics of production at this point would be bound to have the most disturbing consequences. When demand is generally in excess of physically available supplies and stocks held at strategic levels, as those by Government, run down, speculative forces inevitably move in to provide accelerated momentum to rises in the price level. While this is generally true of the present situation, the fact should also not be lost sight of that the incidence of price rises generally follow the lines of least resistance. A pattern inevitably emerges in which the more vulnerable sectors of the economy are more immediately and heavily

affected far more in proportion to those in the other sectors. Thus while agricultural products suffer far more than industrial manufactures, within the agricultural sector food grains suffer the steepest rise because they comprise, even under normal price levels, more than 70 per cent of the consumption expenditure of more than 60 per cent of the population and, naturally therefore, they yield the more easily to heavy price pressures. It would, however, be an oversimplification of the present price situation if the matter were to be dismissed merely after a reference to food prices. While the prices of edibles have suffered the most heavily—there is evidence to prove that where wholesale prices have risen by 25 per cent, the actual price at the consumption or retail level has generally been double as much—consumables of all descriptions generally have suffered more than other commodities. Here also, in the matter of mill-made cotton textiles, the rise in the prices of the coarser varieties have been far heavier than in respect of finer varieties of cloth. These facts would seem to indicate an intelligent and alert mind directing operations to exploit the increasing imbalance between demand and supplies to create the heaviest possible pressures on the price structure at selected points of the commodity market which would not, normally, be susceptible to any ordinary juxtaposition between mere demand and supply.

Accelerating Supply

The principal feature of the present price situation in straightforward terms, therefore, is that developing demand has been accelerating at a rate much faster than supply and a permanent and enduring solution of the problem can only be found by stimulating the dynamics of increasing supply to conform to the incidence of demand. It is difficult, if not quite impossible, not merely immediately but even in the immediately foreseeable future, to adequately correct this increasingly widening imbalance from the supply side, to obtain any dependable measure of stability

in the incidence of prices. Some measures of expeditiously stimulating supply may be undertaken by increasing imports to a certain extent as is already being done by way of increasing imports of foodgrains. But the scope, having regard, firstly to our rather precarious balance of payments position and, secondly to the priority needs of continuing heavy capital goods imports over the remaining two years of the current Plan and during the impending Fourth Plan, for any material upward adjustment of imports to cover the gaps between demand and supply would, on the face of it, be bound to prove extremely narrow and well circumscribed within severely restricted limits. It is, however, possible, perhaps only as a short-period emergency measure, to judiciously enunciate and effectively apply certain administrative measures to put a curb on price rises in selected sectors of the economy. How far Government's resources in administrative efficiency and rectitude, not to speak of the imaginative spelling out of policies, are adequately geared to meet the inevitably onerous requirements of such possible administrative measures to enable them to wholesomely and effectively deal with a situation which they have been acknowledged to have already assumed critical levels is, however, a question to which it is not quite easy to find an answer. One of such selected sectors for administrative management must obviously be those of, first, essential edibles, foodgrains in particular, and the Government are already known to have been thinking in terms of a limited area of State Trading in food grains, Modified Rationing including, perhaps, full Rationing in large and selected urban and industrial complexes, Statutory Fixation of Price Ceilings of food grains and some other essential edibles at different levels, those of producers, wholesalers and retailers and like other items. It has also been announced that Government also intend to take over or, at least, enter the rice milling industry (possibly in pursuance of the notorious Bhubaneswar resolution) in the near future. These are measures, about the ultimate efficacy of which the Government,

judging by frequent changes of attitude by certain Union and State Ministers during recent weeks, as well as the complete silence over the entire programme of the Union Finance Minister, themselves do not seem to be quite certain. It should be clearly understood, however, that whatever the administrative measures that Government may devise and seek to apply to contend with the situation on the food front, unless they are able to do so with determined confidence and a measure of ruthlessness in complete disregard of possible consequences to their own chances at the next polls, they would be foredoomed to failure and that, in consequence, a far worse situation may emerge in the end than with what they are already being obliged to contend. As it is, the half-hearted measures of statutory fixation of price ceilings in certain States without the necessary machinery for its proper enforcement as has been imposed in certain States, do not seem to have had even the least influence on price and market trends, except that, in addition to the continuing steepness of the price level, market arrivals have all but virtually dried up. Partial and Modified Rationing, where introduced, is being maintained by supplies from sources in selected urban and industrial complexes which are already known to have been so rapidly depleting such stocks as were being held by Government at strategic points, and unless the rate of procurement can be immediately and substantially stepped up, the next two or three months would be bound to be fraught with considerable anxiety. It is not quite impossible that situated as we are at present, it may not be possible to altogether avert the emergence of a tragic country-wide food famine such as occurred in undivided Bengal in 1943 but of possibly far greater magnitude.

Agricultural Production

Reference has already been made earlier in the present discussion to the comparative stagnation in agricultural production. Here, the priorities in planning

would appear to have been playing a crucial part. The First Plan was mainly agriculture-oriented and the spill over of the resultant potentials in this behalf into the next Plan, in which there was considerable shift in emphasis and priorities from agriculture to heavy producer industry, yielded very substantial results. This was reflected in the progress in the production of food cereals in the country which rose, as a result of these incentives and the facilities provided by the First Plan projects, from about 52 million tons in 1950-51 to 76 million tons in 1960-61, the end-year of the Second Plan, which worked out to very nearly 46 per cent, a very commendable performance, indeed. It was unfortunately, not possible to maintain this very commendable rate of progress since, partly because far greater emphasis was laid upon even more accelerating industrialization in the Third Plan than even in the Second to the far greater neglect of needed essential agricultural priorities, and partly also because of the very substantial failure of the many irrigation schemes of the First Plan to have yielded the expected results as well as of the obvious inadequacy of the fertilizer programmes, crop-yields remained, as so picturesquely described by a former Union Food and Agriculture Minister, very much at the mercy of the seasons. It is also notable, that by far the greater part of the resources and effort of the Community Development and National Extension projects were, at the same time, concentrated upon more spectacular social extension programmes, more or less to the complete neglect of the demands of agricultural extension. The results are now being obviously reflected in the incidence of agricultural yields, both as regards gross quantum as well as per acre yields, during the current Plan. The total production of food cereals in the country at the end of the third year of the current Plan (1963-64) has been reported to have been of the order of only 79 million tons, which is barely 4 per cent above the yield—76 million tons—obtained during the end-year of the Second Plan (1960-61). Considering that the net addition to the country's population has been of the very

rapid order of 2.5 per cent per annum, in other words there has been a gross 8.8 per cent addition to the net population during the last three years, this very poor rate of progress in agricultural production provides an explanation. In addition to the causes already discussed in the foregoing paragraphs why the price pressure on food has been comparatively the heaviest. The implications of the situation should become even clearer when it is remembered that even at the present level, agricultural production alone accounts for more than one-half of the gross annual national product of the country.

Quick-Yielding Agricultural Projects

We have been hearing from time to time over the last one year—recently once again emphatically reiterated by Shri Ashok Mehta, Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission—that quick-yielding agricultural projects would soon be initiated to infuse an element of comparative rapidity in the rate of progress in agricultural production. What these quick-yielding projects can be does not yet seem to have been clearly indicated, or, perhaps, even to have been decided upon at the levels of policy making and implementation. What would seem to be a most unfortunate feature of planning for agricultural progress, either at the highest level of the Planning Commission or at the Union and State administrative levels, that most policies so far initiated in this particular field, has been eventually proved to have been wholly wasteful and infructuous. It was almost inevitable that it should be so because agricultural potentials in the country remain, so far, virtually a comparatively unexplored and uncharted field. No integrated survey of our national agricultural potentials appears to have been undertaken during the last seventeen years since Independence and such a survey does not also seem to have found any place among the responsibilities of the various working groups functioning under the Planning Commission in its Agricultural wing. In fact no one seems to

have heard of any comprehensive and integrated survey of the nation's total agricultural resources and potentials to have been undertaken ever since the Royal Commission on Agriculture under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow reported on the subject 36 years ago (1928). One of the reasons for this obvious and very important lack may be that Agriculture, mainly, is a State subject under the Constitution and that the area of the Union Government's concurrent powers in this sphere does not seem to extend beyond the responsibilities of having to supplement State resources in the event of scarcity as on the present occasion.

Departments under 'Agriculture Ministries in the States and at the Centre appear to have been rapidly proliferating in all possible directions mainly at secretariat levels, but the awareness of the basic need to carry out an integrated and upto-date field research in our existing agricultural resources and future yield-potentials covering the entire nation as the essential basic foundation for adequate policy making for rapid agricultural development and progress, does not, indeed, appear to have at all been felt at any level of the administration. Having regard to the apparent lack of co-operation in many fields of co-ordinate policy and action between different States—there is, indeed, ample evidence of the keenest competition for the largest share of the Centre's favours between them—such an investigation can alone be fruitfully carried out by a well-equipped—both in respect of expertise and authority—Central Agency. If the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry finds itself unable to undertake the responsibilities of carrying out such an investigation, the Agriculture Wing of the Planning Commission with all its resources in expertise should be the obvious choice for the purpose. But that unless this is done without any avoidable delay, all the glib talk about initiating quick-yielding agricultural projects with a view to introducing an element of dynamic acceleration in agricultural production would be bound to prove entirely hollow and meaningless.

Slowing Down Demand

But, to revert to an evaluation of the over-all problem of stepping up the incidence of supply to more closely conform to the rate of accelerating demand as demonstrated in the foregoing paragraphs, it is quite obvious that the prospects of stepping up the incidence of supply in any significant measure in the immediate future are extremely limited and one would, accordingly, be led to suppose that the only possible means of ensuring a closer correspondence between demand and supply in the circumstances discussed above, would have to be by a process of attenuating demand. It has been shewn that there is considerable scope for attacking the problem from the end of outlays. Let us examine the particular points at which and the directions from and the extent to which it may be possible to prune outlays in any significant measure.

Investment Outlays

In the area of investment outlays, the annual incidence would appear to have progressively increased between 1952-53 and 1963-64 by some 300 per cent. It will be observed, however, that the gross increase in annual net investments over immediately preceding previous years during the first three years of the current Plan (1961-62 to 1963-64) has only been of the order of an aggregate Rs. 450 crores which, on the face of it, would not appear to be very large and the scope, therefore, of a great deal of downward adjustment in this sphere would seem to be severely limited. But from the results of a study by a Working Group of the Planning Commission published some time ago, it appears that total investment appropriations throughout the current Plan period are expected to comprise a little over 93 per cent of total original allocations in the Plan. The target of increase in the national product over the five years of the Plan period was placed at 36 per cent or at an annual net rate of well over 6 per cent. From the data disclosed in course of the mid-term reappraisal of the Plan, it appears that the actual increase

achieved during the first two years of the Plan aggregated only 4.7 per cent in all at 1960-61 prices. There is stated to have been a considerable improvement in the incidence of this increase during 1963-64, but in the absence of any available official evaluation of its actual size, it is not possible to arrive at any reliable forecast of the trend of this improvement. Independent economists calculated that the prospects of increase in the national income during the remaining three years of the current Plan period did not indicate that achievements in this behalf would be likely to exceed the annual rate of some 3.5 per cent. If this estimate can be accepted as realistic, the gross increase in the national income over the entire Plan period would be somewhat of the order of 15.2 per cent in all at 1960-61 prices which is really considerably less than one-half of the original target envisaged in the Plan. But even supposing that the rate of annual increase in the national income during the three-year period between 1963-64 and 1965-66 were even as high as 5 per cent—the prospects of which would seem to be extremely remote—the total increase in the national income over the Plan period would only be of the order of 19.7 per cent which will be approximately 55 per cent of original targets. In other words, with investments actually covering more than 93 per cent of original allocations in the Plan, the actual result in increased national income yield would, possibly, be only somewhere between 42 to 55 per cent of estimated expectations in this behalf. The inflationary pressure that such an obvious and fairly substantial imbalance between investment and implementation would be bound to generate should be more than apparent even to the least discerning observer.

Closer Adjustment Needed

While, therefore, conceding that the scope for attenuating the rate of investment, in conformity with the basic dynamics of development is not very wide, the need to sustain the actual dynamics of the development process to a level of yield commensurate with the estimated contribution

of investments in this behalf to the incidence of supply, should also be heavily underscored at the same time. It is imperative that there must be closer adjustment between investments and the resultant yield in terms of the increase in the national product or the investment itself must be held to have been responsible—in the measure in which shortfalls eventuate—for the development of wholly infructuous demand, causing corresponding price pressures to be generated and communicated especially to the more vulnerable sectors where marginal shortages in supply are the most obvious. The accent must be on **development** and not merely on **investments** alone. In this aspects of the matter increasing imbalances would appear to have been eventuating even as early as the latter years of the Second Plan and which would seem to have been materially widening during the current Plan. One does not like to burden the reader with a great deal of statistical data, but an examination of the unappropriated balances of foreign exchange allocations in the Plan uptodate will bear out the truth of our contention in this regard. To sum up, it could not be repudiated with any amount of logical and sustainable reasoning, that the incidence of price pressure flowing directly from infructuous investments in the Plans to the extent they have failed to generate correspondingly commensurate yields in production incidences, has not been inconsiderable and there is obvious scope here for correspondingly pruning investment schedules. It must, however, be admitted at the same time that this cannot be accepted as a desirable expedient on basic grounds and if the actual dynamics of **development** could be sustained at the level of original targets in the Plan, there could not have been any question of pruning outlays in this behalf.

Co-ordination and Priorities

A major factor for very serious examination in this context would seem to be the order of priorities in the Plan and the obvious lack of co-ordination between different and contending phases of development. One very important aspect of these dislo-

cations in priorities and co-ordination of projects has been increasingly obvious, for instance, in the phasing of power and transport development alongside of heavy basic industries like steel, coal and minerals. One of the principal deterrants against industrial production has admittedly been the commensurate inadequacy of power supply availability. Until some time ago, it was notorious that managements of different industrial units in the Jamshedpur complex were obliged by mutual agreement to phase out a weekly shut-down by turn for each of several production units with a view to coping with a constant 20 kV. shortage in power supply. Both in the Greater Calcutta and the Greater Bombay industrial complexes, again, some 20 per cent of the overall laid-down capacity in the medium and small industries sector—most of whom were engaged upon the production of vital strategic commodities—have been reduced to enforced idleness over long periods at a time for lack of power supply. Transport bottlenecks have been severe and paralyzing at many vital points of the economy over several years and, although the situation appears to have considerably eased over the last two to three years, it is still unable to wholly cope with the significantly accelerating development in the coal industry in the private sector during the current Plan. These obvious mal-adjustments in priorities and lack of adequate co-ordination between interdependent phases of industrial development also contribute correspondingly to infructuous investments. Also, the manner in which planning would appear to have been conceived, the need, at least in part, to sustain outlays in slow-yielding and highly capital-intensive producer bases with their inevitably low employment potentials by simultaneous phasing out of quick-yielding labour-intensive essential consumer industries in a balancing measure, would seem to have been wholly ignored. The inevitable consequence upon economic trends has not been, as appears to have been fondly hoped for by the Plan framers, to stimulate private saving and capital formation in corresponding measure—one does not, of course, wholly repudiate that there

has been some increase in the incidence of private savings in selected areas of the economy over the last ten years although its measure has been only fractionally proportionate to the rate of increase in money supply—but primarily to accentuate progressively increasing price pressures, necessarily more heavily upon more scarce consumables than at other points of the economy. The greatest maladjustment is, of course, more obvious in the comparatively low priority accorded to agricultural development in the Second and significantly more so in the Third Plan and which has been one of the prime factors in generating the present rapidly accelerating inflationary spiral. Enough has already been said earlier in course of the present discussion on the subject, but it should be underlined here with all the emphasis one may command that it has been one of the basic constitutional defects of planning in the manner in which it is being undertaken in this country and which, incidentally repudiates one of the fundamental lessons of universal economic history—that rapid industrial development can only **follow**, not **precede**, the development of a surplus agriculture. It is equally significant that in a country like India, where even after more than one and a half decade of development planning, agriculture still remains the principal source of employment and sustenance, directly, of well over 70 per cent of the population and contributes more than one-half of the gross national income, the pace of industrial development can only be conditioned by the measure of acceleration that can be achieved in agricultural progress.

More Cautious Investment Policy Needed

It should be obvious, therefore, that far greater caution, than would appear to have been exercised so far, should be adopted in spelling out Plan investments, both in respect of their size as well as in their priorities. If it may mean the slowing down of investment schedules, especially over the next few years, possibly even extending to the next two Plan periods, the choice will have to

be accepted as an imperative requirement of existing economic realities. That Plan investments, especially during the last three years, have contributed their share to the emergence of the current inflationary spiral, cannot be repudiated with any regard for basic truths. A balance has to be struck between demand and supply to enable prices to be pegged down to more sustainable levels, and if need be to achieve this imperative, investments will have to be cut down to sizes where they will cease to have any materially inflationary impact on aggregate demand. The choice may not be a very palatable one for Plan framers for it will inevitably be read as an evidence of failure in planning, and one must congratulate the Union Finance Minister for his obvious acceptance of the realities of the present situation when he recommends that the size of projected investments, contrary to the estimates prepared by the Perspective Division of the Planning Commission, in the Fourth Plan, should not exceed Rs. 17,000 crores. The Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, however, seems still to pursue the delusion that the introduction of a few quick-yielding agricultural projects in the Plan would enable the Fourth Plan investments to be sustained at the much higher level already envisaged. Mr. Ashok Mehta, despite his great reputation for level-headed thinking, would appear to be suffering from the complacent escapism fashionable in some high level quarters!

Government Consumption Expenditure

But if the scope for attenuating the size of Plan investment outlays is limited, there is, obviously, a far wider scope for severe pruning of Government's consumption expenditure. Since 1952-53, Government's expenditure on development and administration, excluding expenditure on defence has sizeably increased from Rs. 475 crores to Rs. 1,410 crores, that is by more than 300 per cent. Expenditure on defence had risen from Rs. 185 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 810 crores in 1963-64, but it rose by no more than at an average rate of 5.8 per cent per annum over the eight years be-

tween 1852-53 and 1961-62. It was only with the explosion of China's invasion upon India's Northern frontiers that defence expenditure had to be accelerated by 13 per cent in 1961-62, 50 per cent in 1962-63 and by more than 70 per cent in 1963-64. That there is ample scope for pruning expenditure on civil administration has been already admitted by implication when, recently, the Union Government announced their intention to cut down expenditure during the current financial year by Rs. 70 crores. This is commendable, but not nearly enough. The scope for reduction of expenditure on this head should be nearer 25 per cent of its present size which alone might help to substantially reduce the pressure on aggregate demand and correspondingly ease the pressure on the price structure.

Taxation

But while discussing the possibly available scope for significant reduction of the quantum of Government's burgeoning consumption, expenditure on development and civil administration, with a view, particularly, to scaling down aggregate demand, it is also necessary to consider the extent to which the incidence of rising taxation may or may not have already contributed a deflationary element in the demand factor. Traditionally, increasing taxation is calculated to mop up surplus purchasing power in the economy and thus correspondingly to help to contain the incidence of demand within desired boundaries. From this point of view the steep spurt in the incidence of public taxation over the years of development planning, and especially during the first three years of the current plan period should, ordinarily, be regarded as an appropriate, possibly even an adequate set-off against rising outlays on administration. Between 1950-51 and 1960-61 the per capita incidence of taxation in the country is said to have progressively increased from about Rs. 8 per annum to well over Rs. 38 per annum at 1952-53 prices. And during the three years between 1961-62 and 1963-64 the amount of gross taxation has significantly increased further by about Rs. 900 crores.

This, on the face of it, would be expected to have more or less completely balanced additional outlays in Government expenditure during the corresponding period and should, therefore, ordinarily eliminate, except, perhaps, to an insignificant extent, additional pressures communicated therefrom on the structure of demand.

Unfortunately, the especial mechanism of public taxation that would appear to be increasingly resorted to by the Union Finance Ministry, especially since Mr. Chintamon Deshmukh, who may be said to have been the last among the students of scientific public finance in the Central Finance Ministry, left the Union Cabinet, has been increasingly following lines of least resistance in revenue-harvesting, with the result that in constructing additional taxation proposals from year to year, increasing reliance has been placed upon indirect taxation measures—a great deal of them comprising imposts of varying magnitude upon essential consumables and an even greater proportion upon essential producer bases—which have progressively raised the proportion of indirect tax revenues to total tax incidences from only about 7 per cent in 1950-51 to very nearly 74.6 per cent in 1963-64. One of the principal reasons for this extraordinary shift in taxation trends may appear to have been conditioned by the supposed need to sustain incentives for developmental investments in the private sector and the anxiety to spare, as much as possible, the available areas of direct taxation—which have never been very wide or extensive in this country—from increasing burdens on this ground, lest that may prove a deterrent against incentives in this behalf. But that difficulties of realization in the fields of direct taxation—these have notoriously been known to have been of fairly sizeable magnitude and tax evasions have been known to have been very large even within the comparatively narrow incidences of taxation—may also have had to do with this trend of increasing exploitation of the easily-yielding indirect revenue potentials, would also seem to be quite obvious.

Thus sound taxation principles would seem to have been sacrificed on the altar of

expediency and the era of the reckless and increasing recourse to indirect taxation covering wide areas of essential consumables and vital producer bases—in a recent unofficial estimate these have been calculated to have been yielding more than one-half of the gross tax revenues of the country—have inevitably led to cost-inflation of a very serious measure over all fields of vital production. To cite only one of many significant instances, India who was reckoned, until as late as 1955, as among the cheapest producers of steel in the world, now ranks as among the costliest. Most of this rise in cost is accounted for directly by rises in taxation imposts and freights at various levels and stages of production covering both raw materials, servicing facilities and finished and semi-finished manufactures. Here is an obvious example of the magnitude of inflationary pressures that taxation has been directly exerting and of its reflection in corresponding measure in general price trends in the country. This has not merely been responsible for generating insupportably heavy burdens upon the common man, but has also been progressively retarding the pace of development in significantly corresponding measure. A vicious **cost-price-wages** spiral has become the inescapable resultant, affecting all the four corners of the national economy. The burgeoning impact on the price of food grains and other essential edibles and consumables is, in the ultimate analysis, only a reflection of the over-all economic situation in the country which has been increasingly contributing its quota, in turn, to further rapidly widening already existing fairly wide disparities in the community. The deterioration in the price structure, as so aptly remarked by Mr. J. R. D. Tata recently, has undeniably flowed from the policy of forcing the pace of economic development beyond the limits of the nation's physical and financial resources. That an additional complicating factor in the process has been the unbalanced and eccentric use of resources and effort on the development of only certain selected sectors disregarding the claims to and need for commensurately simultaneous deployment

of attention to other vital sectors to ensure a process of wholesome, comprehensive and dynamic balance, is equally undeniable.

Administrative Failures

That the administrative resources of the State has also been wholly inadequate for sustaining the responsibilities of development in the magnitude and at the pace envisaged in the Plans has, consequently made it inevitable that significant shortfalls and failures at many vital points would overshadow the basic processes of development. This has inevitably led to cost-inflation in the production process and to commensurate inflationary pressures. Alongside of this as already demonstrated, the rapidly accelerating cost of administration over the last several years corresponding with the period of development planning, has also been contributing its own share of additional pressure on the incidence of demand. Here, again, a vicious circle would appear to have been created; needs of development inflating administration costs, inadequacy of administrative resources retarding the developmental process, and, in turn, infructuous outlays in the cost of administration, because of their failure to ensure correspondingly adequate development in real terms, adding its pressures to the dynamics of demand and corresponding inflationary impacts. Incidentally, the complicated and often overlapping administrative complex said to have been occasioned by the complexities of the machinery of development, has also been one of the principal channels, through which corruption and nepotism has invaded the administration.

Conclusion

Although a great deal still remains to be discussed bearing upon the different aspects of the basic anatomy of prices, enough has already been said to enable a logical and scientific evaluation of the causes and directions from which price-inflation of the measure and nature in which the community is faced with it to-day, have been impinging upon the economy. The

possible measures that can be expected to effectively deal with the situation are inherent in the causes themselves that can be identified to have generated the present situation. No single measure, therefore, aimed at selected sectors of the economy can be expected to have more than a merely ephemeral effect in this regard.

Thus, although the administrative measures now being constantly conceived, examined and/or rejected—a process which has been going on over the last several weeks both at Union and State levels, to the extent that finally measures are framed and applied to deal with certain aspects of the present food problem in the country, can only have a temporary utility. The main issue is one of price-cost-supply ratios to the magnitude of aggregate demand as represented by the size of available purchasing power released to the community. And as it has been already demonstrated, it is fundamental to the concepts of development that they are capable of being applied to the economy without causing untoward pressures which the process itself is unable to nurture or sustain. Three distinct and separate conclusions would seem to inevitably follow as inescapable lessons of the situation: First, that development must follow properly balanced and finely co-ordinated priorities covering different branches of production in the economy to ensure balanced development of basic requisites of growth alongside of basic consumer facilities; Secondly, development must accord corresponding and balancing priorities to ensure the development of agricultural surpluses to be ensured at the same pace at which industrialization is intended to be pursued; finally, development must conform, as Mr. J. R. D. Tata has so succinctly observed, to the physical and financial resources of the nation. Development essayed on borrowed resources at exorbitantly high cost in terms of repayment terms and in respect of imports of capital goods, spares, and know-how and which, additionally, have not been able to yield resultant dividends sufficient even to cover immediate repayment liabilities, supple-

mented by resources created by artificial means against future development with a view to quicken the pace of development has led the country to a situation from which it would be an extremely complicated and difficult business to extricate the community. The expedients so far announced by the Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission, that of rephrasing Agricultural Development alongside of the projects for industrialization in the Fourth and Fifth Plans through five quick-yielding two-year projects to coincide with the next two Plan periods, is visionary and unrealistic and, in any case, how this is intended to be worked out in actual terms is yet to be announced. It would be sheer escapism to repudiate the need, having regard to the present stage of near-breakdown in the economy, the extremely inadequate magnitude and pace of development in relation to investments which would appear, under the impact of accelerating price pressures, to have been again gradually slowing down despite injections of additional administrative stimulation into the system, for revising the entire process of planning *de novo* not merely to rephase it in certain selected areas and details and to redefine its targets and objectives not only to conform to actual (not merely borrowed and created) financial and physical resources of the nation, but also to ensure a more orderly and balanced process of growth comprehending the entire economy in all its phases and branches. This will, admittedly, not be an easy matter to ensure and may take quite a lot of time to get into actual stride to the extent where it can begin to affect the price trends by spontaneous induction. The interim period until the process gets into full stride and a measure of normality has been reintroduced into the price structure to conform to the real resources of the economy, would naturally be a painful one, the most painful being the confession of failure on the part of the Government and their high level expertise that this would inevitably imply. But facts, however painful, must have to be faced sooner or later and it were better that they were done sooner rather than later.

IN MEMORY OF DR. GEORGE ROERICH

Communicated By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

SOVIET and world science has suffered a great loss. On the 21st May 1960, suddenly, in the midst of intense scientific and public activities, at the threshold of the conclusion of several scientific works, Yuri Nicolaievich Roerich left us—Russian savant, Orientalist, with a world-wide name, a man of a great heart, profoundest wisdom, enormous knowledge and extraordinary fate.

Yuri Nicolaievich was born on the 16th August 1902, near Okhulovka, in the Novgorod District in the family of the remarkable Russian artist, savant and thinker, art academician N. K. Roerich.

Interest and love of the East, which Yuri Nicolaievich carried through all his life, awoke in him at an early age. While a school boy in Petersburg—the centre of Russian Orientalism—he began to study Egyptology with the academician B.A. Turaev. He received abroad, a brilliant, many sided education under the guidance and aid of the foremost savants of the West and East.

At first in London, in the School of Oriental Studies, attached to the University, Yuri Nicolaievich began particularly, to study Sanskrit under Professor D. Ross, then in the U.S.A. at Harvard University he worked with the Sanskrit scholar, Professor C. R. Lanman, and he made a profound study of languages, archaeology, art and philosophy of many Eastern countries.

In the early twenties in Paris, in the School of Eastern Languages attached to the Sorbonne, Yuri Nicolaievich with Professors Bacot and Pelliot, thoroughly studied Tibetology and the Tibetan Language.

Through all these years, Yuri Nicolaievich travelled a great deal in India and in other countries. In 1923 Yuri Nicolaievich, young, but already a dedicated scientist—Orientalist, having the fundamental knowledge, settled in India. Here on the spot mainly in Darjeeling, he further enlarged his knowledge and continued the scientific research in collaboration with eminent indigenous savants.

In 1926-1929, Yuri Nicolaievich took part in the famous expedition to Central Asia led by his father. This expedition by its scientific significance, by its duration, by the distances it covered represents a remarkable feat of the Roerich family, specially if one thinks of the impossible difficulties which its participants met. Later Yuri Nicolaievich compiled the material of the expedition in the book "Trails to Inmost Asia." published in U.S.A. and France.

On his return from the expedition, Yuri Nicolaievich took charge of the Himalayan Scientific Research Institute, founded in 1929 by N. K. Roerich in the Kulu Valley of the Punjab. Himalayas. In the Institute were studied history, languages, philosophy, Himalayan folk art and folk art of the neighbouring regions, fauna and flora of the region, Tibetan medicine, (interesting collections were gathered) etc. The soul and unfailing participant of all research of the Institute was Yuri Nicolaievich.

In his work, Yuri Nicolaievich was supported by his brilliant knowledge of many Western and Eastern languages. Besides Russian he had perfect command of English, French, German, Greek, Latin, Tibetan, Mongolian, Sanskrit, Pali Hindustani and Persian, numerous local dialects of Central Asia, knew well, Spanish, Italian, Chinese and was acquainted with many other living and dead languages.

His truly encyclopaedic knowledge Yuri Nicolaievich utilised for the solution of various problems of Orientalism.

He wrote many learned works. Some of them represent a prominent addition to the world science of Orientalism. As an example can be named the "Blue Annals" translated and edited by him with his commentaries, a major work on the history of Tibet. The publication of this work containing the complete data on the history of Tibet, which no one before him could master, required enormous knowledge and colossal labour.

The most important scientific achievement of Yuri Nicolaievich, is the compilation of the

monumental Tibetan—Sanskrit—English—Russian Dictionary, which at the present moment is being got ready for publication.

In manuscript, has remained another important research on which Yuri Nicolaievich laboured many years. It is an almost completed "History of the Peoples of Central Asia," which broadly illuminates the past of all the peoples of this region.

Abroad Yuri Nicolaievich published many other considerable works which witness the unusual erudition and immeasurable scope and depth of his knowledge. The sphere of his scientific interests was truly immense. Suffice it to say, that beside the above mentioned works, each of which places Yuri Nicolaievich among the leading modern Orientalists, he published books dedicated to the grammar of the Tibetan language, the dialects of Amdo and Lahoul, a text book on spoken Tibetan language, works on Tibetan art, on the so-called animal style of Tibet, biography of the Buddhist ascetic, Chag-Lotsava, a historic description of Tibet (in the Tibetan language) and many other books published in several countries in different languages.

Yuri Nicolaievich also wrote many articles about the Tibetan and Mongolian languages, the history of Central Asia and India, philosophy of the East (especially Buddhism), on the Indo-Russian ties (for example the article "Indology in Russia") and others.

Yuri Nicolaievich led an active public life. Together with his father he devoted not a little strength to the creation and implementation of the International Pact for safeguarding cultural treasures in the time of war, known as the "Roerich Pact" ratified by the United Nations Organisation and the Governments of the majority of nations of the world among them, the Government of the Soviet Union.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a member of numerous learned societies in India, Soviet Union, England, France, U.S.A. and other countries. Among them can be mentioned the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, Geographical Society of the U.S.S.R. in Leningrad, the Royal Asiatic Society in London, the American Archaeological and Ethnographical Societies, the Geographical Society of Paris etc., etc.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a friend of many prominent people of our times. He knew Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Radhakrishnan, Jagadish Chandra Bose, C. V. Raman.

Romain Rolland, Paul Pelliot and other important savants, writers, Government and public leaders.

It is really hard to believe that one man is able to encompass so much, but Yuri Nicolaievich was just such a man.

Living for almost 40 years away from his motherland, Yuri Nicolaievich remained a fervent Russian patriot. All his scientific activities all his life, he dedicated to his motherland and always hoped to be useful to her. And we can be proud of the fact that our countrymen abroad, with great merit carried on the good traditions of Russian Orientalism, carried with honour the name of Russia in India, and laid invaluable foundations in the cause of uniting our great countries.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a representative of the remarkable Roerich family, each member of which left a prominent mark in science or culture, and did a lot to support and strengthen the friendship between India and the Soviet Union and in the battle for peace on earth. As a man and scientist, Yuri Nicolaievich was formed under the influence of his family, where everything was done together where each complemented and mutually enriched the other. And speaking of Yuri Nicolaievich, we must remember his mother—Elena Ivanovna, his father—Nicolai Konstantinovich, who like Rabindranath Tagore, is called in India "Great Master" (Gurudev) and his brother and friend Svetoslav Nicolaievich.

In 1957 Yuri Nicolaievich's earnest desire was realised. During the visit to India by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R., Nikita Sergeievich Khrushchev, Yuri Nicolaievich met N. S. Khrushchev who invited Yuri Nicolaievich to come to the Soviet Union. Yuri Nicolaievich brought with him a considerable part of the artistic heritage of his father. N. K. Roerich's creations were handed over as a gift, to the Soviet Union and became part of the treasures of the State Russian Museum in Leningrad.

On his return to his motherland Yuri Nicolaievich, immediately took part in very extensive scientific and organising activities. He headed the Sector of history, religion and philosophy of India in the Institute of Oriental Studies and the department of Tibetan Studies in the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Academy of Sciences,

U.S.S.R. He also became one of the initiators of the renewal of publications of the monuments of Eastern literature, in the famous series "Biblioteka Buddhika."

Already after his return, Yuri Nicolaievich published and prepared for printing a series of new books and articles.

Yuri Nicolaievich devoted a lot of energy to the work with the young people, considering it

his main responsibility to pass on his wide knowledge to his students.

Yuri Nicolaievich was a man of rich and generous nature, wise, simple and approachable, surprisingly modest and even shy, always considerate and willing to share his unusual knowledge and enormous experience. This was felt by all who were fortunate enough to meet him.

The bright memory of Yuri Nicolaievich will never grow dim in our hearts.

SOME GAPS IN ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

(A Sociological analysis of administrative deficiency in India)

By C. DINESH

Right from the very beginning of planned development in India, most of the failures and shortcomings in our development programmes are generally attributed to administrative deficiencies and defective co-ordination. Many Commissions and Committees were appointed by the Government to study this problem and to recommend measures for the improvement of the administrative system in the country. Consequent upon their recommendations, structural reorganization was attempted from time to time, in many branches of our administrative system. But to our utter disappointment, the situation in this sphere has worsened instead of showing any improvement.

Many of the veterans in the field of planning and administration expressed a very dim view as regards improvement of our administrative system in the near future.

"Experience in the past ten years has tended to strengthen the view that in structure, methods of functioning and capacity to meet the requirements of rapid development, the administration has not been able to catch up and the distance may be increasing rather than decreasing."¹

A still more critical view has been expressed by Shri H. M. Patel, a former finance secretary, Government of India. "An

honest, frank and objective appraisal of public administration during the year since independence leads one to only one conclusion as to the future: the outlook is bleak, and the outlook will remain bleak until such time as moral standards begin again to be respected, and there is a radical change in our attitude towards administration."

Not only there is inefficiency and corruption, but delays have become endemic and favouritism a rule rather than exception.

The purpose of this paper is not to enumerate the opinions and judgements of several people in responsible positions with regard to our administrative system, but to indicate that a serious error has been committed by many in power or otherwise, by judging and evaluating the administrative efficiency or in-efficiency on a wrong premise. Whenever the question of administrative reform was in the offing, it was directed more towards structural and procedural reorganization rather than giving enough consideration, to the basic sociological factors of personality formation—the social values etc., within which the personality systems function.

As regards the role of administration in any society is concerned there is no denying the fact that a clean, efficient and impartial administration is the first condition for

successful democratic planning—that the plans and policies are of little value however sound and well conceived, unless there is an administrative machinery capable of giving effect to them efficiently.

The author of this paper intends to show that the main reasons for the administrative deficiency in our country lie in the fact that, there is a great deal of diversity between our values in the social system and those of the administrative system. Greater the gap between these two value systems, the more complicated and difficult it would be to maintain an equilibrium in the society.

To make this point more clear—a comparison between our social values and those of the administrative system would be very much helpful.

Indian society is still known to be a traditional caste society where differentiation in social status on the basis of caste still persists. The social ranking in our society also very much depends on the caste system, in the case of dining, marriages etc., people of different castes do not stand on the same level.

Caste consciousness persists in the political and educational spheres also. Mainly in the elections and appointments respectively. In this way, many of these traditional values have become part of our thinking and way of life and we do not consider there is anything wrong with them. The personality of an individual, his way of thinking etc., is shaped by these social values from his very childhood and they cannot be changed very easily later on.

Whereas, the values of the administrative system are guided by the formal law and codified rules and regulations. Every man is treated equally before the law irrespective of his caste. Equality of opportunity to all is provided by the Constitution, and further, discrimination on the basis of caste is a cognizable offence according to the law of the country.

But as long as the social values mentioned in the foregoing lines, influence our way of life and thinking, and as a matter of fact they do, the values of the adminis-

trative system will not guide the behaviour of people in the field of administration.

Moreover, as there would be a direct conflict between the values of these two systems, there is every likelihood that people in the administrative system may act entirely in self interest rather than in the interest of the community.

It is needless to state that the defects in our administrative system are not due to one or the other political party in the country, but are a direct reflection of the defects in our social system as a whole. The administrative machinery, we should always remember, is and should be a part of the general complex of a social system, and not something different and strange. It can not be different and strange because the personality systems which constitute the administrative set up, are born and brought up in the general social environment, and the personalities of the individuals are generally set, when they take up a position, which we may call a specific role in the administrative set up.

Either a secretary or an ordinary clerk in his office, occupies many different roles, as that of a father, son, husband, a chairman of a club etc., which we may call a **role structure**. And when he occupies (performs) any one role, in this general role complex, he certainly cannot act with utter disregard to the other roles he occupies in his life.

This would, perhaps, make the problem clear, that there cannot be a great deal of diversity between the values of the administrative system and those of a social system. If such a situation arises there would be, what we may call a **role conflict**, leading to a disequilibrium in the social system in general.

Before proceeding further to analyse the relationship between administrative efficiency and the general equilibrium of the society, it may be relevant to point out one peculiar condition of our administrative structure itself. As in the case of almost all the colonial countries, the administration in India, also was developed by the British, to a great extent on the British model, and it remains so, even today. This system may

be efficient in England, but may create a lot of confusion in India because, in England, the administration has lived and grown, along with the social order, and the conflicting features, if any, were adjusted from time to time, to maintain the social equilibrium; but in India, the entire structure of the Indian administration was imposed on society from without and no serious attempts were made to resolve the role conflicts arising out of this peculiar situation. To illustrate the point, a commissioner of Harijan welfare, if he is a Brahmin, preaches and works in his office for the removal of untouchability etc., but when he returns home, he always considers that dining with a Harijan is a regions sacrilege, as far as his home is concerned.

Therefore, a sort of hypocrisy, disloyalty to one's own ideals, has developed into our social structure without our being aware of it; and I believe that this was the type of people, the British, wanted us to be.

I shall now try to explain the theory of social equilibrium and its relation to efficiency in administration.

Human society is a complex whole, composed of many subsystems, which for the purposes of analyses may be treated as independent systems possessing their own boundaries; for instance in the general complex of social system, the polity or economy functions within its own boundaries, almost as an independent subsystem, but, any interpretation regarding the functioning of let us say, the economic subsystem, cannot be visualized fruitfully without a careful observation of other variables which influence human action.

Every society in order to ensure stability has to maintain a specific relationship or an equilibrium among the different variables which influence the action system. In other words "According to general theory, process in any social system is subject to four independent functional imperatives or "problems" which must be met adequately if equilibrium or continuing existence of the system is to be maintained."³

A Social system is always characterized by an institutionalized value system. The

social system's first functional imperative is to maintain, the integrity of that value system and its "institutionalization."⁴ This process of maintenance means stabilization against pressures to change the value system which may be called "pattern maintenance and tension management". Family, caste or kinship system etc., perform this function in the society.

Every social system functions in a situation defined as external to it. The process of interchange between system and situation is the foci of the second and the third major functional imperative of the system.⁵

The first interchange concerns the goal gratification or attainment, for an individual actor or for a social system. This refers to a relationship between a system of reference and one or more situational objects which (given the value system and its institutionalization.) **maximizes the stability of the system.**

To make it clear, we may state that to maintain the integrity and stability of the value system, various needs of individuals (which we may call as goals) will have to be satisfied in order of due precedence. And this goal attainment function will have to be performed within the frame of the institutionalized value system.

We can have only such goals which the value system permits us to have, and generally we cannot have such goals which are contrary to the value system because the value system is one that is being internalized by the individual through the process of socialization right from the childhood. The deviation leading to change would result only in cases of imperfect socialization or very powerful external influences (which would happen) only in cases of surrender or defeat in a war or influence of a major religion.

The polity as a subsystem will have to perform this function, if it desires stability in the society, because the function of goal attainment involves considerable competition and friction. It is therefore necessary to regulate the goal attainment function, by evolving certain rules and regulations and administering them properly.

In a (modern) highly differentiated society, this function cannot be left to the mercy of social institutions alone. Hence the polity as a subsystem performs this function.

The second interchange deals with the problem of controlling the environment for purposes of attaining goal states. This is a more complex process wherein, control of resources, production and distribution of goods, is involved. Economy as a subsystem with its various branches performs this function (adaptation) by avoiding all conflicting situations.

The fourth functional imperative for a social system is to "maintain solidarity" in the relations between the units in the interest of effective functioning; this is the imperative of **system integration** which cuts across the other three functional imperatives.

The four fundamental system problems under which a system of action, in a particular social system, operates are, thus, (latent) pattern maintenance (including tension management), goal attainment, adaptation and integration. Every action system, whether it be a university, a business firm, or any other organization, if treated as an action system, will have to solve these four functional problems in order to keep the system going.

We can also determine the nature of a particular society or an action system, depending upon the emphasis laid on one or the other set of functional imperatives; for instance, an authoritarian (Russian) society can be identified with a particular type of value system where pattern maintenance (with tension management), and integrative aspects are given prominence. Similarly a more liberal society (American) can be said to have adaptive and goal attainment primacy.

Weber emphasized how ascetic Protestantism encouraged a trusteeship attitude towards wealth, and a high level of saving for capital uses.⁶

In fact, Weber attributes the rise of western capitalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the values propounded by the

spirit of protestant ethics, which was dominant during that period.

The foregoing exposition gives us a clear idea as to the way in which any action system functions within a social system.⁷

Let us now turn our attention once again to the administrative problems facing our society.

Many Committees on this problem recommended various types of vigilance bodies to detect corruption etc. We should remember that these vigilance bodies are meant for catching the thieves and not to produce citizens who do not think of stealing. This may help us to patch up the wounds but not to heal them permanently.

The administrative deficiency which we find in our country, is not such a simple problem, to be dealt with by vigilance bodies and so forth. The problem calls for a deeper measure than this if we really want to build up an able and efficient administration. Because "under certain conditions, the national interest and the welfare of the ordinary citizen may be adversely affected, if there are serious or prolonged administrative failures within a state."⁸

The efficiency of the administration depends very much on the degree of impartiality and objectivity, with which those constituting the administration function.

Administrative efficiency is not a one way traffic, the rule of law must be respected not only by the people but also by those in authority. That is why I pointed out repeatedly that a serious attempt should be made to reform our basic value system itself. Administration is only a part of our life and not something which is an outside element.

Perhaps, the decentralization in our administrative set up, which is being implemented through the scheme of Panchayati Raj, may provide a key to our administrative efficiency, if it is properly implemented. This may revolutionize the whole system of administration not because it is superior to the present system but because it reflects our traditional value pattern and thus provides opportunities for reorganization within the system rather than discard-

ing the entire old pattern in the wake of foreign influence.

Of course, I do not mean to suggest that the introduction of Panchayati Raj will give us something suddenly out of the blue. The real fruits of Panchayati Raj, coupled with a proper education system at the bottom and careful guidance from the top would undoubtedly be enjoyed after one or two generations, though not the present one, because the confusion created during the last two or three centuries cannot be undone by a stroke of the pen.

1. Tarlok Singh, *Administrative Assumptions In The Five Year Plans*. IJPA July|Sept. 1963. Pp. 336-1.

2. H. M. Patel—*The Outlook For The Future* IJPA July|Sept. 1963. Pp. 514-1.

3. Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser. *Economy and Society*, Pp. 16-5.

4. Institutionalization refers to a socio-historical process which imbibes the value system in the minds of the people, which is different from an institution. Institutions are evolved on the basis of these institutionalized value patterns.

5. *Op. cit*, Pp. 16-2.

6. Cf. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, p. 170.

7. For detailed analysis ref. "Social System" and "Structure and Process in Modern Society" by Talcott Parsons.

8. Tarlok Sing, *Op. cit*, Pp. 338-2.

ASSAM AND BENGAL

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG

Prof. Dr. SURYA KUMAR BHUYAN
(1894-1964)

Recording our condolences and regards for Assam's leading scholar-historian, we thank his family members and colleagues. Professor Bhuyan completed his school education in Nowgong and Gauhati (1901-11), then joined the Presidency College (1911-15), Calcutta University Law College (1913-1924). Taking Honours in English (1913), M.A. (1916) and then joining the London University, he took his Ph.D. (1938) and D. Litt. (1951) where he is remembered by Prof. Dodwell and others. His researches opened a new chapter on Indian relations with Burma and Indo-China which we claim as Greater India today. Privileged to follow his researches, I record his significant contributions gathered from the valuable "Bibliography" compiled by Dr. Banikanta Kakati who got his Doctorate after submitting his thesis to Prof. Suniti Kumer Chatterjee. Though teaching English all his life he opened a new avenue with his essay on

Ahomar Din or Ahom administration (1918) and Early British Relations with Assam (1928) which have been "classics" drawing the attention of world scholars to Assam as attested by eminent Assamologists like Sir Edward Gait, Lt. Col. P. R. T. Gurdon and Lt. Col. Sir Wolsely Haig, D. Dodwell and others. The Cambridge History of India records sympathetically Dr. Bhuyan's researches in many places and we in Bengal thank him for his **Essay** and **Poems** in **Bengali** as also for the wonderful "Typical Selections from Assamese Literature" printed by the pioneer, **Zeal** for Indian vernaculars at the instance of Sir Asutosh Mookherjee and generosity of Sri Bholanath Barua, the merchant-philanthropist of Assam. This volume will be remembered in this year of Sir Asutosh's Centenary.

I attended the Historical Congress of Lahore (1928) where Prof. Bhuyan read his valuable paper on "Assamese Historical Literature" appreciated by our learned President M. M. Haraprasad Sastri whom I accompanied upto Lahore suffering from

leg-troubles. This paper was incorporated in his studies in the Literature of Assam. Then in 1936 when he joined the London School of Oriental Studies, appeared his Assamese Literature—Ancient and Modern, Shillong, 1936. His Ph. D. thesis was called Anglo-Assamese Relations (1771-1826). He was the founder and builder of the famous Kamrupa Anusandhan Samiti (1925-27) and Bulletin of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam (1932) introduced by Sir Laurie Hammond, Governor of Assam (1934) and Sir Michael Keane, Gauhati 1934. In 1936, he edited the Bulletin of the D.H.A.S., *souvenir* of the opening of Narayani Handique Historical Institute. In 1957, the Centenary of our Calcutta University, when I published my Discovery of Asia, Dr. Bhuyan published a history of the invasion of Mir Jumla (1662-63) to the end of Assam-Mogul conflicts in 1982.

In 1958-61 he nobly served the Gauhati University as its Vice-Chancellor after serving as Provincial Director of Public Instruction (1948-58). Thus he served Assam for ages and all admirers of Assami art, culture and antiquities will thank the memories of Prof. S. K. Bhuyan. In 1920, when Dr. Tagore was preparing for the foundation of Viswa Bharati in Santiniketan he wrote Rasindranath Tagore a "Short Biography" and *antique* incorporated in *Jonaki*, 3rd. Edition, the first serious study on the Poet Laureate in Assam, for which I invited him to address the Bengali Association in New Delhi when we were serving the *Rajya Sabha* (1952-54).

A critical biography of the great Assamese Sanskritist, Anundoram Borooah was published in Gauhati (1920-1956).

His *Pancha-kali*, his Bengali poems of Calcutta College days, is still popular and we remember him for them. In Assamese he gave many books like Bilatat Baich Mah, (22 months in England, 1936-38) give useful details of his *life* and *contacts*. Hitherto unpublished yet long expected are Assam Buranjis, a Chronicle of Assam to be edited like the eleven chronicles already published. We also get the Letters exchanged between the Ahom Court and the Courts of Delhi,

Bengal, Cooch Behar, Cachar, Jayantia, Tripura, Sylhet and other States.

As early as 1907-1917 he wrote Assamese poems *Nirmali* and *Assam-jiyari* (Assamese woman) led by Princess Jaymati (1920-1954); and Assamese Magazines like *Arunodaya*, *Gauhati*, and others. Many Assamese books were then printed in Calcutta press like *Sanjivani*, which exposed the evils of cooly labour in Assam Tea Gardens visited by Brahmo Labour leaders, whose reports should be reprinted by Independent Assam. Opium and other dangerous drugs were smuggled to China through Assam as reported by Rev. C. F. Andrews, Editor K. K. Mitra of *Sanjivani* and other Calcutta papers like *Prabasi*, *Modern Review* etc., of R. Chatterjee whose Centenary will, we hope, bring Bengal and Assam closer together. The Khasi girls got their College education in Calcutta Colleges which provide also for their training diplomas. German articles on Assam by Von Emil Jung, Kurt Klemm, Prof. W. Printz of Halle and Lotie Aurbach of Leipzig, published by Dr. Bhuyan. So I found many references in *French* also.

Biographical Note By Dr. Banikanta Kakati

Dr. Suryya Kumar Bhuyan was born in January 1894, at Fauzdari Patti in Nowgong Assam. His father was the late Srijiut Rabilal Bhuyan, 1870-1939; and his mother, the late Srijiukta Bhubaneswari Bhuyan. On the 14th February 1917, Dr. Bhuyan married Miss Laksheswari Bhuyan, daughter of the late Srijiut Binodchandra Bhuyan of village Garehaga in North Lakhimpur, Assam. They have six children: sons, Sriman Parvatikumar, Sriman Bhavanikumar, and Sriman Bijayakumar, daughters, Srimati Suala, Srimati Sitala, and Srimati Kamali. Miss Suala has been married to Sriman Indranath Hazarika of Sibsagar, in 1940; Miss Sitala to Sriman Bharatchandra Das of Rampur in Kamrup district, in 1946; and Sriman Bhavanikumar to Miss Devabala Barbara of Shillong and Golaghat, in 1948, Sriman Parvatikumar to Miss Nilima Barua of Golaghat, in 1957, Miss Kamali to Dr. Bhupendra Narayan Chowdhury (since died in 1960) in 1958,

and Sriman Bijayakumar to Miss Oley Bora of Gauhati in 1963.

Dr. Bhuyan was educated at the Nowgong Government High School, 1901-04; Shillong Government High School, 1904-09; Cotton College, Gauhati, 1909-11; Presidency College, Calcutta, 1911-15; University Law College, Calcutta, 1913-16; and the School of Oriental Studies in London, 1936-38.

He passed the Entrance Examination of Calcutta University in 1909; the Intermediate Examination in Arts in 1911; the B.A. Examination with Honours in English in 1913; the M.A. Examination in English Literature in 1916; the Bachelor of Law Examination in 1924; and the Ph.D. Examination in the field of History, Faculty of Arts, London University, in 1938; and the Examination for the D.Lit. degree of London University in July, 1951.

Dr. Bhuyan was appointed Professor of English at the Cotton College, Gauhati, on the 4th July 1918; was placed on deputation at Shillong in May-June 1930 for compiling a report on the old records of the Assam Government; was on Study Leave in England from 1936 to 1938, during which he worked at the old Assam records at the India Office Library; Special University Officer to the Government of Assam in 1940-41, and again in 1947; Officiating Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley Circle in 1941-42; Officiating Principal of the Cotton College in July-August 1946; whole-time Director of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam from January 1947; Principal of the Cotton College in December 1947 which office he did not actually join as he was then Director of the D.H.A.S.; Director of Public Instruction, Assam, 1948-49; retired from Government service on the 31st March 1949; re-employed as Provincial Director of the D.H.A.S. from the 1st April 1949; re-employed as whole-time Director of the D.H.A.S. from the 1st

May 1954; elected Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University, 1958-61.

Dr. Bhuyan served as Honorary Secretary of the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti or the Assam Research Society, in 1921-22, and again in 1926-29; Honorary Assistant Director of the newly established Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1928-33; Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1928-47; Honorary Provincial Director of the D.H.A.S. since 1933; editor of the Cotton College Magazine in 1928-29, and again in 1933-34; Additional Lecturer in Assamese at the School of Oriental Studies, London University, 1936-38; Member of the Executive Council of Gauhati University in 1948, and again since June 1949; Member of the Selection Committee, Gauhati University, since June 1948; President of the Committee for the translation of the Indian Constitution into Assamese, December 1949; President of the Governing Body of the Nowgong College since February 1950; Vice-President of the Shillong Historical Society, November 1950; President of the Modern History Section, Indian History Congress, Gwalior, December 1952; Member of the Indian Parliament, Council of States, 1952-54; Member of the Regional Committee for the Compilation of the History of the Freedom Movement in India, 1953; President of Asam Sahitya Sabha, 1953-54; Member of the Gauhati University Committee for the revision of Chandrakanta Abhidhan, 1955; Chairman of the Regional Survey Committee under the auspices of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955; Member of the Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission and the Government of India Ministry of Education to consider the question of setting up a University for the North-Eastern Region of India, since December 1963; President of the Assam Academy for Cultural Relations, 1964.

A PLEA FOR A FRIENDLY AND PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY

By SURESH RAM

SOMETIME after the Chinese aggression, a sympathetic Englishman called at the India Office in London and said to a senior Indian Official :

"In the Sino-Indian dispute, there is a lot of misunderstanding here about India. May I help you in any manner?"

"No, thank you! We are distributing literature received from India and we don't bother any more."

"Obviously, that's not enough. You have to give such stuff as may convince the people of the West."

"Well, that is not your look-out."

Changing the topic, the English friend inquired :

"Could I get some information about the activities of the peace movement of the Gandhian campaign in India?"

"Peace? Gandhi? What are you talking of? —of a bygone age. Modern India stands for arms and strong defence."

"True; but as a pacifist I am interested in Gandhi's or non-violent India."

"Sorry, I can't help you. We don't care to have any information about that."

After Kenya has celebrated her independence in December last, an African youth was having tea with an Indian friend in a café at Nairobi. They began to talk about the celebrations.

"They were very grand," said the Indian.

"But your country seemed to treat it as a joke," remarked the African.

With surprise, the Indian asked, "How? What makes you offer this criticism?"

"Well, India was represented by a mere Deputy Minister."

"No, Mrs. Gandhi was also here."

"Yes; but she had no official capacity."

"Surely, as Prime Minister's daughter, she holds a very high place in Indian public life."

"How would you feel," retorted the African, "if Kenya sent the daughter of Mzee (as Mr. Jomo Kenyatta is affectionately known all over Kenya and Africa) at some important Indian function?"

"But the thing is"

Before the Indian could finish his sentence, the African added,

"You are a very good people. But you suffer from a lot of arrogance and you think yourself holier than others."

A Burmese old man entered the shop of a Marwari at Rangoon. They were old friends and quite frank with each other. The Marwari businessman regretted that the new Government of Gen. Ne Win was so indifferent to Indian interests.

"No, that is not true," replied the Burmese. After a pause he added, "Baba! The fault lies with you people. You will not trust anybody. Also you refuse to indentify yourself with the Burmese interests."

"What do you mean?" inquired the Marwari."

"You know it much better than me. You will confine your business to your own people. You will not take the Burmese into partnership. You will keep yourself to your own community."

"What can we do? It is for the Government of India to advise us."

"Good gracious, your Government takes its neighbours for granted. For months and months we don't have any Indian Ambassador in Burma. Perhaps we don't deserve one."

"That is not the case, Pt. Nehru has a very soft corner for Burma."

"His is an exceptional case, no doubt. We also admire Nehru. But certainly he had no time to go into details. Consequently, India's image suffers."

These three incidents relating to 1962 and 1963 speak for themselves. They reveal how our foreign policy is misunderstood abroad, how our officials behave and how our people are looked at. Little wonder that we do not enjoy very happy relationship with our neighbouring countries and none is so poor in Africa or the West as to do us reverence. A victim of self-delusion, we refuse to see ourselves as others see us and seem to

develop a curious conceit and complacency which tend to widen the gulf between our professions and practice. Add to this the fact that we go with a begging bowl from one capital to another for money, material, know-how and arms. It is a very sad picture indeed. The time has now come when our External Affairs should be gone into in details and set in proper order. It is in the very mess of things that Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister, has relieved himself of this portfolio and entrusted it to Sri Swaran Singh, who with his keen insight and balanced approach and cool thinking, is amply fitted for this task.

History will always remember Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for giving India and the world the celebrated doctrine of "*Panch-Sheel*." It is for the External Affairs Ministry now to rise to the height of the occasion and make it a living myth. Much depends on our officers in the Ministry and our Embassies abroad. Unhappily, most of them exercise no initiative and just like a rich man lead a rich life in the rich capitals of the West. Any talk of Gandhi, peace or non-violence is anathema to them. In fact as an English friend told me, "The Indian abroad is the greatest enemy of Gandhian thinking or action."

But it will be unfair to blame the official alone for it. He looks towards Delhi and dittoes the line. Also he does not exert himself much, for he is rather unhappy. As an official once told me, "Our tragedy is that promotions in Delhi are based not on work and merit but on source and recommendation!" "Very painful indeed!" Another Senior official remarked, "It is only the achra (wastage) of the I.C.S. that goes into

the External Affairs Ministry." Nothing can be more dreadful.

Thus it is the responsibility of the new Minister for External Affairs to transform this picture. The officials have not only to be given reorientation but also to be taken into confidence. This brings us to the question of over all policy in external affairs. So far we have either bowed low before some countries, treated some as "below" us, regarded some as "enemy," and shown indifference to others. In fine, we have not established relationships of real equality and friendship with any, the exceptions proving the general rule.

This attitude must go. Be any country big or small, rich or poor, white or black or brown or yellow, we have to nurse friendly contacts with and generate brotherly confidence in them. Once we decide to act in this direction, the whole atmosphere would change and we will be having happy and smooth relationships with all countries, far and near.

Above all, our foreign policy must be inspired with a mission. We must not only talk of peace but also prepare for peace, encourage peace, encourage peace efforts the world over, and begin to generate peaceful strength. This mad rush for armaments from abroad or from factories within the country, would take us nowhere. Let us be bold enough to declare our devotion to peace and our readiness to build up the Power of Peace. With the two wings of Peace and Friendship, the bird of our External Affairs Policy will be able to roar higher and higher and command the respect and attention of all nations of the world.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Reviews and notices of books in Gujarati :

Authors and publishers of Gujarati books, desirous of having them noticed or reviewed in *The Modern Review*, should send them direct to, Shri Rangildas Kapadia : Gandevi, Dist. Surat, instead of sending them to the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

RESURGENT INDIA : By Sisirkumar Mitra, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., India, 1953.

Modern cultural historians tend to overspecialize or over-generalize : we have surveys of civilization based on a single concept, say the Greek concept of man and nature, or we have panoramas where no unique achievements, national or personal, are given particularity. Above all, we need a perspective which includes both the intensive focus and the wider horizon of events. The clarity provided by accurate research in a specified field of biography or in the freedom movement in one sector of the human race should meet and be sustained by the whole view of humanity.

"Resurgent India" is a significant contribution to the interpretive history of Indian civilization—particularly of the modern era—because it connects the story of India with its many parts, and also with contemporaneous humanity. Art, politics, international conflicts and concord, philosophical trends and epochs of decline and growth are here held together in a fabric which seeks to reveal the whole design. Obviously, the author's main concern is to offer a spiritual evaluation; he uses some of India's unique religious and intuition approaches, more specifically the approach provided by one of the great spiritual and intellectual masters of modern India. But this book is also a powerful attempt to substantiate India's manifold and unitive history with materials drawn from scholarly archives. The chapter on "World-Wide Upsurge" is a brilliant example : here we find a blend of keen national sense, largely due to the author's personal contacts with some of the greatest architects of new India, and also an inter-

national understanding that can draw from many events that belong to man's wider nationhood.

The reviewer will notice reiterations, some very glaring omissions, but the passionate sincerity, the intensity of the author's convictions, his sensitive response to art and thought and poetry, his glowing faith in India's destiny and its powerful impress on the world mind, will compel the reader's attention. A noble document, this book combines the testimony of faith with a concern for the true communication of India's authentic and emergent ideals.

Amiya Chakravarty

DOCUMENT ON CHINA'S RELATION WITH SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA : 1949-1962, Edited By G. V. Ambekar and V. D. Divekar. Publishers. Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay, New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, London, New York, 1964. Rs. 30.00 only.

The volume under notice is a collection of documents, as the title gives out, numbering 179 collected from various original sources and meant to present a true and correct perspective about the People's Republic of China's relations with the South and South-East Asian countries and covers the period from 1949 to the end of 1962. The contents of this book have been divided into ten different sections—each section representing one outstanding issue in modern China's foreign policy. The sections have been classified as follows : (1) General Principles of foreign policy, (2) On Afro-Asian Solidarity, (3) Measures for containing Communism, (4) Problem of boundaries, (5) Over-seas Chinese, (6) Economic and Trade relations, (7) Formosa, (8) Korea, (9) Tibet and (10) Laos.

In international affairs, the emergence of Communist China during the last fifteen years as a major political power has posed serious and threatening problems to the Asian countries particularly and the book must be acknowledged as indispensable to students of Asian politics in general and People's Republic of China's foreign relations in particular. Students of international relations should know the aims, objectives and policies which provide the breeding ground for such policies, besides knowing the current events. In this regard this book will help the students interested in today's China and her international policies. It will surely be interesting to observe how the Communist leaders of China use the same phrases as non-communist democratic countries do—but giving a totally different and in most cases reverse connotations.

Some of the documents deal with the overseas Chinese problems, the question of dual rationality and the long and elaborate correspondence with Indonesia on this particular subject. It will be found very interesting to see the interminable correspondence on multifarious issues which leave the reader in doubt regarding the final solution of the problem.

In this collection boundary treaties of China with Burma, Nepal and Pakistan have been included and on the India-China boundary dispute, the collectors had to select from the voluminous correspondence between the two countries. To make the picture complete the editors of this collection found it necessary to select and incorporate documents which refer to events which took place either before or after the period 1949-1962. This is quite justifiable and will help the reader considerably to understand the situation.

This is undeniably the very first attempt to present in one book the documents on China's relations with the Asian countries, specially of countries in close propinquity with China. The documents are selected with great care keeping in view the basis of their importance both in point of fact and also because of their illustrative value, and we have no hesitation in saying that it will serve as a very good reference book not only to students but also to statesmen. The Editors deserve all praise for the great labour

they had to undergo to bring out such a book, specially at this time, when India-China relations are most unhappy, posing a great danger to the freedom loving countries at large.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE—By George E. G. Catlin. Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Bombay, Calcutta, etc. Price Rs. 5.50.

The book comprises the lecture delivered by Prof. E. G. Catlin before the Royal Society of Arts, Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society and the Royal Commonwealth Society in London on 9th May, 1961.

Prof. Catlin, within the limited compass of 46 Pages, has analysed the political and literary aspects of the writings of Tagore and he has done it with the perception and sensibility of a savant. Prof. Catlin, it should be mentioned here, has been a distinguished friend of India and it was he who drafted the International Declaration, (of 1943), in support of Indian Independence.

The author rightly says that—"Rabindranath Tagore was not a politician and did not claim to be an economist. He was far rather the spiritual leader. The Poet was also a Seer. To ignore this side of him is like seeing the body and the flowing robes, but failing to observe the head." Tagore "protested with all his heart against human civilization being shaped and considered, archetypally, upon the pattern of what fitted most efficiently into the requirements of Heavy Industry . . ." which India has adopted today in imitation of the West. Lastly the author observes "Despite whatever may be said by critics, both of style and of literary fashions, 'the Great Sentinel,' the poet of India, the humanist and world citizen; peer in his own fashion of Dante, Erasmus and Goethe"—will remain immortal in his own right. This book shows how deep and sincere is the respect—the author entertains for Tagore. The author feels that "it is an honour to pay homage to him (Tagore)"—and he has achieved this in a very remarkable manner. This is a neat little publication, and is sure to be interesting reading to all classes of readers of literature, politics and social philosophy.

C. H. K.

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Indian Periodicals

The Twilight of the Planners

Writing for the *Indian Libertarian* under the above caption William Henry Chamberlin analyses the shortcomings and failures of State Planning for economic development which should be of more than ordinary interest in the context of the current Indian Scene :

The idea that authoritative state planning of economic life is the road to swift, efficient national development is the grand illusion of the twentieth century. Would-be planners are a stubborn breed and do not give up easily. But, on the record of practical results, the prestige of planning has never been so low. The pragmatic value of such essential instruments of a free economy as the unhampered operation of the free market and the maintenance of an international system of free exchange convertibility has never been so high. Planning, of course, substitutes the arbitrary judgment of bureaucrats for the infinitely surer guideline of market demand as to what manufactured articles and commodities, and how much, should be produced.

The recovery of Europe from postwar desolation to its present state of booming prosperity would never have taken place if early reliance on rationing, bilateral trade, government allocation of resources had not been scrapped and replaced by the normal methods of a free economy. And in this connection much credit is due to such statesmen as Ludwig Erhard in Germany, Reinhard Kamitz in Austria, the late Luigi Einaudi in Italy, and to truly liberal (not statist "liberal") economists, such as Jacques Rueff, Wilhelm Roepke, the late Walter Eucken, and, last but far from least, the late Per Jacobsson, who by their writings and official and unofficial reports strongly influenced the return to traditional economic wisdom.

Jacobsson was a mighty battler against the dangers of inflation and the fallacies of "dirigism," the European word for state directed economy. His reports for the Bank for International Settlements in Basel were beacon lights of common-sense realism. And in the post which he occupied until his death as Secretary-General of the International Monetary Fund he was able to strike many blows for three basic economic

freedoms, free movement of men, money, and goods across frontiers.

Jacobsson's contacts as representative of the IMF included the leading statesmen of Europe : and the transformation of the French franc from one of the softest currencies in Europe to one of the hardest may be, at least in part, the result of one of his talks with General de Gaulle. He recalled the fact that not the least of Napoleon's achievements was the creation of a stable French currency, an achievement which long outlasted his empire. De Gaulle showed lively interest at the mention of the name of Napoleon and shortly after this talk measures were put into effect which stopped the continual erosion in the value of the franc.

Another military head of state, General Franco of Spain, proved amenable to the arguments of Erhard and Rueff, whom he had invited to Spain to offer advice as to how best to revive the Spanish economy, which had been limping along under a good deal of government interventionism. Controls were abolished or relaxed, the currency was stabilized, tourists flocked into the country in increasing numbers, and exports boomed.

All over the world there are dozens of concrete illustrations of the immediate visible benefits that accrue when planning and control are tossed overboard and the economy is permitted to function freely. One of the latest is in the Philippines where there were strikingly favorable results when President Macapagal decided to take a chance on freedom, struck off controls, and left the national currency, the peso, free to sink or swim. Its head was kept above water and Philippine exports and the entire economy visibly gained as freer relations prevailed in national and international trade.

PROBLEMS IN INDIA

Another underdeveloped Asian country, India, has followed the different road of planning, and the results, despite vast injections of American economic aid, have not been encouraging, to put it mildly. A very distinguished Indian economist, Professor B. R. Shenoy, had who has served his country on several international agencies, in recent lectures and articles in the United picture

of the failure of planning in India to promote the general welfare.

An extreme concentration on heavy industry, to the neglect of India's basic occupation, agriculture, has saddled the country with white elephants—or, as Professor Shenoy calls them, with reference to a famous Indian memorial palace, Taj Mahals—expensive to build and keep up and producing goods which could be purchased far more cheaply abroad. The social objectives of India's three five-year plans, improvement of living conditions for the masses of the people, and reduction of unemployment, have not been realized. Per capita consumption of food is below the ration allotted to prisoners in jail and the per capita consumption of cloth, another indicator of general well-being, has declined. Expansion in employment has not kept pace with the birth rate.

And, although Prime Minister Nehru and his colleagues are committed to a somewhat vaguely defined Indian socialism, the effect of the planned, controlled economy has been to enrich the bureaucracy and the businessmen who get in on the ground floor of the big racket of paying necessary bribes for import licences which may be sold on the illegal market. To quote Professor Shenoy in *The New Individualist Review* :

Freedom-loving people, in the name of preserving and spreading freedom, are unwittingly financing and otherwise sustaining socialist policies which thus far—sensational projects and scheme apart—have yielded little else than social injustice, unemployment, poverty, and conflict. Though the Indian planners and their overseas supporters are full of promises and hope, these policies can hold out prospects of nothing better for the future. Statist policies in India might have been abandoned long ago, but for the intervention of foreign aid, which kept the coffers of the prodigal replenished as they became depleted, the moral support lent to statist policies by visiting "experts" from overseas, and the colossal gains in money and power which these policies yield to the politician and civil servant.

The Indian planners are repeating a blunder which Soviet planners committed in the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution. At that time, when Russia was terribly devastated by the consequences of World War I, violent revolution, and civil war. Trotsky and other communist leaders, with the co-operation of some theoretical economists, worked out a blueprint for recovery based on the restoration first of all of transportation and heavy industry, with satisfaction of consumer desires given a later priority.

This scheme broke down under the pressure of hard realities. With hunger stalking the cities and famine in large rural areas, Lenin reversed course by declaring the New Economic Policy, which amounted, in substance, to freeing the peasants from the compulsory requisitions of war communism and allowing agriculture and small industry to revive before tackling the reconstruction of such industries as iron and steel and machine building. This is only one of many examples of the topsy-turvy effect to trying to regulate economic activity by bureaucratic planning.

India has at least not gone the full way to totalitarianism, with its destruction of all freedom of speech and press and expression. Professor Shenoy makes no secret of his views, but retains his post as director of the School of Social Sciences at Gujarat University in Ahmedabad. A freedom Party, headed by the veteran nationalist political figure, C. Rajagopalachari, is able to function and its organ, *Swarajya* ("Freedom") keeps up a drumfire of criticism, of which the following excerpt from an article by Rajagopalachari is a good example :

Nationalization does not reduce costs. Experience has amply demonstrated this. We can imagine that by saving profits we can reduce costs. But the actual cost including wastage increases when there is no room for the profit motive. This has been seen in numberless cases by the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament. The market economy involves profits as well as losses. The hope of profits attracts enterprise and capital. Loss punishes inefficiency, error, and lapse of attention, and it is the individual who suffers, not the taxpayers. Efficiency is screened by the profit and loss system and those winning through are more efficient managers of resources than persons advanced to managerial positions by politicians. Going back to the cliché quoted in the beginning, if we remove the hope of profit we shall not alleviate distress or misfortunes, but only increase them.

MISTAKE OF THE RED CHINESE

The disastrous effects of despotic state planning, unalleviated by any semblance of free political institutions, are most visible in Red China. While gullible visitors may bring back rose-coloured impressions from carefully guided and controlled trips and while the Chinese Reds, like Mussolini, seem to have made the trains run on time and cleaned up to some extent the sketchy sanitation of the cities, there is one popular verdict on Chinese communism which no thoughtful student can disregard. This is the

mass fight to Chinese, many of them poor peasants and unskilled labourers, to the haven of free enterprise, Hong Kong—a movement on a scale never duplicated in China in pre-communist times.

It is difficult to exaggerate the misfortunes which economic planning, carried out by ignorant and inexperienced bureaucrats, has brought to the long-suffering Chinese people. There have been mass uprootings of human beings, originally for the purpose of bringing peasants to work on industrial and transportation projects. Then, when it was necessary to cut back industrial production sharply after the withdrawal of Soviet economic aid, the same people were thrown back on the villages, where there was neither work nor land for them.

In the "Great Leap Forward," the result of which was that the Chinese economy only escaped a broken neck by large-scale purchases of grain from capitalist Canadian and Australian farmers to relieve famine conditions, there were countless absurdities of direction from above. There was an idiotic effort to force people to make steel in their own backyards with the aid of home forges. Not surprisingly, the output all proved worthless. Deep plowing, unsuitable and destructive for China's rice field, was ordered from above and enforced against the practical experience of the peasants. A water conservation program, undertaken without proper geological study, led to the digging of canals in unsuitable places, which made large areas of arable land alkaline.

AFRICA, TAKE NOTE

Whereas the failures of private enterprise cause loss only to private individuals, the failures of compulsory state planning lower the standard of living for the whole population. This was clear to Emmanuel John Hevi, a student from Ghana. He spent over a year in Red China and came away with a very different impression from that which the Chinese, hoping to send him back to Africa as an indoctrinated communist, had aimed to give him. His book is full of concrete examples of overwork and undernourishment of the Chinese people, of incredibly shoddy goods turned out in state factories, of extraction from the peasants of 70 per cent of their produce in taxes. Mr. Hevi sums up his case as follows:

Exploitation of man by man may have been abolished in Red China; but in its place they have exploitation of man by the state. That is Chinese socialism . . . I think three major factors have led to China's present plight: first, a myopic agricultural policy; secondly, the over-

taxing of the peasants; and thirdly a frantic haste to industrialize, partly for internal economic reasons, but partly, also, to impress the world, and the consequent excessive emphasis on heavy industry, to the neglect and detriment of other sectors of national development.

Similar colossal blunders of state planning have taken place in the Soviet Union and its European satellite states. One of the biggest in recent years in Russia was Khrushchev's decision to put in grain crops on naturally arid lands in Central Asia, better suited to grazing. Now, it seems, this is being reconsidered, after the Soviet Union found itself obliged to order large supplies of grain from the unplanted economies of Canada, Australia, and the United States.

The record of the part of Germany under Soviet control, the so-called German Democratic Republic, is also studded with miscalculation, involving big wastage of labour and capital investment. Considerable effort was devoted to enlarging the harbour of Rostock, on the Baltic Sea. But Rostock is a port without an economic hinterland.

NO METHOD OF CALCULATION

One of the many defects of a planned economy is that it affords no means of determining what the cost of any product or service should be. And one of the surest signs that this is the twilight of the planners is the groping around, even in communist-ruled countries, for some effective substitute for the pricing which the free market, when allowed to function, performs smoothly and efficiently. A Soviet economist named Liberman has offered several suggestions pointing in this direction; but Khrushchev, vacillating between centralization and decentralization of his cumbersome apparatus of state economic administration, cannot make up his mind whether these can be applied without departing from Marxist doctrine. When I visited Yugoslavia some years ago a communist editor, explaining the attempt to give more autonomy in production and marketing decisions to individual enterprises, remarked: "We are trying to create capitalism,—without capitalists."

Planning is advocated on the ground that some problems are too big and difficult to be solved without an element of state direction and compulsion. In this connection two experiences are worth recalling. John Steinbeck, in *The Grapes of Wrath*, gives a moving picture of how some poverty-stricken and drought-ridden farmers in Oklahoma pulled up stakes and travelled of greener pastures. On a visit to Southern California I asked what had become of these

'Okies.' "Oh, most of them have become substantial citizens, holding good jobs," was the reply. Would it have been better for the "Okies" if some planning agency had possessed the power to tell them where to go, what kind of work to take up?

More recently, in the immediate aftermath of the war, the German Federal Republic faced an "Okie" problem many times multiplied. Between ten and fifteen million Germans and people of German origin, natives of the German provinces which were turned over to Poland, of the Soviet Zone, of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, driven by force from their homes or fleeing before the advancing Soviet armies or not wishing to live under communist rule, came pouring in a destitute tide of migration into the

shrunk frontiers of Free Germany. The social and economic crisis might well have been regarded as demanding state intervention. But Economics Minister Erhard had made his bet on freedom. The expellees were given food and shelter, but were left free to choose their own places of settlement and forms of work. And today there not an unemployed refugee left in Germany and the danger cloud of an embittered, pauperized minority has passed entirely from the horizon.

Put to the test of practical results, economic freedom wins over state planning hands down, everywhere, under all circumstances. And planning, even in totalitarian states, has entered the twilight zone of request and demonstrated failure.

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Foreign Periodicals

Nehru

Man and Symbol: A Fragmentary Appreciation writing in the *Saturday Review* under the above caption, Editor Norman Cousins presents a view of Nehru which would, we are sure, be regarded as both unusual and refreshing:

He was not one man but a procession of men. In him you witnessed a national hero, statesman, philosopher, historian, author, educator.

He was also a triumphant assortment of paradoxes. He was a supreme rationalist who presided over a nation with the most pervasive and complex religious makeup in the world.

He was an intellectual product of Western civilization who was accepted as symbolic leader by many hundreds of millions of Asians and Africans who feared the West.

He was an accomplished logician who lived on intimate terms with the imponderables and intangibles.

He was an avowed optimist who found it difficult to keep from brooding.

He had sensitivities so finely attuned that he could be jarred by the slightest vibrations, but he was able to make history-jolting decisions.

He believed the highest function of the state was to help develop the individuality of the individual, but no nation in the world contained as many natural obstacles to the emergence of that individuality as the nation he governed for seventeen years.

With such a man, you cannot essay a full evaluation or appreciation. The best you can do is to pursue certain qualities and attributes.

First, the courage of the man.

August 1947. With national independence and partition of the subcontinent between India and Pakistan, four hundred and fifty million people became caught up in a vast convulsion. Hindus and Moslems, with a long history of tension between them, became part of a chain reaction of violence and horror. No one knows how many died. But 12,000,000 people became homeless. Rumors of atrocities and actual atrocities interacted to produce a spiraling madness.

For a while, the situation was relatively calm in New Delhi, with its large Moslem

population. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Late one night a Hindu mob, inflamed by stories of Moslem terror to the northwest, swept into Connaught Circle, the main shopping area in New Delhi. The rioters smashed their way into Moslem stores, destroying and looting and ready to kill.

Even before the police arrived in force, Jawaharlal Nehru was on the scene. He plunged into the crowd in the darkness, trying to bring people to their senses. He spied a Moslem who had just been seized by Hindus. He interposed himself between the man and his attackers.

Suddenly a cry went up: "Jawaharlal is here! Jawaharlal is here! Don't hurt Jawaharlal!"

The cry spread through the crowd. It had a magical effect. People stood still and dropped their arms to their sides. Looted merchandise was dropped. The mob psychology disintegrated. By the time the police arrived people were dispersing. The riot was over.

The next day, friends rushed to Nehru, admonishing him for exposing himself to a mob at the height of its frenzy.

"You could have been killed," one of them said. "Then what?"

"That's for you to determine," he replied quietly. "Many others could have been killed last night. Then what?"

The human quality of the man.

January 1951. Sunday. The desk clerk at the Imperial Hotel in New Delhi handed us a message. It was from Miss Sindhi at the Prime Minister's House. The P.M. was having some people over that afternoon and hoped we could come. Nothing special. Just relaxed talk.

Primed for a long bull session on philosophy and politics, we arrived at the P.M.'s house at about three o'clock. Mr. Nehru was at the door, greeting his guests. He seemed to be in excellent spirits. We were ushered to a large enclosed veranda. We looked around the room and recognized Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the eminent philosopher and vice-president of India; also, Shiva Rau, prominent author and long-time friend of the Prime Minister. Among the other guests to whom we were introduced were two cabinet ministers and a justice.

Mr. Nehru came into the room, his young grandson riding his shoulders, kicking grandpa's ribs and demanding more speed.

"The gallop comes later," Mr. Nehru said, hoisting the boy over his head and placing him on the floor. He told the youngster he had a surprise for him. "In fact, I've got a surprise for everyone. This afternoon we shall all have a good time. I've arranged for entertainment."

The entertainer was a magician who went through a bewildering assortment of tricks. He caused long knives to turn into short knives, wine to turn into milk, and he made a chicken emerge from a paper cup. Then he demonstrated his accuracy with a bow and arrow, hitting a vertical thread at about twenty feet. Finally, he invited a member of the company to step forward. Mr. Nehru, enjoying himself hugely, prodded the Finance Minister into joining the act.

As soon as the Finance Minister discovered he was to be a living prop in a latter-day version of a William Tell episode, he seemed to waver somewhat. Mr. Nehru gently chided him into going on with the act. The Finance Minister was seated in a chair directly above which, six inches from his head, a circular wreath was suspended by several thin threads.

The magician announced that with one arrow he would sever all the threads, causing the wreath to fall around the Finance Minister's distinguished shoulders. Almost as an afterthought, he added that he would perform this feat while blindfolded.

Mr. Nehru spoke up.

"They tell me that good finance ministers are hard to find these days," he said. "I don't know whether we ought to allow him to go through with this."

The magician clapped for silence, put on his blindfold, picked up his bow, tested its tautness, and inserted the arrow. Then he paused and, still blindfolded, paced off the steps to his target, groping and stumbling on the way. Finally, he retraced his steps, assumed his battle station, and raised the bow and arrow.

"No, no," Mr. Nehru cried. "You're aiming at the wrong man! You're aiming at the justice. We can't afford to lose him. The man you want is about sixty degrees to the left."

Suddenly, the magician let fly. The arrow pierced the strings and the garland fell neatly over the shoulders of the Finance Minister, who,

suddenly released from his encounter with non-fiscal suspense, joined in the general laughter.

After a while, the group exchanged stories. The Prime Minister presided over the ice cream and punch bowl, the youngster at his side tugging at grandpa's pants and asking when he could have a fast horseback ride.

The closest anyone got to serious talk was when Mr. Nehru told of a visit he had had the previous day from an old school chum who was now a wealthy industrialist.

According to the Prime Minister, the industrialist came up to him and complained that things had gone much too far. Taxes were crippling him and something had to be done about it. He said he had to pay a stiff tax on his private house in New Delhi. He also had to pay a tax on his hunting estate. As if this were not enough, he had to pay a tax on a house he kept in Bangalore. But worst of all was the tax he had to pay on his beach home in Juhu.

"Now I ask you, Jawaharlal, how do you expect me to keep up these houses with taxes like this?"

"Have you ever considered giving up a house or two?" Nehru asked.

"Now, what kind of advice is this to give a life-long friend?" the man asked.

The group laughed.

"What makes the story so ironic," Mr. Nehru said, "is that here I am, fighting back legislation to confiscate luxurious property, and this chap wants me to give him a tax refund. I suppose each man has to have his own dream world."

In this manner the afternoon passed. After the farewells, Dr. Radhakrishnan offered to drive us back to the hotel.

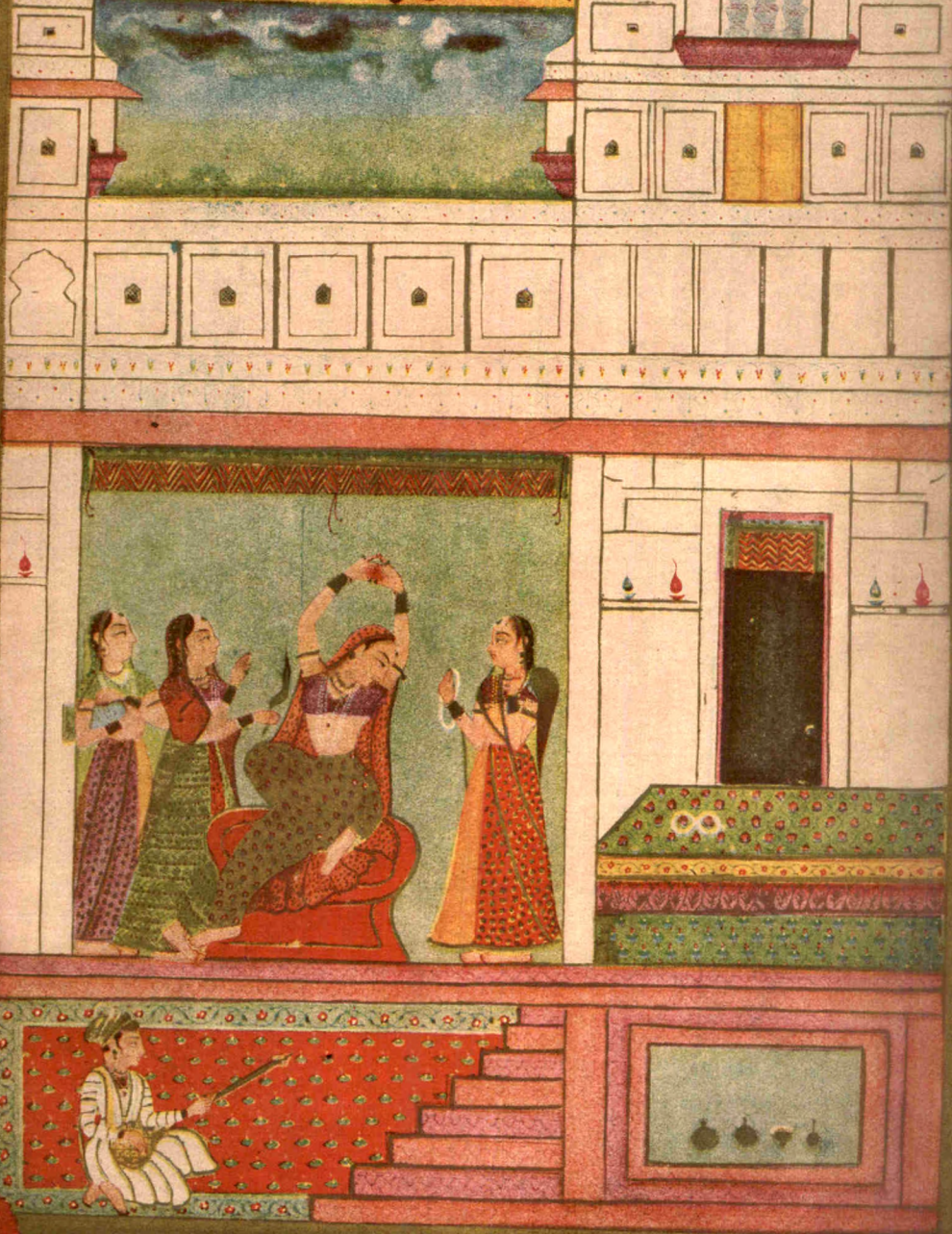
Inside the car, Dr. Radhakrishnan said we had just seen a side of Nehru that few people knew.

"There is something eternally young, even boyish, about the P.M.," he said, "People tend to think of him as a man lost in brooding, not even knowing how to laugh. Not so; he loves to laugh, as we have seen. It is very good for the nation that he can laugh. It helps to freshen his spirits. The important thing about Nehru is that he continues to think young. A man like this can never grow old. He will never look old, no matter how old he is. But he must take better care of himself. He works too hard."

EDITOR—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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॥ रागिनी देसबरादी ॥ २५ ॥ चौपडा ॥ देसबरादी चतुरबी जखनः सुंदर सुघर समुपसु
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 रातन देईः मुदि मुदि बिनिता आर सलेईः पंछी आवत जनु ब से दे होश हो
 ई सत्र सुरत तन है रैः पास किनोचन अधिक चित पैरीः नि क सी मह
 ल अवान हो बैरीः दोहाः मारग चाहें चौप चितः छिन छि न मारग
 तः एक निमेष पीयस स्वीनः मनहु जुग वार जातः ।



"RAGINI DESABARI"

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

From an old painting of the Jaipur school

Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The World

The critical tensions still remain in the major trouble-spots in the international sphere. Besides the six places where a shooting war or rebellion, with international complications, is either in progress or in a state of temporary lull, there are a large number of areas where active feuds are in progress.

In Cyprus President Makarios has recently made a conciliatory gesture by lifting his blockade of the starving Turkish Cypriot village of Kokkina, and letting in supplies of food and water to reach it. The inhabitants of Kokkina refused to accept President Makarios' own gift of nine tons of foodstuffs but supplies from other sources are pouring in.

President Makarios has evidently decided that it would not be feasible or possible to carry out his programme of shooting and starving the Turkish minorities in Cyprus to the point of subjugation or extinction. The strong reaction from Turkey has evidently made him see reason, despite promises of help from the Soviets, Greece and the U.A.R. Greece has expressed its disapproval of the drastic and inhuman measures followed by President Makarios. Makarios himself is now thinking of abandoning the plan of Enosis as that would deprive him of all hopes of Soviet aid, Greece being a member of the NATO. There is a dormant stage of the crisis prevailing now. But until the U.N.O. peacemaker, Ecuador's ex-President Gallo Plaza Lasso's mediation

makes further progress, particularly in regard to the rotation of the Turkish forces stationed in Cyprus, the disputes cannot be said to have reached the point of total escalation and the chances of a major flare-up with international complications worsening cannot as yet be totally ruled out.

In the Congo the tribal rebellion seems to be petering out and air-reconnaissance is said to have shown rebel forces pulling out of several towns and heading north to their last major stronghold at Stanleyville. The rebels have inflicted enormous damage and destruction wherever they have been and they have slaughtered most of the people who could read or write. As a result even though Premier Tshombe might have been successful in crushing the rebellion with the aid of white mercenaries, he would have an appalling task left to him where rebuilding and resettlement of one-third of Congo is concerned.

In Yemen, there has been another attempt to settle the tangled affairs of that small state through peaceful negotiation. Negotiations between Prince Feisal of Saudi Arabia and U.A.R.'s President Gamal Abdel Nasser is said to have reached an agreement. The terms of the agreement, as given in a joint communique, say that Prince Feisal of Saudi Arabia and President Nasser of the U.A.R. had agreed to fully co-operate . . . in order to reach a peaceful solution of the problems in the Yemen." It says that President Nasser had promised to withdraw some of the Egyptian troops that are supporting the Yemeni Republican Government

in return for the stoppage of Prince Feisal's support to the displaced King, Imam Mohammed el Badr. There have been agreements like the present one before, and not one of them has been implemented in full; hence the sorry state of affairs there. It is to be seen what transpires on this occasion.

In Malayasia, the mopping up operations against the para-troopers and commandos still continue. There is again some talk about the resumption of negotiations for a peaceful settlement. Tungku Abdul Rahman, the Premier of Malayasia, has said that he is agreeable, provided Indonesia withdraws all her forces, guerillas and irregulars of other types included, from Malayasian territories, as a preliminary. In the Security Council of the U.N. Malayasia's complaint against the continuous warlike actions of Indonesia on Malayasian soil was being considered from all angles. The attempts at a peaceful Afro-Asian solution were led by the Ivory Coast representative Arsene Assouan Usher. Failing those a Norwegian sponsored resolution, deploring the actions of the Indonesians, who had admitted their aggression on the Council floor. Nine nations, including the two Afro-Asians in the Council, voted for the resolution which was finally blocked by the Russians casting their first veto in more than a year.

In South Vietnam, another **coup** was staged on the 13th of September. This, the third since November '63, when President Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown by General Duong Van Minh, was led by a disgruntled army General Lam Van Phat, a Roman Catholic, who had been appointed Interior Minister previously and had been dismissed just prior to the **coup** by the present Premier Nguyen Khanh. The rebel troops and tanks swept into Saigon on the morning of September 13, headed by another disgruntled army Commander Col. Huynh Van Ton and the **coup** was on. But next day, to the surprise of all onlookers, the **coup** fizzled out and Khanh was back in power!

There has been a report, vague and murky like the stormy waters of the Gulf of Tonkin at night, of another brush with North Vietnamese craft, from the U.S. naval forces consisting of two destroyers, "on a routine patrol in international waters." The incident is said to have taken place on the night of September 18. The North Vietnamese, however, promptly denied that any of their

boats had been involved. Since photo-reconnaissance next morning did not reveal any evidence of any North Vietnamese craft being hit and since there was no clear-cut "legitimate" proof of an aggressive act on the part of the North Vietnamese, the U.S. authorities "chose not to react."

Lastly there is Laos. This small South-East Asian Kingdom is being torn with internal conflicts between, Neutralist, Communist and anti-Communist (Royalist) factions. Almost from the time it became an independent sovereign state by a treaty with France on July 19, 1949, there was jousting for power between different factions led by royal princes. The regime was recognized by the Communist forces in Indo-China in the cease-fire agreements with France, signed in Geneva in 1954 and by most members of the United Nations inclusive of the U.S. Laos joined the U.N. in December 1955.

Conflicts between the three factions, mentioned above have created a chaotic political situation during the ten years from 1954. Although Laos was intended to be a neutral State, rivalry between the Communist Pathet Lao movement in the northern one-third of the country and the right-wing and neutralist factions, prevented the integration of the Pathet Lao forces into the royalist army and the Government. Armed conflict flared up late in 1960 with Soviet aid in arms and North-Vietnamese aid with "technicians".

The three rival princes formed a coalition Government on June 22, 1962. The 14-nation conference that had sat in Geneva from May 15, 1961, signed agreements on July 23, 1962, guaranteeing neutrality and independence of Laos. But despite repeated cease-fire orders issued between May 1961, and 1963 sporadic fighting has continued.

Another attempt is being made to arrive at a solution of the tangled issues involved and to establish a stable Government in Laos, through direct talks between the heads of the three factions. They are taking place at Paris and the Chiefs who are meeting there are Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist "Premier" of Laos, Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao, and the rightist leader and Minister of Public works Ngon Sananikone. The talks have failed so far!

"No-Confidence" Motions

There are three distinct sets of causes that usually motivate political actions of the type known as No-Confidence Motions. The first set of impulses or causes arise when an entire nation feels that its security, honour and or well-being etc., are in jeopardy due to maladministration or mis-handling by the Council of Ministers. In such cases the lack of faith on the part of the whole nation is reflected in the legislature or Parliament through motions of no-confidence being initiated by the Opposition, supported by a substantial number of members, and finally being thrashed out to the bitter end on the floor of the Chamber or House concerned. Such an occasion—and the consequent parliamentary move—was that which led to the fall of the Neville Chamberlain Ministry in Britain, and it reflected the rejection by the entire British nation of Chamberlain's policy of "peace at any price."

The second set of causes are the reflections and repercussions of wide-spread discontent amongst the peoples of a country, generated by the persistent failures on the part of the Government to control large-scale anti-Social acts or major disasters that could have been avoided by timely preparations or actions on the part of the Ministry. On such occasions the Council of Ministers are called to account through such motions. And unless they render convincing explanations or replies the indictments persist and cause disaster to the party in power, sooner or later, unless efficient rectification follows within a reasonable period of time. Motions of no-confidence, such as these, justify the existence of an efficient and forceful Opposition in Parliaments or Legislatures in a democracy, provided there is substance behind the accusations.

Lastly there are the freak occasions, where the causative factors are lapses, laches or revolts within the actual structure of the party in power. These have little or no basis where lack of faith in the Ministry by the main body of the peoples are concerned. These are in reality caused by vicious party intrigues causing large cracks in the body-politic of the party concerned.

If the Opposition is alert they might succeed in overthrowing the Ministry, by a fluke, so to say.

Of course such parliamentary tactics are only possible in countries or States where the democratic way of life obtains. And because of the same democratic system, in such motions, the charges levelled against the Government must be specific and they must be substantiated to the fullest extent by the accusers during the course of the debate. If the charges be vague or the evidence adduced in support of the arraignment proves to be unsubstantial then such no-confidence motions must be regarded as being either political stunts of the more undesirable variety or as being political callisthenics of the crude and ineffective kind.

Recently there has been a spate of no-confidence motions, in several State legislatures and one in the Lok Sabha. Of these only two are worthy of consideration and record, namely the no-confidence motion in the Kerala Assembly and that in the Lok Sabha. The rest might be dismissed as being political stunts of the most shallow variety, hastily launched without any preparation worth the name in order to utilize the country-wide discontent resulting from soaring prices and artificially created shortages of essential foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The Kerala no-confidence motion is worthy of record because it caused the downfall of the **seventh** ministry that had assumed charge of the State in the course of seventeen years, with three periods—including the present one—when the President of India took over charge. The Congress Ministry was overthrown due to the defection of fifteen party members who **voted with the Opposition**. Further, no party leader from amongst the Opposition could form a Ministry either on the strength of a single party or with a coalition formed with other groups—which also seems to be a curious characteristic of that State. As for the motion or the debate, it was more a sham, a mockery, than reality since the outcome was a foregone conclusion. It was really a freak affair.

The Lok Sabha motion, which asked

the House to express "want of confidence in the Council of Ministers" was a far more serious affair. It was the second motion of no-confidence ever moved in the Lok Sabha, the first one being last year's move, against the Nehru Ministry.

Last year's no-confidence motion was also a serious affair, moved as it was under the shadow of Chinese aggression and our failure to meet it adequately. It failed to attain its objective, which was to expose the vital want of dedication and laxity regarding basic principles that had affected both the effectiveness and the reputation of the Council of Ministers. There were specific charges that could have been brought forward and pressed home on the strength of evidence, which though circumstantial in character yet followed definite patterns which indicated the causative factors conclusively. It is true that the Congress Ministry would have been able to defeat the motion by sheer weight of votes, but the effect on the public mind could have been tremendous, if only the movers and the supporters of the motion could have demonstrated that their motion was motivated purely by the zeal for safeguarding the liberty and the security of the nation and the well-being of its peoples. If the public had been convinced then the Government—and the Congress Party—would have been forced to undertake drastic reforms and re-appraisals of its policies or else to face disaster at the elections and bye-elections.

The movers and supporters of last year's no-confidence motion failed to stamp into the public mind the full import of their charges because in their minds the individual and party vendetta against the Congress predominated over their regard for the nation's security and welfare. In their eagerness to assail the Congress Government from every quarter, they totally ignored the essential points in such a motion, namely that the charges must be specific and clear cut, and that they must have weight of evidence—and not a mere mass of verbiage—so that the indictment may be pressed home. They were too obsessed with the idea of making the most of a chance to smear the face of the Congress to remember that they also owed a duty to the

common citizen, despite and over the calls of party-allegiances or personal feuds. As a result the whole affair has virtually passed into oblivion.

It is too early to assess the results of this year's no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha, on the score of lasting effects and consequences. But judging from the replies given by the Ministers and one or two of the Congress members, it has considerably helped in the clarification of certain ambiguities in the policies and procedures of the Government which may possibly help in the rectification of some erratic moves of the administration and in the co-ordination of action as between the Centre and the States.

On the other hand some of the charges levelled against the Government were loosely framed and there were the same lack, of sharpness and want of pin-pointed evidence in most of them, though they were mostly not as vague and woolly as in last year's motion. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, an Independent member, who initiated the "20 hour" debate with a 30 minute speech, was quite specific in most of the charges he levelled against the Government although the "spear-heads" were blunted in many instances due to lack of attention to details. The main charges, as itemised by Mr. Chatterjee himself, were:

(i) Failure to protect the nation's economic independence on account of the Government policy of increasing reliance on foreign private capital, (ii) the Government's "supine dependence" on foreign imports of goods, (iii) increasingly submission to private capital, blackmarketeers and failure to check bank advances against foodgrains, (iv) failure to hold the price line, (v) failure to ensure security of life and property of citizens, (vi) failure to ensure purity of elections, (vii) failure to maintain territorial integrity.

In condemning the complacency of the Government on the food front, Mr. Chatterjee pointed out the defiant attitude of the Delhi Foodgrain Dealer's Association which had made an open declaration that they would declare the prices of foodgrains. This, he said, was the result of all the "high-

sounding threats and pledges of the Government."

It should be pointed out, that similar defiant statements were made by the food-grains dealer's associations elsewhere. And that arrests have followed, under the D.I.R. of some leaders in the trade—which may or may not be a consequence of Mr. Chatterjee's indictment.

He charged the Government with weakness in the carrying out of the anti-corruption drive, and he made some broad assertions including a reference to the Home Minister's Sadachar Samiti, which he said had been disowned by the Congress President and the Government. These assertions, however, were proved to be based on wrong information, particularly in regard to the disowning of the Sadachar Samiti by the Government, which was categorically denied by the Prime Minister on his own behalf, on the same day, in the Lok Sabha.

The clearest pointer in Mr. Chatterjee's indictment was contained in his condemnation of the vacillating policy of the Government on Kashmir, in the course of which he asked the Prime Minister to make a categorical declaration that Kashmir would not be bartered away. The rest of his charges were too broad and sometimes somewhat speculative in character.

Mr. Dandekar of the Swatantra Party, who followed Mr. Chatterjee, made a curious speech. He said that though his party differed from the Government policies, it did not like to condemn it at present. It had inherited the evils from its predecessor, he said, and should be given time before it could be condemned. But all the same he condemned the Government, though his statements were all broad, "party-wise," and sometimes "wild and woolly," as when in condemning planning for basic industries, he said it was ridiculous to emphasise heavy industries, heavy engineering and steel plants and to call them basic, for, according to him, in a country like India agriculture alone could be called the basic industry!

Acharva Kripalani, the Independent member, who won a bye-election from Uttar Pradesh, through the "back-lash" of Morarji Desai's financial measures as propounded in his budget, delivered a typical speech in his

attack on the Government. It was delivered in his characteristic sermonizing style, on broad lines which often strayed beyond the mark. The following extract illustrates a typical—and somewhat telling—thrust:

About Kerala, Mr. Kripalani said: "Oh it is wonderful there. All our administrators and Ambassadors came from Kerala, and these are the people who cannot administer their own home State. The Congress has been self-defeated in Kerala, and self-condemned everywhere."

The Congress Party which was "mis-managing" the country would do well to heed the religious injunction: "Your enemy is within yourself. If you destroy this enemy, you will conquer the whole world. Otherwise you will be destroyed."

On the previous day Mr. Hiren Mukherji, leader of the Communist 'Rightist' Group, in his speech charged the Government with incompetence and inefficiency in their food policy. He said that although he saw good intentions on the faces of Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nanda, he would say that if they did not have the requisite strength and determination, the good intentions would fade away. He said that the goals of the Fourth Plan, as approved by Mr. Nehru, were in danger of being lowered. He demanded strong action against Congressmen in Orissa and elsewhere; against whom there were charges of corruption. He said while Home Minister Nanda had good intentions regarding dealing effectively against corruption there were other Ministers in the Union Cabinet who believed in go-slow tactics. He said a former Chief Minister, who had to resign because of some judicial pronouncements, was now included in the Union Cabinet. He also described Mr. Shastri as having a "split personality" who while professing to follow the policies of Mr. Nehru, was being "incoherent."

There were other speeches from the Opposition, in support of the motion, but most of them were repetitive and had little beyond strong criticisms of Government's mishandling of difficulties. These criticisms were all, more or less, tinged with party animus.

The rebuttals of these charges were

almost all as vehement as the charges themselves. Some of these, ensuing in the train of the debate from the Congress benches are worthy of record. On the opening day of the debate, Mr. K. Hanumanthayya, Congress member from Mysore, vindicated the Congress attitude in correcting wrongs and evils. "When things go wrong" he said amidst cheers from Congress benches, "we take up cudgels more heavily than all of you put together." As an example he cited the initiation of the Das Commission inquiry against a Congress Ministry and the "strong man" of the Punjab.

When a remark came that it was done under pressure from Parliament and the Opposition he retorted that the Congress enjoyed the confidence of the people because it dared take action against its own party men when something went wrong.

On the second day of the debate, two Congress members, amongst others, namely Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur of Rajasthan and Mr. Vidyacharan Shukla of Madhya Pradesh made some telling remarks:

Mr. Mathur said that if no alternative programme was presented by the Opposition, the no-confidence motion lost its importance. He referred to the various achievements of the Government during the last 17 years.

Severely criticising the opposition, Mr. Vidyacharan Shukla (Congress) said that the opposition had no national interest in the mind in moving a no-confidence motion, but wanted to create acrimony to subserve its political ends.

On the third day, Mr. Frank Anthony, nominated member, denounced the no-confidence motion as a "political stunt" and expressed the opinion that the Congress must continue to remain in power in the interest of political stability in the country. It was a surprise to the Opposition as Mr. Anthony was not regarded as a supporter of the Congress.

Several Congress and Opposition members expressed their sense of alarm at the rapid rise in population, which, they said was neutralising most of the increase in production.

While Mr. Anthony wanted legalisation of abortion, Mrs. Savitri Nigam suggested

that families having more than five members should be taxed.

While some of the speeches made by Opposition members have been described as "hard hitting" the rebuttals by the Ministers were equally emphatic—and sometimes accompanied with convincing facts. Thus on the third day of the debate, the Rehabilitation Minister Mr. Mahabir Tyagi first of all assured the House that the question of compensation to the displaced persons for properties left behind in East Pakistan would be discussed at the forthcoming conference of the Home Ministers of India and Pakistan.

Referring to the Opposition charge against the Government, during the debate, that it was against the settlement of the East Pakistan D.P.s in West Bengal, Mr. Tyagi emphatically said that it was a wrong accusation. Nearly 50 per cent of the D.P.s who recently came from East Pakistan, had been settled down in West Bengal. In the past, 31 lakhs out of 41,17,000 D.P.s had also been settled in West Bengal.

"West Bengal is getting crowded. There are other States in the country where these kith and kins or ours can be settled. They have a right over other parts of the country and can go anywhere," Mr. Tyagi stressed.

In passing it might be stated that this fact of West Bengal being overcrowded, though extremely well-known, is deliberately suppressed by some members for purely ulterior or party motives.

The Home Minister Mr. Nanda and the Food and Agriculture Minister Mr. Subramaniam were equally emphatic—Mr. Nanda devastatingly so—in their replies. Mr. Nanda evidently believes that attack is the best form of defence. He called the Swatantra Party as a "freak of Indian politics" reflecting the "unfinished task of the Congress Government." He accused the Communist Party of showing little respect for the men and women of India, who in their millions had voted the Congress into a position of majority. This was when he took exception to Mr. Hiren Mukherjee's epithet of "brute majority of the Government." He wondered why the Communist Party felt that this country was not great enough to claim the whole of their loyalties and hinted at some extra-territorial considerations of

that body, which put Mr. Hiren Mukherji on the defensive. Mr. Subramaniam's statement was firm and frank and his policy statement was fairly clear.

Mr. Nanda had said the Congress would continue to remain the "sheet anchor of democracy and the hall mark of stability in this country." He again said the Congress might have displayed certain weaknesses but it had "enormous vitality and capacity for regeneration and will become fitter and fitter to shoulder the responsibilities of the Government."

In passing we would take the liberty of remarking that we can only hope Mr. Nanda's optimism would be justified. The only hope for the regeneration and revitalisation of the Congress lies in the curbing of the intrigues launched by those intrusive elements in the Congress that have bedevilled all the actions and administrative measures instituted by the Congress and the Congress Government for ridding the country of corruption, and moral perversion.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Finance Minister, made a clear unambiguous statement to the effect that, come what may, the Government will not cut either Defence or Development expenditure. Any reversal of that decision would bring disastrous consequences, he said. In his hour-long speech he deprecated the show of much concern at short-term hardships and over some supply failures. He said he agreed that wage increases for workers were inevitable in the face of the present sudden rise in prices. But at the same time he warned his country men about the cumulative "Snowball" effects of a vicious wage-price spiral.

The Fourth Plan, as he put it, would endeavour to concentrate on production of goods required for giving a boost to the agricultural programmes, early completion of heavy engineering and other engineering industries already taken up and such additional projects as were deemed necessary for balancing the programmes and providing a sound basis for future industrial development.

"In the organisational field our policy in the Fourth Plan will continue to be on

the lines set out in the industrial policy resolution of 1956", he said.

The debate was finally wound-up on Friday the 18th September by a two-hour speech by the Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. This long and somewhat discursive speech was his first major parliamentary performance since he became the Chief Executive of the Union. But despite its length and rambling nature, the frank admission of faults and failures and his unerring capacity to spot the solution of the problems, and the transparent sincerity of the man, endeared him to the house. The following were the "high-lights" of the speech, as given by **The Statesman**:

On the Sino-Indian dispute, Mr. Shastri said the position remained unchanged. He did not "rule out talks if these become necessary" quoting a remark of the late President Kennedy to make his position clear. This was: "Let us not negotiate out of fear but let us never fear to negotiate."

He also said that the Government stood by its pronouncements on Kashmir, taking the opportunity to deny that Mr. J. P. Narayan had taken any letter for President Ayub from him (Mr. Shastri).

The point that steadfastness to the basic tenets of Mr. Nehru's policies did not mean inflexible adherence to the "beaten track" was perhaps the most important made by Mr. Shastri in his speech.

In order to buttress it he cited not only the history of India's freedom struggle, but also the transition in the Soviet Union from Lenin to Stalin and then to Mr. Khrushchev.

Mr. Shastri's long review of the food situation ended with a back-to-the-village appeal to Ministers and officials. A plan would be drawn up to make this possible for Ministers. He also felt that Community Development officials should be made to go to the villages and one way of going this was to deprive them of their jeeps.

He was confident that the food difficulties would be overcome and said it was the Government's responsibility not only to provide cheap food to the people but also other essential commodities.

Mr. Shastri also accepted the "difficult responsibility" put on him by Mr. Nanda to determine whether complaints of corruption

against Ministers should be investigated. But he wanted a "convention" to be established that the Minister concerned should resign immediately should either the Prime Minister or a Chief Minister feel that there was a prima facie case against him.

He took the opportunity to affirm that he did not believe that the country was seething with corruption; it was an honest country, he said, which had set high standards for itself. As proof of this, he cited the fact that people like Acharya Vinoba Bhave were held in higher esteem than ever the Prime Minister.

Mr. Shastri said the Community Development programme would, for the next few years, concentrate exclusively on increased food production.

Mr. Shastri said it was essential that the prices of such commodities as sugar, cloth, oil, matches and bicycles should be fixed and sold only at fixed prices.

The Government would soon switch over from voluntary to statutory price control of popular cloth varieties.

Mr. Shastri reaffirmed his faith in planning and said "the philosophy of planning is wholly acceptable to us."

The motion was finally put to the vote because the movers remained "unconvinced," and it was defeated by 307 votes to 50. Thirteen members, possibly of the Swatantra group, abstained from voting.

Student Demonstrations and their Aftermath

Student demonstrations in our country have led to unfortunate incidents in many parts of the Union in recent years. These outbreaks of undisciplined and riotous violence, which have frequently led to unhappy consequences, indicate immaturity not only on the part of the students themselves but also on the part of some of their elders.

In the days prior to independence, some of our fighters for independence utilized the youth and the consequent reckless courage and enthusiasm of students to further their own ventures in the cause. These ventures covered a wide range, from peaceful demonstrations of **Satyagraha** to violent acts of terrorism and sabotage. All of these were

sought to be put down by force by the British executive, through the medium of the police, armed constabulary and sometimes even by the military. These repressive measures were, more often than not, carried to extreme and brutal excess, indiscriminately and senselessly because of the power-drunk obsessions of the bureaucrats in charge. These acts of violence and repression generally had the younger generation as their targets and naturally caused widespread indignation amongst the people, whose reaction to those atrocious acts of repression committed on their children naturally mounted high. The more bold amongst the publicists and journalists of the day played up this emotional upsurge amongst our peoples by focussing all the light of publicity on these atrocities, suppressing all the details of the acts and ventures on the part of those who were trying to further the cause of independence to the best of their lights.

Independence has been attained, but the legacy of those days seems to linger in the minds of people who should know better—particularly amongst the educationists—if we may use the word—and the journalist.

It was a brave man, who spoke up or tried to report beyond the prohibited or to write editorials condemning official acts of violent repression, in those days of the laws of sedition and punitive press Acts. Today those primitive laws and acts are gone and as a consequence many a lesser animal has put on the lion's skin in order to direct the light of publicity or the flow of increased circulation in the desired direction. And the immaturity of our own people's political consciousness lies in our inability to detect the ulterior motives on the part of those who high-light, in an unfavourable way, the measures taken by the keepers of law and order, while either totally suppressing or "doctoring" the sordid details of the brainless and reckless acts of destruction and violence committed by these youthful delinquents and indisciplined hooligans. As a result, the public eye being blind where the offences—however heinous—are committed by the students, or those who pass for students, scheming political saboteurs and political parties whose sole objective is to

disrupt the administration, to the extent desired by their foreign paymasters or ideological mentors—sometimes there is only a thin line dividing the two—find in these indisciplined students with their underdeveloped brains, their best tools for sabotage and subversion. It is about time the public woke up to this fact. The following news extracts would illustrate our point.

Bhubaneswar, Sept. 3. The Deputy Speaker Mr. Loknath Misra, this morning adjourned the Orissa Legislative Assembly till September 10 "in view of last evening's unprecedented incident in the Assembly premises."

The Deputy Speaker made this announcement immediately after the House re-assembled at 10-30 this morning.

He said that in view of yesterday's incident 'it is impossible to carry on the normal business of the House today'.

The House adjourned without transacting any business.

The Deputy Speaker said 'the situation created by educated youngmen yesterday at the time of the working of the Assembly is an incident which is unprecedented.'

'I do not think in any other State Assembly in the country this kind of occurrence ever happened. I think the damage will amount to more than Rupees one lakh' he added.

Later Mr. Misra in a meeting with newsmen contradicted a report published in a section of the local press that one of the students was assaulted by a police guard in last evening's incident, causing him bleeding injury.

He said nobody was assaulted by police guard, but he knew of a student sustaining bleeding injury while breaking glass panes. This student later on told other students that he was assaulted by the Police Guard.

Mr. Biju Patnaik, former Chief Minister of Orissa, in a statement on yesterday's incident in the Assembly premises said that he was 'deeply ashamed that the citadel of democracy had been invaded and the prestige and sanctity of the House was reduced to dust.

It is black day for Orissa and it would take a generation to recover Orissa's lost image', he added.

We do not know who were the prime-movers in assembling and letting loose on the premises of the Orissa Assembly these "educated youngmen," nor do we know what journal "high-lighted" the student's injury and put a deliberately false interpretation on the causes. But both the process of inciting impressionable and undisciplined brains—immature and half-educated—and the false interpretation and the wrong emphasis put on such incidents in reports made by hack-journalists and printed by feckless editors is becoming only too familiar to us.

It is about time we realized that hooliganism and riotous acts of destruction are as reprehensible—indeed they are more so—when committed by students as when they are by lawless riff-raff. Anti-social acts are anti-social acts, whoever commits them and if our mistaken and immature young hopefuls commit such acts, they must take the consequence. The police are there to prevent breaches of law and order and they would be failing in their duty if they did not use force—within reason—when it becomes necessary.

"Bharat Bandh"

The common citizen is in a bad way in these days of artificial shortages and soaring prices. Everyone knows the reasons—only the reasons advanced seem to vary with the political complexion of the person or party proffering the reason. And if there is difference of opinion regarding causes of shortages, or high prices, there is even more variety in the solutions offered for these vital problems. This was amply demonstrated during the 15 hour Food Debate in the Lok Sabha that began on September 7, and ended on September 10 with the approval of the Government's food policy by 201 votes to 34. It is to be noted that the number of Congress members who abstained from voting was over a hundred, which showed that they did not believe that the Government was proceeding along the correct lines regarding the prevention and punishment of hoarding, blackmarketing and profiteering. A Congress member had indeed accused the Government of slackening the drive against hoarding.

The Government has been accused of the anti-social activities of hoarders and the lack of foresight and perspicacity and profiteers be checked with drastic and of showing a "soft" attitude towards those punitive action that would effectively discourage them from further ventures in the who are engineering these distinctly anti-social moves that have caused so much hardship and suffering to the nationals of the Union. And as yet the Government has not been able to absolve itself of these accusations by putting into action really effective measures to check these evils that are vitally affecting the life and well-being of the masses. The charges of pusillanimity levelled against the Government in dealing with the prime offenders, have not been refuted to the satisfaction of the common citizen. And the short-time corrective measures taken in hand by the Government to meet the foodgrains shortages also are not likely either to yield quick results nor are the results likely to be lasting unless

But even granting all these, we fail to discern any logic in the All-India hartal call given by some Leftist group leaders and trade union heads. Indeed we can see nothing excepting a desire for undue publicity, at the cost of the common citizen, on the part of those who gave the call. It is clearly evident to all that the loss caused by cessation of work in every sphere of life, can only pile further burdens on the shoulders of the suffering common peoples. And it has been amply demonstrated through the poor response to the call for hartal, that the majority of the peoples of India have come to realize that fact.

NOTICE

The offices of the *Modern Review* shall remain closed from October 12th to October 25th (both days inclusive) on account of the Durga Puja holidays. The next issue of the *Modern Review* shall be published, as usual, on the 1st of November, 1964.

Editor, *The Modern Review*

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

Objectives Of Planning

Speaking to a public meeting in Calcutta on September 20 last, Shri Lalbahadur Shastri, during his first visit to the city as the Prime Minister of India, underlined anew the objectives of Planning and was reported to have said that the "needs of the man in the street" should determine its goals. It was the execution of Plan projects, Shri Shastri was reported to have emphasised, which seemed to him more important and projects already taken up should receive priority over those that were yet to be taken up. "Not paper planning" he emphasised, "but speedy execution of projects was what mattered."

The Prime Minister would, thus, seem to have put his finger on the very crux of the problem of planning. "Investment" he was reported to have elaborated, "unrelated to production might contribute to inflation." We have, again and again, reiterated in these columns that while we are fully in accord with the principles and need for development planning in the context of Indian conditions, we cannot endorse the manner in which Plan investments have, so far, been handled as being either legitimate or conducive to the wholesome and balanced development of the national economy.

The process of planned development has, we are afraid, so far very largely followed what seems to have been so aptly described by the Prime Minister as **paper planning**. The architects of Indian development planning would seem to have been so overwhelmingly enamoured by certain academic theories of growth that in formulating the Plan contours they would seem to have, so far, been very largely ignoring certain inescapable realities of the situation in the country. In the result a comprehensive view of planning in the manner in which it has been emerging over very nearly the last three quinquennia, would seem to

reveal the inherent imbalances and lack of co-ordination between the different branches of endeavour over which Plan effort is being spread over.

Thus, the allocation of development effort as between agriculture and industry would seem to be a very apt illustration of the manner in which the mind of the Planning Commission would appear to have been working. One does not quarrel with the basic legitimacy of the desire to secure a shift from the overwhelming agrarian base of the national economy towards an adequate measure of industrialization. But the fundamental fact could not be ignored that while the economy of the country as a whole was overwhelmingly agrarian at its base, agricultural performance, from the point of view of both productivity as well as the developing consumption needs of the nation remained well below requisite levels. What, therefore, was really needed was to induce a developing shift towards increasing industrial employment opportunities to relieve, in corresponding measure, the paralyzing burdens on agriculture—and this would inevitably postulate correspondingly increasing measures of industrialization—while at the same time providing for the necessary stimuli to agricultural growth both in terms of unit productivity as well as in terms of gross production to cover the developing needs of the nation. That in laying out the programmes for industrialization primary emphasis should be lent to essential producer bases like iron and steel, coal and minerals, power and transport etc., was only legitimate.

In brief, and we have more than once in the past underlined this in these columns, one of the basic foundations of economic growth in any country and at any period of history—and more so in India in

the present times—would seem to be a surplus agriculture. It is only when such a point has been reached in agricultural development that the process of rapid and balanced industrialization would be considerably facilitated. Planning in India over the last one decade and a half would seem to have been consistently ignoring this one basic postulate of growth and to have diverted resources overwhelmingly towards rapidly widening industrial capacity even while the country had to continue to subsist on a continuing and presently considerably inflated process of imports of food grains into the country. The Planning Commission promised the country self-sufficiency in food grains production by the end of the Second Plan period with a target of 80 million tonnes of cereals production. The target was not fully reached although performance was quite commendable upto then with a gross yield of 76 million tonnes at the end of the Second Plan period. For the Third Plan a target of 100 million tonnes was envisaged to provide for the 2.25 per cent annual net increase in the population. Unfortunately although the population has continued to pile up according to schedule, food production appears to have wholly failed to respond to the stimuli provided for in the Third Plan programmes in this behalf and, a year before the Plan period is scheduled to come to a close, the gross rise in food production over these four years, with slight occasional variations in annual outturn quantum, has been of the order of approximately just above 4 per cent over the 1960-61 level. Now it has been made amply clear that the target of 100 million tonnes of food grains by the end of the current Plan period will remain, as Shri Shastri describes, merely a paper plan worth, in real terms, far less than the scrap of paper on which it had been written and the hope of attaining the level of self-sufficiency, so vigorously promised in the Third Plan has receded to the distant future.

One of the important questions to which an answer has not so far been vouchsafed either by the Government or the Planning Commission is the reason for this dismal and paralyzing failure to even remotely

reach the targets of the Third Plan on the agricultural front. The immediate past Union Food and Agriculture Minister was reported to have picturesquely, though a little heartlessly averred last year that, despite massive development investments extending over more than a decade of planning which included large multipurpose river valley projects providing for irrigation and flood control and also large scale fertilizer production, not to speak of the revolutionary changes in the land tenure system leading to large scale expropriation of intermediary interests and an amazing extent of proliferation of agriculture and food administrations in the States, food production still remains very largely at the mercy of the seasons and it may just be possible to reach self-sufficiency only in course of the next two or three Plan periods. The Planning Commission was recently reported to have reiterated its determination to ensure self-sufficiency in food production in course of the Fourth Plan period, though Shri Ashok Mehta in course of an earlier interview to the press was reported to have averred that this desired level of production would be attained through five consecutive two-year quick-yielding programmes that the Planning Commission was arranging to launch. All this would seem to indicate a continuing confusion in thinking in this vital matter and one does not quite know what can be expected to actually eventuate in real terms.

Another, to our way of thinking, even more important question that remains to be clearly answered is the extent of the country's basic consumption need of food grains, in actual terms, now and at the end of the next two Plan periods (assuming that the desired level of self-sufficiency in this behalf can only be reached at the end of not the Fourth but the Fifth Plan period). In an earlier estimate essayed by us in these columns we endeavoured to demonstrate that even at the present level of production basic needs of the population can just be covered together with a 10 per cent margin for unavoidable wastage and seed grains. This, of course, presumed that all kinds of food cereals of both the finer and the coarser

varieties of grains were wholly diverted to human consumption requirements. It is possible that with the increasing preference for the finer grains of the average consumer the recent changes in the pattern of consumption would make increasingly greater demands upon the finer varieties somewhat inescapable and a resultant shortage would be inevitable. Even then the shortage could only be marginal in quantity and a certain measure of processing of the coarser grains before their being offered for consumption, which should not prove impossible, might conceivably and very largely obviate this shortage. What would, then, seem to be an inescapable need of the situation is to introduce such wholesome checks and balances in the pattern of the distributive trade in food grains that the scope for overt exploitation of existing marginal supplies for heavy profiteering and hoarding could be effectively eliminated. The Government have already arranged to enter into the food grains trade and to introduce rationing in urban and industrial concentrations—and this was very clearly underlined by Shri Shastri in his Calcutta address—but the extent to which it is at present intended to do so may not supply, we are afraid, the only desirable answer to the problem. The fractional measure of State Trading in food grains which it is announced, would be launched with the new year may, on the contrary, further confuse an already complex and largely intractable situation.

What would seem to be a clear requisite of the present situation is to maintain market supplies, whether it is done by a state instrument or by the trade in the private sector. And to be able to do so it is imperative that hoarding at all levels must be ruthlessly eliminated. That hoarding has been playing a most crucial role in the present situation has been officially admitted and verified. The scope of hoarding by surplus farmers, unless backed by heavy financial resources, can only be marginal in extent. It is clearly the sources of finance, largely from outside the organised credit sector—although the suspicion that bank credits have also been lending a measure of

strength to these anti-social operations has never been clearly and unequivocally dispelled—that must be held to be the main culprit in the situation. The Government seem to be completely helpless in effectively dealing with this paralyzing element in the economy. Difficulties notwithstanding, it should not be wholly impossible, given the ruthless determination,—which they do not seem to have the courage and the strength to muster—to immobilize the operations of these “unaccounted” credits. Why is it that the Government seem to be unable to devise effective measures towards this end is a question that the Prime Minister will have to give a clear answer to. As we write, the announcement has come through that with a view to induce additional restrictions on credit the Bank Rate has been raised by a further half per cent to five per cent. This, although a move in the right direction, will not, by itself go a very long way towards a stable price structure unless several other factors have been taken care of. Of these, one of the most important is, of course, the operations of credits from outside the purview of the organised money market which urgently calls for their immediate and effective immobilization.

Of the other factors a great deal has already been said in these columns in recent months. In brief it may be reiterated that the need for a far closer relation between investment and output than has been the case so far, has become immediately imperative. Here the importance of what the Prime Minister described as “Paper Planning” in his Calcutta speech becomes all too obvious. Despite the earlier mid-term reappraisal of the Third Plan which disclosed certain very dismal and crucial failures, the need for a thorough reappraisal of Plan investments as a whole upto date and their production resultants has become urgently necessary. It is also necessary to examine and appraise the pattern of the continuing lags between investment and output; the extent to which these lags flow from basically infructuous investment outlays including avoidable expenditure on overheads and know-how, has to be realistically determined as well as the extent to

which shortfalls in Plan yields are to be accounted for by the basic inconsistencies in plan formation—structurally and in their dynamics (as, for instance, in poor co-ordination of Plan projects, wrong and faulty priorities causing resultant lags between interdependent manufacturing and servicing projects etc.)—and the pattern and quantum of failures in Plan implementation derived from administrative and other failures. That infructuous Plan investments have been materially and cumulatively responsible for the present heavy and spiralling inflationary pressures on the price structure is all too obvious to need reiteration.

An additional and primarily important group of factors unquestionably generative of the present inflationary situation are the rapidly increasing tempo of Government's consumption expenditure on the one hand and the present primarily inflation-oriented taxation structure in the country on the other. We have again and again emphasised that while conceding the need for increasing taxation to meet the rising demand for the twin purposes of defence and development, the structure of taxation urgently calls for a complete and thorough revision, if not really redrawing of its contours to make it an instrument of effective disinflation. The present Finance Minister admitted almost as much by implication in one or two of his pre-Budget public statements, but there is no indication, so far, that he has either the courage or the vision to act, wholesomely and effectively, upto his own convictions in this regard.

The confusion that has been the inevitable result and the resultant and widening areas of distress that has been increasingly affecting even the all too rudimentary living levels of the people, especially during the last twelve months, have created a measure of confusion in the minds of even those who ought to know better is much too distressing to see. The Prime Minister himself had, earlier called for a slowing down of Plan outlays; the Finance Minister was reported to have said that he did not think it would be possible to sustain Fourth Plan investments at the size so far envisaged. There have been others who have even called for a scrapping of Planning altogether. Shri Ashoke Mehta seems to be the only realist who insists that it would be impossible to recede from Planning of the size envisaged without inviting complete and wholesale disaster although he concedes the need for a revision of Plan priorities and projects. The Prime Minister in his Calcutta address would seem to have bit the nail on the head when he pleaded for more effective implementation with a view to obviate infructuous Plan expenditure. While highest priorities must be accorded to the agricultural sector, plan investments in basic industries must also be maintained, ensuring the while that they do provide the estimated yields in actual terms. The Government must help by being more abstemious in their consumption expenditure on civil administration—they must begin to function on a severely conditioned austerity basis (they have been preaching austerity to the people long enough and it is only legitimate that they practised for themselves some of their own professions!)—and by re-orienting the taxation structure to apply it effectively to mop up as far of the additional money that goes into circulation as may not be fully covered by production-yields. And while the Planning Commission accords the higher priorities to agriculture they should also do well to revise the present basis of assistance to the growth of small and cottage industries both as a balancing factor in the economy as well as to maintain the level of agricultural effort at the requisite level. There is no question that one of the obvious evils of the current shift towards increasing urbanization in the country is the progressively declining rating of agricultural occupation—a fact which is loaded with the most disastrous potentialities in a country which has to depend for well over one half of its national income on agriculture—and an integrated development of agriculture and cottage and small industries, which would closely conform to the inherited social and economic traditions of the people, might be the only possible instrument that might help to effectively re-establish agricultural occupation on its rightful status in the social economy. It

were high time that a certain measure of rethinking commenced on the facts and purposes of Planning—not with a view to scrapping it for, we wholly agree with Shri Mehta that would be dangerous but with a view to integrating its results and processes more closely to its declared objectives than has been the case so far. The Prime Minister appears to have initiated the right tone in his Calcutta address but a great deal of body and flesh must be added to it before it can hope to be really effective and purposeful.

A Nation Who Forgets Its Own Heritage: The Story of Ram Mohun Roy's House

There was, perhaps, nothing usual in the recently circulated news, that appears to have deeply shocked large sections of the country's intelligentsia, that the historic residential house of the late Mahatma Raja Ram Mohun Roy on Amherst Street in Calcutta, has recently been disposed of to a private buyer. The present surviving scion of the Raja, Shri Dharani Mohan Roy, it is learnt, retains a life interest in this historic building and shall continue to occupy it during his life time after which the new owner will move in. Many a historical monument in the country bearing witness to the nation's past heritages have similarly been lost on account of our Government's callous apathy and the people's sense of helplessness to do anything in the matter. Thus one of the proudest historical heritages of Calcutta was the University Senate Hall and when it was decided to pull down this historic building to make room for a hideous ten-storeyed abomination to house the University Library, public outcry was both vigorous and wide-flung against this what was considered an act of vandalism. The State or the Central Government may not have had any direct role in this decision which was the sole responsibility of the University authorities, especially that of the then Vice-Chancellor, the late Prof. Nirmal K. Sidhanta. But they might have usefully and legitimately intervened to prevent the destruction of this significant historic monu-

ment which played such a vital part in the emergence of resurgent India during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Public protests, apparently, could be ignored, as they were, with impunity without fear of any untoward consequences.

In the present case conditions may differ materially as they obviously do, but the end result,—that of utter destruction of a historic monument—would be more or less identical. The first house that the Raja inhabited on his arrival in Calcutta has long been diverted to the use of the metropolitan police force and except for a tablet on the gate-post there is nothing to show that this house was once the venue where the emergence of the modern age in Indian history was being incubated. Now the Raja's own house is destined to go the same way and very soon no evidence may survive indicating that this house at one time witnessed the making of history at a most significant juncture of India's passage through the times. Enquiries stated to have been made by the **Anandabazar Bazar Patrika** from the State Government in this connection appears to have led to the shameless answer that the Government had no scheme of acquiring this historic house as a national movement now or hereafter. Apparently the Government are wholly insensible of any responsibility in this matter.

Knowing as we do of the level of intellectual attainment and moral sensibility of the leaders of our Government as a whole (we apologise in advance to those among them who are exceptional; our observation in this behalf being intended to apply only to the general herd!) we would not be surprised even if we were to be told that they did not feel that Ram Mohun Roy was such an exceptional individual after all as to be ranked among the markers of history and the house occupied by him in this city deserved to be treated as a historic and a national monument. With most of the rabble that happens to rule this hapless country today, Indian history began only with the inception of the Indian National Congress and all was, to them, a stygian void before. So, if they are unable to assess

and appreciate the place a Raja Ram Mohun Roy should occupy in the history of our people one cannot really blame them for it! It should be mentioned in this connection that the decision said to have been taken some time ago that the State Government would acquire and preserve as a national monument Ram Mohun's ancestral home at Radhanagar in Hooghly district also appears to have been indefinitely shelved.

We are reminded in this connection of a story we heard sometime ago from a source which we consider absolutely reliable. Soon after Independence the Chairman of the Ram Mohun Memorial Committee in Bristol, Dr. Sukhasagar Datta, wrote to the late Jawaharlal Nehru suggesting that a life size portrait of the Raja from the brushes of the famous British painter Seargent which was in Bristol at the disposal of the Memorial Committee, should be brought over to India and preserved here in India's Parliament Hall. The Prime Minister was reported to have replied that arrangements would be made to bring over the portrait after a suitable place to hang the portrait was selected. Dr. Datta came on a short visit to the country in January, 1958 and personally saw Nehru for the purpose

when he was told that the walls of Parliament Hall had no more space available to accomodate this famous portrait of this foremost of modern Indians.

As already observed there is nothing unusual or surprising in the State Government's apathy in the matter. It would only seem to be in keeping with the ruling party bosses' thinking or, perhaps, lack of thinking in the matter. That Ram Mohun was the universally acknowledged father of Modern India is a fact of which they seem to be completely unaware and to which, naturally enough, they appear to be wholly indifferent. What matters even if Mahatma Gandhi himself, to whom they accorded the place of the "father of the nation", repeatedly acknowledged that the Raja was the first Indian in history who had conceived the vision of a one united Indian Nation! The fact that Rabindranath described Raja Ram Mohun as "the great path maker of the modern century in India" naturally has, to these power-mad ignoramuses, even a far lower rating than Mahatma Gandhi's very legitimate tribute. They behave as if India had no past glories to preserve and build upon, no moorings in the bed-rocks of historical heritage!

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE: PERSONAL REMINISCENCES AND TRIBUTE

By AMAL HOME

Calcutta, October 1, 1943

Christmas, 1906. The Indian National Congress which had met in Calcutta with Dadabhai Naoroji as President, and a great exhibition of Indian industries, an adjunct of the Congress, had drawn thousands to this city from all parts of India. Calcutta was all bustle and colour. The Congress pandal, covering the site now occupied by Alexandra Court, and the Exhibition grounds, occupying the entire area now covered by the many premises between Chowringhee and Gokhale Road, faced each other; and one had only to cross the road to get into one from the other. An eager and precocious boy, who had just completed his thirteenth year, full of the extremist politics of the Bengal school, had persuaded an indulgent father to make him his companion on his daily visits to the Congress-meeting. Soon, however, the boy would tire of the speeches, most of which, of course, he could not quite follow, but he would sit quietly through all of them, and presently his father would take him to the Exhibition with its many attractions and side-shows, and there they would stroll, father and son, round the many stalls till lamps would be lit and the whole place transformed into a fairy land.

It was the last day of the Congress, and there seemed to be no end of speeches, and it was almost dark before the session ended. Impatient to get into the Exhibition ground, the boy was being led out of the crowd by his father when the latter was accosted and greeted by a friend of his whom the son had never seen before. Dressed in a buttoned-up brown Kashmere tweed coat with trousers to match, a round cap crowning his iron-grey hair, his beaming countenance and noble presence not only arrested attention but commanded respect at once. Asked by his father the boy readily made an obeisance to the stranger and felt a gentle touch on his bent head. Together they walked out of the Congress grounds,—the two friends talking, both evidently glad to meet each other, it seemed, after a long time. No, he was sorry, he could not accept any invitation to lunch the next day; he had to leave for Allahabad the same night; And there they parted, after a few minutes,—the boy receiving a pat on his head again.

This was my first "meeting" with Ramananda Babu. My father "introduced" him to me after he had left us and told me all about him. He had known him well since his student days and later when he was a Professor of City College where my father had also worked early in his life. And he was full of his praise—his scholarship and erudition, the many gifts and graces of his intellect and character. I had, of course, known him by name, being even in those days a diligent reader of the Prabasi, to which my father subscribed, and had also heard of him from a young coach of mine, who had gone up to Allahabad sometime ago and, though a perfect stranger, had enjoyed his hospitality. He had told me that Ramananda Babu kept his door open, and not for Bengalees alone, and how deeply respected he was in the United Provinces, through which my private tutor had toured on behalf of Jogendra Chunder Ghosh's association for scientific education of young Indians abroad.

II

A little over a year later, early in 1908, Ramananda Babu came down to Calcutta with his two papers and his family. He took a house in Cornwallis Street on a private lane alongside of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall. He lived in this house and conducted his papers from it for more than a decade. It was quite a modest house, but it soon became well-known as the Prabasi-office and the residence of the Editor of **The Modern Review**. Down the alley had walked more celebrities and

more famous people than, perhaps, any other street in Calcutta had known—poets and politicians, authors and artists, writers and journalists of all races in India and most nations in the world—all going to see Ramananda Babu. I know hardly any famous son of Mother India whom I had not seen going up or coming down that hardly eight feet wide passage. And I had seen a future Prime Minister of England and a future Minister of Education—Ramsay MacDonald and Herbert Fisher—coming out of 210|3|1, Cornwallis Street. Both of them were then in India as members of the Royal Commission on Public Service. They were accompanied by Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ramananda Babu's eldest son Kedar-nath and myself soon became great friends. We lived nearby; we were almost of the same age and we had many interests in common. Both of us were voracious readers and devoured everything that came across our way. We exchanged books and magazines, and he lent me his books and periodicals, sometimes even encroaching on his father's collection. And it was this that brought me to the notice of Ramananda Babu. Kedar had lent me a book which belonged to his father, and he had left for Darjeeling. Ramananda Babu needed the book. I do not know even to this day how he came to know that the book was with me, but one day, on his way back from his morning constitutional, he came to our house and asked my father where I was. I was sent for, and, on my coming, he asked me for the book. I felt very much embarrassed, but he reassured me with a smile, adding that it did not matter even if Kedar was away; I could come and borrow books and periodicals as usual from his house. My father told him, half in jest, that I wanted to be a journalist. He smiled and said that I might find, if I ever became one, that journalism was not a bed of roses.

It was as his son's friend that he took notice of me, and soon I came to enjoy his affection. I would often accompany him in his morning walks, "falling in" as he passed by our house. He would greet me with a smile and we would walk up to College

Square where he would be joined by his friends, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Prankrishna Acharya, Lalit Mohan Das and one or two others whose names I now forget. I would then naturally "fall out" but rejoin him on his way home. He spoke little, but would sometimes talk of his boyhood, of his home at Bankura, of his father who possessed great physical prowess, how as a boy he would often walk miles visiting his relations from village to village, how simple were their lives, of his student days, how once R. C. Dutt on coming to inspect his school had given him a personal prize, so pleased the great author and administrator was with his English composition, how the famous Professor Tawney took his classes in English, and how Jagadish Chunder Bose taught Physics at Presidency College, which he had to leave because he lost his stipend as he was once too ill to attend the lectures for a period. He would sometimes even speak of the educationists he had known, and I still remember some stories he told me about a remarkable Englishman, a distinguished Wrangler, who was Professor of Mathematics at Muir Central College, Allahabad, who knew his Shakespeare from cover to cover. He was, if I remember aright, Homersham Cox. And it was then also that I heard from him about his friend Maier B. D. Basu, the historian—of his great scholarship, his fine library and his famous collection of Gandhara sculpture. It was later my privilege to meet and know him through Ramananda Babu.

III

These were days of struggle for him. The **Prabasi** had begun paying its way but The **Modern Review**, a little over two years old, had yet to turn the corner. And it meant hard work and hardship. He worked incessantly, day in and day out, as I have seen no other journalist work. His day would begin with his return from his morning walk, not later than seven, and he would be at the desk—reading, marking and clipping newspapers or periodicals, editing contributions, writing articles and notes,

checking accounts and even receiving money orders or V.P. payments at the office, which was also his editorial "sanctum sanctorum." Barely furnished, this room had no electric light or fan, and was often crowded. Right in front, in the narrow passage or in the backyard of the Brahmo Samaj prayer-hall children would play and shout; and in the next room we, his son's friends, would often gather and hold great argument about this and that, but not the least perturbed, he would work on, not even for once admonishing the children or the youths, who at least should have known better. And so he would work, retiring only at mid-day for lunch and a little rest, and he would be back again in his chair after a couple of hours and occupy it till late in the evening. Then he would go out for a short walk, returning home to dinner, books and bed—late at night. Thus he built up his two papers, leading the life of almost an ascetic, living on the most frugal of meals, dressed in the simplest of clothes, sleeping on the hardest of beds. He knew no comforts, no luxuries; denied himself all pleasures; no social engagements knew him, no amusements either. And he was then only forty-five years old.

I had the great privilege and unique opportunity of seeing Ramananda Babu every day at this period of his life. I had in the meanwhile developed a great penchant for journalism and was very fortunate in receiving his guidance and encouragement. I sat at his feet for my first lessons in writing for the Press, and he took such pains with my humble efforts that they were found fit enough to be published in his periodicals when I was still at college. He would sometimes send for me and go through my writings in my presence, changing and correcting, adding and altering till, perhaps, very few lines of the original remained. He would more than once return me my manuscript and ask me to rewrite it. Among my cherished possessions is one of these manuscripts—a short article I wrote for the **Prabasi** when Rabindranath received the Nobel Prize in 1913. He opened the portals of journalism to me, and he gave me the start. It was to him that I

owed my first appointment in the Punjab and my subsequent translation from the now defunct daily, the Panjabee to the Lahore Tribune, which had, a short while ago, acquired Kalinath Roy as its Editor.

IV

By 1910, within three years of the periodical being started, the **Modern Review** had come to occupy the foremost place among India's journals. Its elder sister, the **Prabasi**, started in 1901, had, of course, stormed the Bastille long ago. Bengal had not known a journal like this before. It was incomparably the best monthly in Bengal. Both his journals were immensely popular, but they never swam with the stream. They educated their readers, yet they were neither heavy nor boring. He knew exactly how to hold the balance between education and entertainment. With him it was not a question of "brightening" a serious paper in the manner found lucrative for big circulation. It was not a question of a solemn periodical attempting to be sprightly like an elderly lady trying to look twenty. His journals combined education and entertainment as an organic whole—one inseparable from the other. Ramananda Babu knew, if anybody did, that the first rule in journalism is that you must be clear what public you are aiming at and pursue it with an undivided mind. His two periodicals soon attained wide and influential circulation, but never developed the opportunist politics that go with such circulation, nor were they ever subordinate to the interests of any party or political leader.

The strength of these two journals lay in the 'Notes' Ramananda Babu wrote from month to month on all topics. Of these again, the political notes stood apart. Cold as steel, sharp as a scimitar, they rent asunder all sophistries, all the specious arguments against India's claim to Swaraj. He paved through these Notes her way towards Home Rule as no other publicist in India had done. Bristling with incontrovertible facts and irresistible arguments, they were beautifully arranged and conveyed as a rule in the simplest of words. There were no purple

patches. If ever there were, they were led up with extraordinary skill, and they seemed exactly as much as the subject will bear. I once took the liberty of asking him as to how he, a student of English literature which he had taught for nearly twenty years, could avoid literary embellishments to his writings. I did not, of course, mean the literary jargons and clichés with which we lesser journalists seek to decorate our 'leaders' or 'notes'. He knew that and said that when he first started writing for **The Modern Review**, he made it a point to write for the common man, not the literary person, and he wanted to convey his ideas in as unornamental a garb as possible, in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words, with no reference either to classics, or to modern high-brows. There was no staginess, no sentimentality in his writings. His style was natural, direct, irresistible as a physical process. He had little humour, but a grimly satiric note sometimes crept into his writings. His fearlessness, his freedom from partisanship, his consummate plain speech, his great pertinacity of purpose and his terrible truthfulness soon won a very large circle of readers for his notes, and among them were some of the foremost men of our time. I have a vivid recollection of Aurobindo Ghosh scanning the notes of the **Modern Review** from page to page sitting at the desk of his uncle Krishna Kumar Mitra (then detained as a State Prisoner at Agra), when he lived at his house, the old Sanjibani-Office at College Square, after his acquittal in the Alipore Conspiracy case. And I still remember the remarkable tribute he paid to Ramananda Babu's journals in the columns of his English weekly **Karmavogin** on their translating Indian Nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature. I also remember what Gopal Krishna Gokhale said about the **Modern Review**, when in my capacity of the Under Secretary in charge of public meetings at the Calcutta University Institute, I went to invite him to speak under its auspices on the Elementary Education Bill, which he was then sponsoring in the Imperial Legislative Council, and when his old friend Prithwis

Chandra Roy, the Editor of the **Indian World**, had deserted him over the issue, and Gokhale had found his staunchest supporter in Ramananda Chatterjee. More than once at the height of the Non-Co-Operation Movement, Chittaranjan Das had asked me as to what Ramananda Babu thought of a particular move or utterance of his, knowing full well that he did not subscribe to the orthodox Non-Co-Operator's views and differed strongly from him on those questions. So great was the esteem in which Motilal Nehru held Ramananda Chatterjee as a journalist that he invited him to the Chief editorship of the **Independent** when he started it at Allahabad in 1919, asking him to dictate his own terms and offered to bear all expenses for the transfer of his two papers back to Allahabad should he choose to do so. I had it from Panditji himself in 1920 when I joined the staff of the **Independent**, then edited by Bipin Chandra Pal.

The influence of the **Modern Review** became with years co-extensive with the common wealth of thinking and cultured men and women all the world over,—a daily enlarging congregation of hearts awakened to a deep sense of love and regard for India, all that she had been in the past and all that she hoped to be in the future. His work for his two papers has left an abiding mark on Indian journalism. He enabled it to triumph over the disabilities resulting from imperfect technical equipment, and gave it a conscious pride, an awareness of the things of the mind, a sensitiveness to beauty, which will never be effaced.

Ramananda Babu was a strenuous fighter, and when he hit, he hit straight from the shoulder, but never below the belt. On public questions he would often differ and differ strongly from some of his friends, dear and esteemed friends, but no difference of opinion were allowed by him to loosen or even to affect his love and regard for them. No one he loved and revered more than he did Rabindranath Tagore. Yet on two different occasions he differed from him and differed openly. The first was in 1917, over the choice of Annie Besant as

President of the Calcutta Congress—a choice that the poet not only approved but lent support to, by accepting the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee when the Moderates led by Surendranath Banerjēa seceded from it over the issue. Rabindranath was anxious for Ramananda Babu's support, and before he finally threw in his lot with the Besantites, he went to see his friend, trying, if he could, to persuade him to his views. I had the privilege of accompanying him to Ramananda Babu's house—the old Prabasi-Office I have spoken about already. It was past ten at night, and the narrow lane had no light. As the Poet waited in his car, I went to fetch a lamp from the house. I found Ramananda Babu reading, and he came down with a hurricane lantern and showed Rabindranath in. Quietly we went up the narrow stairs, myself now leading with the lantern. The Poet opened the conversation. He gave his reasons for his support to Mrs. Besant; Ramananda Babu gave his for opposing her. Quietly the Poet listened to his friend and quietly he came away. The next day, or the day after, I do not remember exactly, his acceptance of the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee was in the hands of Mrs. Besant's supporters I was the bearer of his letter of acceptance addressed to Motilal Ghosh, and when he gave it to me, he said that a load was off his chest now that he had been able to explain his position to Ramananda Babu. It did not matter now if they differed.

The other occasion when Rabindranath and Ramananda differed was in 1938 over the partial scrapping of the '**Bande Mataram**' song as a Congress anthem on the ground of its being offensive to the religious feelings of the Muslims. Ramananda Babu, as readers will no doubt recall, did not share the Poet's opinion on the question and held forth against it in the **Modern Review** and the **Prabasi**. Yet, if I might say so, he worshipped the very ground the Poet trod. I shall never forget what he once told me about him. It was many years ago. Both of us had gone to see the Poet at his Jorasanko residence. He was slightly indisposed and was in his bed-room on the

second floor into which we were ushered. We found him with a well-known Homoeopathic practitioner of Calcutta and a young relation just returned from abroad after many years. The doctor left after some time; the young man remained and went on talking, almost completely monopolising the talk, about his experiences in Europe. There was no end to his '**ipse dixits**' or to his self-assurance. The Poet listened on in silence though it became increasingly oppressive. Ramananda Babu sat quiet all through. It was getting late, and we took leave of the Poet. As we walked back home through the lane where now runs Chittaranjan Avenue, I could not conceal my annoyance with the bore we had left behind. Then Ramananda Babu said if I had noticed that the Poet listened to everyone as if what he had to say was of supreme importance; but when there was no occasion to listen, there was a far-away look in his eyes, as though he could see something that was invisible to the rest of us. I did not then quite understand what he meant. I realized it afterwards and knew how truly and felicitously Ramananda Babu had put it. The Poet was really at heart a solitary man with the solitude of a mind voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone.

Ramananda Chatterjee was the soul of sincerity and never could be anything else. He had the simplicity of all noble natures. He was shy and sensitive. It was the shyness and sensitiveness of spiritual aloofness. He had the utmost contempt for the art of studying appearances and for the tricks by which public men catch the lime light. The supreme type of concentrated publicist, he never publicised himself. He never gave an interview in his life and never "posed" for the Press photographer. For many years he led a most secluded life, and at last when his fame spread far and wide, he was dragged into publicity and public life, whose honours came thick and fast for him; within a few months he became an all-India figure. His single-mindedness and simplicity, the great dignity of his character, his devoted services to his fellowmen, his steadfast allegi-

ance to high ideals and his most passionate patriotism won him a position of honour and authority in India which few of his contemporaries had enjoyed. He fought for India till the last breath of his life.

It is not, however, in the gestures of the arena, but in the familiar and domestic things of a man's home and immediate surroundings that you divine the man. And this man was noble. Of him it may be said "a larger soul hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay." His love and affection, his tender consideration, his abounding humanity were beyond praise. A great sorrow came to his life in 1919, when his youngest son Prasad suddenly died after a brief illness. Always a deeply affectionate and almost an indulgent father, the blow was a terrible one for him, made all the more unbearable by the partial loss of reason the shock brought for his dearly beloved and devoted wife, Manorama Devi, who was a true helpmate to her husband—a woman of remarkable courage and striking personality. I was at Lahore when Prasad died. He was a gifted child with an original bent of mind. He was like a younger brother to me, and I wrote to the sorrowing father how I felt when I heard the sad news. And he wrote back: "It will never be the same again." And he really was never altogether the same man again. He retired from Calcutta for a time and lived at Santiniketan. The death

of his wife in 1935 left him desolate. A more loving husband I have never known. Always deeply reserved, frugal of speech, he unbent in congenial society and became what he was in his home and to his friends,—the most urbane and delightful of companions. He loved children and children loved him.

A man of rare moral elevation, of impeccable private life, deeply religious, of transparent sincerity of conduct, he led a simple ordered life such as all can live, but few do. The material simplicity of his existence was something extraordinary and rarely met with. His devotion, his courage, his selflessness, his indifference to praise or blame or public opinion were worthy of emulation even by the highest in our land. He who gives these to the world gives to it infinitely more than those who give laws and schemes, doctrines and dogmas or lead rival parties of politics. For more than thirty-five years it was my singular good fortune to enjoy his fatherly affection. He guided me, he helped me; he encouraged me and praised me. He gave more than I deserved, and with a contrite heart, I remember occasions when I must have hurt his feelings. But he was always understanding, always forgiving; I can never repay his kindness. Now that he is gone, I can only offer to his sacred memory my tear-stained tribute of love and reverence, my heart's homage to his immortal soul.



MERELY A SPORT, OR A CREATION OF LOVE ?

With Gleanings from Rabindranath

BY PRAPHULLA KUMAR DAS

Is the creation of the world by God merely a sport (*lila kaivalyam*), or a Creation of Love ? "But what is the necessity of raising this question" ? —It may be asked. To this enquiry we give the reply in the following words.

The *Bhagavadgita*, the most popular of the sacred books of the East, says—"Among thousands of men scarcely one strives for perfection, and of those who strive and succeed, scarcely one knows Me in truth," that is, has the intuitive realisation of My Self. This however does not present an encouraging prospect before those who are devotedly striving after a life of communion with God. Be that as it may, the truth underlying the above lines from the *Bhagavadgita* cannot be questioned when we find that it is grounded on the direct spiritual experience of the *rishis* (i.e., the enlightened ones, sages) whose teachings have come down to us in 'that' remarkable group of scriptures, called the *Upanisads* from which the *Gita* is known to have derived its main inspiration. On the paradox of the inscrutability of *Brahman* says the *Keno Upanisad* (1.11), "He who feels that he has not been able to know Him has come to know Him ; on the other hand he who thinks that he knows *Brahman* does not in reality know Him." This is so, for *Brahman* cannot be comprehended as an object of knowledge in nature and described. God can be known only in intuitive apprehension or *saksatkar*, i.e., direct vision of the Reality. The truth of the above statement of the *Gita* is further borne out by the words of Jesus. While teaching by the similitude of labourers in the vineyard, he said, "The last shall be the first and the first last ; for many be called but few chosen."

Yet, in spite of the disheartening prospect held out before them, the men of devotion, in those days of plain-living and high-thinking, of spiritual enlightenment and affluence, persevered in their quest of the Eternal to reach the goal ; for they were convinced that to know the *Brahman* is the highest aim of life. Thus it has been possible for

the world to give birth to the God-men who sacrificed their all to make room in their hearts for the Giver of all. Without these men the world would have been a waste land, which it is not.

The Call of God ; Its Reality

Hence the man of devotion (*bhakta*) or God-man in spite of the words of warning given by the masters about the difficulty of "the way that leadeth unto life" strives on to reach the goal ever attracted by the call of the Deep which reaches his inner self, sweet as the melodious music of the flute, though inaudible to the outer sense. Had it not been so he could never have reached his goal surmounting the obstacles lying in the path of salvation.

From what has been said above, it may be, a man of faith following the path of reason and knowledge might raise the question,—“The above lines hold out a charming prospect, no doubt, before our mental vision, but has it any objective reality which can be apprehended by us inwardly” ? To put it more pointedly, does the Supreme Being, All-knowing and All-wise. Whose glorious majesty is revealed throughout the world. (*‘yah sarvajnah sarvavid yasyaisa mahima bhubi’*) ever concern Himself in any way with every individual’s spiritual efforts, encouraging as well as helping him inwardly whenever necessary ?” This question leads us to the central theme of our discussion.

We shall answer the question worded as above by first affirming the reality of the call of attraction inwardly felt by the devotee of unswerving loyalty to his Beloved. It is, in the words of Tagore, “not a mere subjective idea, but an energising truth ; and whatever symbol may be used to signify it, the consciousness of this call is spiritual.” He gave utterance to what he felt in many of his devotional songs ; here is one out of the many instances of his yearning cry for the Infinite on hearing His call :

I am restless ; I yearn after the remote !
Remote, O Thou far remote !

Thou playest
A thrilling music on Thy flute !

I am listless, Oh Remote, I am indifferent
to my surroundings.

The same kind of feeling was voiced by Kabir, the mystic devotee of the fifteenth century, for whom Rabindranath had great admiration :

What is that flute whose music thrills me
with joy (*kaun murali sabd sun anand bhayo*).
Again,

I hear the melody of His flute, and I
cannot contain myself (*ham se raha na jay*).
The above are clear instances of the devotee's personal experience of the call of attraction from God symbolised by the music of the flute. This experience is directly apprehended by a selfless devotee who feels the highest attachment to the object of his adoration. Such a soul has a foretaste of the joy of other-worldliness which makes him fitly attuned to receive inwardly the unheard melody that ever attracts him, but which remains unheard by others. His soul is like the finely attuned receiving set responsive to the musical wave vibrating in a distant plane of the ether ; but the vibration is not caught by any other musical instrument having a set of strings however finely tuned they may be. Nor is the knower of *Brahman* (i.e., one versed in the analytic or indirect knowledge about *Brahman* ; His ways, manifestations, and acts in the great drama of the world) necessarily a God-man who can have this direct apprehension of God. So says Rabindranath. "But the knower of *Brahman* (*Brahmajñānī*) is not necessarily the devotee (*bhakta*) of *Brahman*." He then goes on to say, "It is for this reason that the scriptures say that the truths of spiritual experience lie hidden in the inmost recess of the heart." Hence, "the proof of their reality does not depend on our arguments, or discussions. We however know it for certain that they do exist." The number of the saints and mystics who have borne testimony to this experience of theirs is not few. The religious literature of the world is enriched with the records of their experience which some of them chose to give utterance to for the good of mankind. We may accept them as true or reject them ; but to reject them would be to ignore the most vital part of the experience of the human race. "In matters of physical science," says Radhakrishnan, "We

accept what the greatest investigators in their departments declare for truth. In matters of religious truth we should listen with respect to what the great religious geniuses, who strove by faith and devotion to attain their spiritual eminence, have given out. In religious experience personal encounter is as real as the encounter of subject and object in cognitive experience."

Lila

Now comes the main subject of discussion before us—Why should the Creator who is the ruler of this vast universe feel attracted to each one of His devotees and encourage him by His Call ? Some people try to cut the Gordian knot saying the oft-repeated words "It is His *lila*." Yes, it is ; but what is this *lila* like ? We shall try to answer this by putting to ourselves the question—"Why did God create this universe"? It must be understood first of all that we are not speaking here of the Absolute Being (*nirguna Brahman*), incomprehensible and indescribable, being without determinations. "The *Upanisads* do not reduce the Absolute devoid of all determinations to a bare abstraction. The absolute is a living reality with a creative urge. When this aspect is stressed the Absolute becomes a personal God, *Isvara*." (Radhakrishnan). The two are not different entities, but two aspects of the one Unity. In relation to man and the universe created by Him, the Personal God, *Isvara* is *Brahman with the principle of self-manifestation*.

The word "*lila*" (sport), in connection with the creation of the universe was perhaps first used by the author of the *Brahmasutra* (also called the *Vedānta Darshan*) the most authentic treatise giving a synopsis of the philosophy of the *Vedānta* (i.e., the *Upanisads*), in a very condensed but pointed way by means of short aphorisms (called *sutras*). All the commentators of the *Brahmasutra* agree that it was intended to be a summary of the teachings of the *Upanisads*. In the second chapter of the second book, in the section dealing with the creation of the universe, the author argues that the theory of the creation of the world by *Brahman* out of a motive or necessity cannot be accepted (*naprayojanavattvat*). Commentators explain—God cannot have a need or motive for creating the universe, for He is All-sufficient. His desires are eternally fulfilled. Since He is without any motive, and since without

any motive no activity is possible, therefore God's creation of the world can not be accepted. The next *sutra* says—But as in ordinary life, creation is only a sport or pastime to Brahman (*lokavattu-lilakaivalyam*); i.e., though there may not be any motive, yet, as commentators explain, let this be understood that it is a mere sport with the Creator; as in this world men in high position who have no unfulfilled desires indulge in sport motivelessly. Nor can the Creator desist from this act of creation, for it is the spontaneous overflow of His nature; even as men cannot help breathing in and out. This gives answer to the question—why does He indulge in this activity? Why cannot He rest inactively or sterily in Himself? It has already been made out that the Absolute is a living reality with a creative urge; and we shall see a few lines below *how this creative urge reveals the Creator* as Brahman with the *principle of self-manifestation*. Now, as to what is that 'nature of God' from which creation proceeds spontaneously, it is well-known from the various texts of the Upanisads, chiefly from "*anandaddhyeva khalvimani bhutani jayante*" (truly it is from bliss that all beings are born) (Taittiriya 3.6.1). As to what is meant by 'bliss' as the source of creation, and other allied questions coming in its wake, we shall find a full answer below.

Here we are confronted with some questions that follow one another: If the creation was merely a sport having no plan or purpose behind it, why did God create a world like this and not any other? If we grant that the creation of a world like this was merely an accident, the next question would be, "why did not the creative urge of God stop with the creation of this material universe?" In other words, "why did His sport take the turn of creating sentient beings like men endowed with intelligence, volition and action?" What was the cause of the creation of the world of matter and then that of the embodied souls, unless we attribute some special motive behind this action on the part of the Creator? For a comprehensive answer to all these questions, we shall come to the writings of Rabindranath which give a full explanation of the mystery of creation in the light of the teachings of the Upanisads. In the series of sermons delivered by him in Bengali and published under the title of *Shantiniketan* as early as 1909, in his innumerable devotional

songs, and in lectures delivered in England twenty years later (published under the titles of *The Creative Unity* and *The Religion of Man*), he has left a rich store of spiritual food that will serve for generations to come to minister to the spiritual cravings of sincere enquirers.

Rabindranath begins his exposition of this subject by giving the derivative meaning of the Sanskrit word *sristi* (i.e., creation) coming from its root *srij*, which means 'parting with,' 'giving away' or 'sacrificing.' According to some others the root *srij* implies 'emanation,' 'letting loose.' He who is the Creator sacrifices his own self. This act of giving away does not detract from the integrity of Brahman. He creates by giving away His Self." This conception of the act of creation by sacrificing the Creator's Self is one of the earliest to be found in our scriptures, for it is found in the Rig Veda. Says Radhakrishnan, "The *Purusha-Sukta* of the Rig Veda makes out that in the original act of creation, God has torn Himself apart. The act of creation is an act of sacrifice." Rabindranath had said this years ago in his book *Santiniketan*. He says, "This act of giving away is not the outcome of any necessity or constraint. The nature of bliss (ananda) or joy of the Creator is therefore, to give Himself away spontaneously. In that sense, of the essential nature of the Creator, He is a 'giver (of joy).' The Upanisad also has so characterised Brahman—'This is it that bestows joy' (*esho hieva anandayati*). We also know this from our experience in life. "Our joy" the Seer-poet goes on to say, "gratifies or fulfils itself by imparting a part of it to others spontaneously." Hence the Upanisad says, "Truly, beings here are born from Bliss." As to what is meant by 'bliss,' we find that the same text of the *sruti* begins by saying, "He (the sage Bhrigu) knew that Brahman is bliss." What is the meaning of 'Brahman is bliss'? The *sruti* says, 'the Self consists of bliss.' i.e., is full of bliss (*Atma-anandamayah*). The word '*maya*' implies abundance. Brahman abounds in bliss and this bliss is immeasurable. Thus from the Upanisad texts we come to find that Brahman is full of bliss; and from Rabindranath's interpretation of the *sruti*—'this is it that bestows joy', we find that the Creator, from the abundance of bliss which is the essence of His being creates by giving Himself away. Now, from this interpretation, it is but one step to come to the reply to the question 'why did God

create man? At the outset we are to bear in mind that in the Upanisads, the Personal God (*saguna Brahman*) as the Creator has *not* been characterised as one *without any desire*; rather, we find the opposite being distinctly stated—‘*so’ kamayata, bahu syam*’ (11.6.1 Tait.), *i.e.*, He desired let me be many. So, on the authority of the Upanisad, we find that “the Lord of all creation has *kama* in the sense of *desire*.” In other places of different Upanisads too, we find words have been used which, though they do not explicitly signify ‘desire’ have yet been used to denote some kind of intention—(a) He thought shall I create worlds? (*Aitareya* 1.1.) ; (b) He thought may I be many (*Chhandyogya* 6.2.3.), etc. Let us now see what could be the source of this desire in the Creator for His being many. Evidently, for the All-Wise Creator it could not have been an aimless or fantastic desire like that of an insane person, as Sankara points out. Now, in the expression, ‘let me be many,’ the word ‘many’ *i.e.*, manifold objects, may stand for non-sentient *i.e.*, soulless, as well as sentient beings. Let us think that God at first created the material universe which, in itself, amply manifests His glory and power. But so long as He did not bring forth the sentient beings as men are, in this world, the Creator would remain hidden in the midst of the soulless universe in an unrevealed state of mere self-awareness, which is the fundamental consciousness of Brahman as the Absolute, *i.e.*, the *Nirguna Brahman* to which alone this state of self-awareness is applicable. But it has been pointed out that the Absolute is a living Reality with a creative urge; and now we can see that as a Personal God He is *Iswara with the principle of self-manifestation*. For, led by this creative urge *Iswara* desired to bring forth the embodied soul, man, whom He provided with a body equipped with vital breath (*prana*) and mind (*Mundaka Upanisad*), that he (*i.e.* man) might realise in his spirit the manifestation of God. Self-manifestation of the Creator implies the apprehension of the Self of the Supreme Spirit in the spirit of man, the external world playing a subordinate yet an important part in helping man to “To look through nature up to nature’s God.” So the Seer-poet said, *God wants this manifestation of His Self* in the mind of man. Thus was man, destined to be the co-sharer of His bliss, sent to this world.

Here we get the reply to the question, “*Why was man created*,” as well as why the Creator is represented as Brahman with the principle of *self-manifestation*.

Hence sings the Seer-poet,

Thou wilt have Thy *Lila* with me ;

It is for this that I have come to this world (*Gitanjali*). Then, as to what is meant by the word “*lila*,” and why this material world was created, he sings—

You and I shall unite in (the play of) love ;

For this the sky is full of splendour, the earth full of blooming beauties.

So we see, man was intended by his Creator to be the Central figure, the hero in the cosmic drama of creation destined to unite in love with his Creator as his Beloved; and the material world was to be the background of this play of love helping man to unfold his spirit. But without man, the central figure, merely the material world, wonderful and beautiful though it might be, would be meaningless—

“This round of green, this orb of flame

Fantastic beauty, such as lurks

In some wild Poet, when he works

Without a conscience of an aim.”

What would it matter, then, if there were no God if there existed no man ?

But how can the external world of nature help man in unfolding his soul? To serve His purpose God “created man in His own image” giving him a fraction of his own nature of consciousness (*jnana*) and bliss (*ananda*); so that man might realise with his power of apprehension the manifestation of the Creator in the outside world, and be filled with admiration and love for Him to feel the bliss of thus discovering the *anandamaya* as the Bestower of bliss (as the Upanisad says—“This is it that bestows joy”). (Here is the true and everlasting significance of the Old Testament account of the story of creation—“God made man in His own image.”) In this gift of bliss, man will discover that the *Creator is also the spring of boundless love* whence proceeds this flow of bliss. This gift of bliss is but an aspect of the love of God for man; for who ever gave away gifts worth-giving spontaneously, *unless out of* the spring of love in him for the receiver thereof? So the poet-philosopher says in one place—“The fundamental truth of the religion of love (*Bhakti-Shastra*) is that the relation of the Finite with

“Thou hast need of thy meanest creature ;
Thou hast need of what once was thine ;
The thirst that consumes my spirit
Is the thirst of thy heart for mine.”

—*The Creative Unity*

Thy world is weaving words in my mind and thy
joy is adding music to them. Thou givest thy-
self to me in love and then feelest thine own
entire sweetness in me.

And he thus explains this song, "Your flute could not have its music of beauty if your delight were not in my love. Your power is great, and there I am not equal to you, but it lies even in me to make you smile, and if you and I never meet, then this play of love remains incomplete. This conception of the reciprocity of love is the corner stone of the *Vaishnava* religion which is a religion of love. In the *Bhagavata*

(The Poet's own rendering from the original agement or succour, He gives it to him according to his attainment. Says the Seer-poet, *Gitanjali* in Bengali.)

Lastly, he who has heard the song of his Beloved's call has begun to run his race, and will not stop till the goal is reached in the union with his Beloved. But what is the destiny, it may be enquired, that lies in store for others—multitudes of people, good, bad and indifferent? The master's reply is that the call of sustenance and encouragement for all of them is heard coming over the Deep—

"That nothing walks with aimless feet ;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete."

Since God has torn Himself apart and created each individual soul out of His own Self (which is but an aspect of His love) so that all of them may have a share of His Infinite bliss, the whole creation is meant to be a moral 'edifice' ('pile'). "The world is not a completed act ; it is still in the process of completion. The world-spirit exists in the human-spirit which can attain to a consciousness of itself," says the philosopher. So the Creator, out of His infinite love for each individual spirit, "cannot cast him into the void as rubbish." He will wait for aeons and ages till each one who is a fraction of His Self comes to feel the urge for leading a career of personal endeavour by which alone the path of freedom or *mukti* may be attained. He does not force anyone, but he is keeping ceaseless watch upon the career of everyone, and whenever, in the cosmic process of spiritual evolution any soul needs His encour-

agement or succour, He gives it to him according to his attainment. Says the Seer-poet, "Thou art steadfastly gazing at me through the countless stars of the whole expanse of the sky."

Thus, the Lover will continue to wait ; "for as long as the bud (of the spirit) does not come to full bloom, the offering of the finite soul's worship is not ready."

God says, "I do not demand your offering from you forcibly ; I have given you my own-self, give me your joy in me ; he who is unmindful to me through ignorance will discover his mistake someday or other."

Thus, would the Creator be waiting endlessly as the individual soul will proceed from state to state, from birth to birth—

"Look also, Love a brooding star,
A rosy warmth from marge to marge."

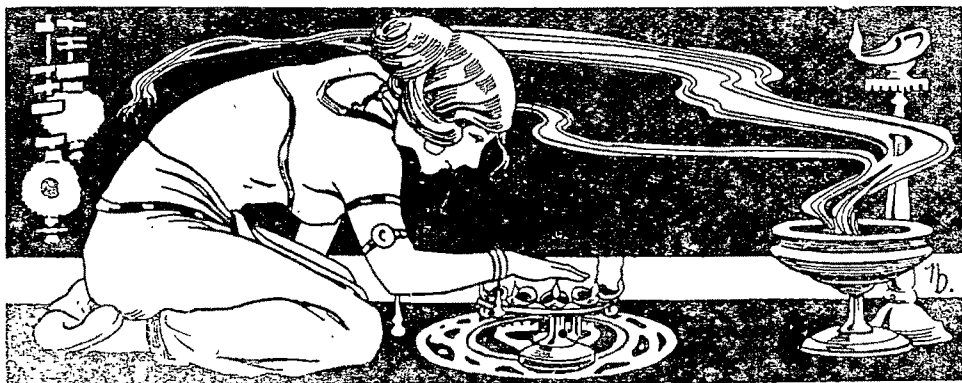
This is the *lila* of God, the play of love. The whole creation is thus one of love, and the union of each soul with his Creator is—

"The one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

And, the same Seer-poet of England also realised—

"Love Creation's final law." *Tennyson*.

So the *rishi* had declared, "Truly, it is from Bliss [*i.e.* from Love, the source of all bliss] that all these beings are born."



ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME'S POLITICAL TESTAMENT: AN APPRAISAL

Prof. B. L. GROVER, M.A., Ph.D.

The popular image of Allan Octavian Hume as a liberal and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress does not give a complete picture of the impact of his personality on Indian political life. An aspect which has not so far received adequate attention at the hands of scholars is the orientation which Hume gave to Indian political thought. Hume rightly sensed that among the politically-conscious Indians there was a growing conviction—a direct reaction to the failure of the struggle of 1857-58—that the methods of revolution were futile. As an Englishman interested in the perpetuation of British rule in India, he focussed attention on the alternative course of winning over the goodwill of the British Government and thereby securing some constitutional advantages. This idea which was already there in an embryonic form was skilfully seized by him and given a definite shape and direction through the launching of a loyal Indian National Congress. Hume made no insignificant contribution in creating among the thinking portion of the Indian community a tradition of loyalty towards the British Crown, in diverting their minds and energies into the channels of constitutional agitation thereby effectively minimizing the chance of its flow into violent and dangerous courses. Further, by his intense humanity and abiding sympathy for the Indian people, Hume deepened their faith in British justice and fairplay. The Indian National Congress was conceived to generate a particular line of thinking as also to serve as an efficacious safety-valve for the escape of public resentment. Hume served the cause of the British Empire more than the cause of India's freedom. It was no mere coincidence that Hume's severance of active association with the Indian National Congress by giving up office of the General Secretary in 1906, witnessed the emergence of a ginger-group in Congress which stood up against the 'ineffective' methods for which Hume and the Congress stood; the showdown with the

'Old Guard' came at the Surat session of the Congress in December 1907.

Hume's Conditioned Humanitarianism

By inheritance and upbringing Allan Hume was a liberal who worked for the general good of humanity. His father, Joseph Hume, headed the Radical group in the British Parliament for thirty years; Joseph championed the cause of the Indian people during the debates on the Charter Act of 1854. The son imbibed in his character the qualities of intolerance of injustice, tenacity of purpose combined with the devotion of a missionary to his work. Even in his capacity as a District Officer (1849-67) at Etawah in U.P., Allan Hume lent the weight of his position to the spread of education,¹ advocated temperance,² setting up of juvenile reformatories, eradication of social evils like female infanticide, child marriage, forced widowhood etc. The improvement of the lot of the Indians was very dear to his heart for which he worked whether in office or out of office. He identified himself with the people of India and in his correspondence with Lord Dufferin referred to the Indians as "Our people."

Hume's liberalism was, however, of a 'paternalistic' type. It was his firm conviction that India would benefit from the continuation of British rule. He showed unflinching faith in the Anglo-Indian connection and worked for strengthening these bonds. When the idea of forming an Indian National Union was first mooted in 1883, a preliminary report was sent to members which read thus: "The National Union, so far as it has been constituted, appears to be absolutely unanimous in insisting that unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, shall be the key-note of the institution. . . . it holds the continued affiliation of India to Great Britain, at any rate for a period far exceeding the range of any political forecast, to be absolutely essential to the interests of our own National Development."³ One funda-

mental objective of the Indian National Congress was to make unflinching effort for "the consolidation of union between England and India." Amongst the early teachings and preachings of the Congress, Hume listed the following:

"The people are taught to recognize the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that on the peaceful continuation of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country. They are taught that the many hardships and disabilities of which they complain are after all, though real enough, small in comparison with the blessings they enjoy..... The sin of illegal or anarchical proceedings are brought home to them, and the conviction is engendered that by united, patient, constitutional agitation they are certain ultimately to obtain all they can reasonably or justly ask for, while by any recourse to hasty or violent action they must inevitably ruin their cause and entail endless misery on themselves."⁴

An ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Hume Department, Hume had conclusive evidence of the mounting discontent in India due to the Government's unimaginative policies. Frequent famines plagued the very existence of the people. Lawlessness was on the increase in the Deccan and cases of violence frequent. India stood on the verge of a revolution. Hume decided to act to safeguard the interests of the British Empire. He sought a constitutional channel for the discharge of the great surging tide of discontent. In reply to a letter from Sir Auckland Colvin, Governor of the N. W. P., emphasising that the Congress movement was premature, Hume wrote back: "I have always admitted that in certain provinces and from certain points of view the movement was premature, but from the most vital point of view, the future maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire, the real question, when the Congress started was, **not**, is it premature, but is it too late—will the country **now** accept it?... A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised."⁵

Hume's approach, under the circumstances was similar to that of Lord Durham who had reported on the Canadian affairs in 1839 and had recommended grant of representative government coupled with the tightening of Imperial control by the union of Ontario with Quebec. It was Hume's firm conviction that some political concessions were inevitable to placate the Indian feelings, for concessions alone could save the British empire from the explosive situation it faced. In a letter of August 1886, Hume in an impassioned manner pleaded for broad-basing the Indian administration: "I only want you, dear Lord Dufferin to understand—to think for yourself—you who have read and realized history—what all this means—what must come to, unless you and someone bestir themselves to disinfect the insalubrious streams of the administration by turning into them the purer element of independent indigenous representation."⁶ Thus Hume's limited objective as far as Indian aspirations were concerned was limited to the demand for an efficient, honest and sympathetic administration coupled with the extension of the system of representation of Indians in the Legislative Councils. Hume did not advocate the grant of Home Rule to India, much less full independence. Rather, he hoped to perpetuate Britain's rule in India by broadbasing it on the willing consent and co-operation of the ruled.

Hume did much to enliven loyalty to the British Crown. If the Indians had some grievances, Hume attributed them to the insolence and callousness of the bureaucracy or ignorance of the British people of Indian problems and not due to any deliberate policy of exploitation. The British Crown stood for the well-being of the Indian people, who were Her Majesty's most sacred trust. Thus Hume explained away the issue of exploitation. He, in fact, gave a new orientation to Indian political thought. The educated opinion in the country rallied round Hume's banner (the Indian National Congress) and harped on the tune of loyalty year after year. At the first session of the Congress at Bombay

(1885), W. C. Bonnerjee proclaimed the unquestioned loyalty of the Indian National Congress in these words: "Let him say once for all.....that there were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well-wishers of the British Government than were himself and the friends around him."⁷ At the second session of the Congress at Calcutta (1886) Dadabhai Naoroji dwelt on the "civilising rule of the Queen and the people of England." He posed the question and himself answered it: "Is this Congress a nursery for sedition and rebellion against the British Government (shouts of 'no, no') or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government? (cries of 'yes, yes'). There could be but one answer, and that you have already given, because we are all thoroughly sensible of the numberless blessings conferred on us, of which the very existence of this Congress is a proof in a nutshell (cheers).....Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone"⁸ (cheers again). Confirming his faith in British sense of fairplay and justice, Dadabhai in his second presidential address at Lahore (1893) said: "I for one have not the shadow of a doubt that in dealing with such justice-loving, fair-minded people as the British, we may rest fully assured that we shall not work in vain.....I have never faltered in my faith in the British character."⁹ Surendra Nath Banerjee as Congress President (1895) announced that the Indian National Congress did not work for severance but unification and permanent embodiment of India as an integral part of the great British Empire and that the Indians could rely with unbounded confidence on the justice and generosity of the British people and their representatives in Parliament.¹⁰ Mr. C. Sankaran Nair used even more emphatic language in his presidential address (1897): "Let me say at once that in the remarks I make that I deem it superfluous to proclaim our loyalty to the British Throne or Constitution or to add that we have not the slightest sympathy with any speech or writing which would regard a severance of our connection as a desirable consummation."¹¹ W. C. Wedderburn, a disciple and close friend of Hume outdid all Congress presidents—delivering his presidential address (1889) he referred to the demonstration of Indian love and respect for Ripon at the latter's retirement from India and added: "These demonstrations were a popular declaration that on such terms **British rule could be accepted as the national government of the Indian people.**" Thus Congress presidents, one after the other vied with one another in proclaiming the loyalty of the organisation to the British Crown and affirming their faith in British justice.

Allan Hume aimed at bridging the widening gulf between India and England by a twofold approach—injecting the spirit of loyalty among educated Indians and attack on the loose ends of British administration in India. He attributed the sufferings of the people to the callousness of the top-heavy bureaucracy. Himself a victim¹² of the excesses of the bureaucracy, Hume urged Lord Dufferin to improve the administration by provision of cheap, sure and speedy system of justice; a police system to which the people could look as friends and protectors; a more elastic and sympathetic revenue system; a less harsh administration of the Arms and Forest laws and above all ending of racial discrimination in criminal cases and recruitment to public services. Hume brought to the notice of the Viceroy cases of racial and official discrimination against the Indians in criminal cases which he described as analogous to the state of affairs in England during the Chartist movement; he also made reference to the **Punch** cartoon in which the special constable says to the Chartist: "Look here if I kill you it's nothing, but if you kill me it's murder." Hume likened the Indian bureaucracy to the regime of the Bourbon Kings of France in the latter half of the 18th century who had neither eyes to see nor ears to hear and upon whom sudden destruction was brought by the hatred of the intellectuals energizing the dull despair of the masses. Hume believed that 'toadyism' existed in India to a greater degree than anywhere else. Needless to add that the bureaucracy and the system they perpetuated proved stronger than individual viceroys!

The Indian bureaucracy did not relish Hume's strictures on their administration

and retaliated by indulging in character assassination. They attributed uncharitable motives to his altruism. Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, described Hume as "the head-centre of the organisation from which emanated all the Ripon demonstration" and believed that the London Committee of the Indian National Congress was supporting 'Riponism' in that country as an electioneering move of the Liberal party in England.¹³ Mr. J. B. Peile, a member of the Viceroy's Council, found Hume's actions motivated by "misguided ambition," while C. P. Ilbert, the Law Member, doubted his honesty and described him as "an incorrigible mischief-monger."¹⁴ Some suggested the immediate deportation of Hume from India.

True, both Hume and the bureaucrats sought the same objective, namely consolidation and perpetuation of British rule in India, their methods differed. While the bureaucracy believed that this objective could be achieved by strict and efficient administration, Hume contended that a sympathetic administration cognizant of the feelings of the Indians could achieve the same end more effectively.

Hume's Political Eclipse

Allan Hume earned a position of great importance in India by acting as a liaison between the Nationalist workers and Lord Dufferin. Both the parties had faith in his mature judgement. While the nationalists believed that he came as a Messiah (R. N. Murcholkar in his presidential address, Bankipore, 1912, termed Hume as Moses or Aaron and even more successful than Moses)¹⁵ to work for India's political salvation, Lord Dufferin, on his part, believed that Hume was a truly loyal servant of the British Crown. Gopal Krishna Gokhale expressed the importance of Hume's position thus: "If the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or other of suppressing the movement." Besides a political organisation associated with the name of an Englishman was likely

to be sympathetically viewed by liberal-minded Englishmen in England.

Hume's great influence in the Congress waned as years rolled on and not unoften he met with the opposition of his co-workers. In a personal letter of August 1886 to the Viceroy, Hume tried to dispel the widespread impression in the Anglo-Indian and official circles about his unique position in the Congress party and wrote: "If you think I am at all a **dictator** you are quite mistaken. There is no doubt that if in certain matters, if.....my views chanced to coincide with theirs could apparently do great things and exercise extraordinary influence. But on the other hand I am wholly powerless."¹⁶ He believed his position in the Congress Party was no better than that of a "fly in the wheel."¹⁷ How greatly disillusioned Hume felt would be clear from another letter he wrote to Lord Dufferin wherein he opened his heart thus:

"And now I have done all I can, and, to tell the truth, am getting gradually very angry and disgusted. I undertook this work under assurance of all necessary support, by which I certainly understood being vouched for in all I advanced under their suggestions, and this vouching for, directly I cannot obtain, at least hitherto failed to obtain.....There is not even one Indian who will publicly stand by me and say openly it is all true.....I am distinctly enjoined to let it be gradually known that I was working under the advice and guidance of advanced initiates (Mahatmas) and I have done so, and having done so, am apparently so far stranded that though hundreds of thousands, it may be a million or two do know that this is true, the great mass of Europeans, at any rate, must look upon me as a lunatic or a liar....I have made up my mind.....to drop all reference to my friends—to cease to admit that I have any longer any connection with them—unless they are in a position to give advice which ought not to be disregarded on public matters."¹⁸

The nationalist leaders charged Hume with vanity and being incapable of any superhuman achievement. In his second

Presidential address at Allahabad (1892) W. C. Bonnerjee, a stalwart of the Congress organisation from its very inception, said: "The Congress movement is only to some extent, and I may say, only a limited extent, due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us. It is not the influence of this man or of that man or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is."¹⁹ Despite his disillusionment and political eclipse in the Congress organisation, Hume did not break off connections with the party but became more and more disinterested. In 1891, Hume expressed his desire to proceed to England, but was prevailed upon to stay on in India. However the Congress Party appointed Pandit Ayudhyanath as the Joint General Secretary and in 1893 Mr. Ananda Charlu was named as the Joint General Secretary. In 1894, Hume finally left India. Although Hume continued to be designated as the General Secretary of the Congress till the year 1906, Mr. D. E. Wacha was appointed as Joint General Secretary to act for Hume in India.

Hume's disillusionment from the Government House was also not late in coming. It was Lord Ripon who had recommended Hume's name to Lord Dufferin with the remark that this ex-secretary to the Government possessed a good knowledge and understanding of the Indian problems. Dufferin gave Hume easy access and invited him on a number of occasions to discuss public matters. It was not long before that Lord Dufferin discovered Hume to be of 'unpracticable nature.' Hume's suggestion for the appointment of a Public Service Commission comprising Mr. Aitchinson (Chairman) and W. C. Wedderburn, Prof. Wordsworth, Henry Cotton and Hume himself as members did not find favour with the Viceroy. Dufferin also refused to discuss with Hume any plan for representation of Indians in the Legislative Councils. Hume flattered the Viceroy that the latter had more the good of India at heart than even Lord Ripon, that he (Dufferin) was in harmony with the Congress resolutions in spirit if not in detail. The only difference, maintained Hume, that he found between the Congress leaders and Dufferin lay in the fact that while the for-

mer wanted definite action in the desired direction to be taken at once the latter would not act without great preliminary consideration at Governmental level in India and England. Hume's flattery did not yield any dividends and Hume and the Viceroy drifted apart. The Viceroy felt very unhappy at some of Hume's writings which cast aspersions on the Viceroy himself. Hume had published a collection of newspaper articles under the title "The Rising Tide" and in the preface attributed to the Viceroy the recommendation to the Secretary of State for sterner measures and restrictions on the press and made references to the secret correspondence that had passed between the authorities in India and England, which in the same preface Hume described as "dishonest, disingenuous and insulting to the people of India" Dufferin took strong exception to these allegations which he described as baseless and accused Hume and his friends of indulging in the "systematic defamation of the Government." Dufferin penned a strong personal note to be sent to Hume which was worded thus: "Is it then, I would ask you, consistent with your honour and self respect or with the patriotism of an Englishman and a loyal subject of the Queen to add to the Viceroy's difficult task of governing this country by disseminating among the people of India and the public at home the groundless insinuations in regard to his personal sentiments and his confidential communications with the Secretary of State which are contained in this pamphlet."²⁰ This draft letter was sent to members of the Viceroy's Council for their comments. However, to avoid entering into a public controversy with Hume, Dufferin did not despatch the letter and allowed the matter to rest there.

The year 1887 saw the activation of Congress propaganda and publication of pamphlets like 'The Old Man's Hope,' 'A Congress Catechism,' 'A conversation between Moulvi Fukruddin and one Rambukh of Kamliaklipur' etc., and the stiffening of official attitude which described such publications as seditious and savouring of the methods used by the Anti-Corn Law League in England or Irish Fenianism. Lord

Dufferin denounced the Congress Party as a 'microscopic minority' and their ultimate aspirations as 'a big jump into the unknown.' Even at the social level Lord Dufferin refused to communicate with Hume and did not acknowledge any of his letters.²¹ In his correspondence with the Secretary of State, Dufferin described Hume as 'idiot enough.'²² This estrangement between Hume and Dufferin which became more and more wide as the years rolled on was more due to their different appreciation of India's problems. While Hume believed that the Indians, if not pacified, would rise in open insurrection, Dufferin described his fears as 'foolish.' Hume felt unhappy at Dufferin's 'dignified take-it-easy attitude,' while the Viceroy considered Hume as myopic in political judgment.

Although Allan Hume lost his position of pre-eminence in the Congress party and influence with Lord Dufferin, his efforts had not been fruitless. His services to the cause of British Imperialism are incalculable. He generated new thought waves in India. He focussed attention on loyalty to the British Crown and the British sense of justice and fair-play. He emphasised the efficacy of constitutional methods for redress of Indian grievances. Unchannelled, the politically conscious Indians would have drifted into the arms of revolutionaries. That 'extremism' crept into the ranks of the Indian National Congress in the early years of the 20th century was more due to the wooden and unimaginative policy of British ruling circles fed on the neo-imperialism of the time. Nevertheless Hume's political conditioning of the Indian National Congress left an impact on the Congress which it could never completely shake off.

1. When after the holocaust of 1857-58 the official opinion turned against the spread of popular education, Hume indignantly wrote in his report of January 1859: "Assert its supremacy as it may at the bayonet's point, a free and civilised government must look for its stability and permanence to the enlightenment of the people and their moral and intellectual capacity to appreciate its blessings" (Quoted by W. C. Wedderburn in Allan Hume's biography, p. 17).

2. Hume described Abkaree as the Wages of Sin. In a report of 14th September 1860 Hume

showed his unhappiness at the increase of revenue from liquor traffic and wrote: "Of this revenue the Wages of Sin, it may in the words of the old adage be truly said that ill-gotten wealth never thrives, and for every rupee additional that the Abkaree yields, two at least are lost to the public by crime, and spent by the Government in suppressing it" (quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 21).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

4. Hume's speech at the Allahabad session of the Congress. (Dec. 1888), Quoted by C. H. Philips in the "Evolution of India and Pakistan," p. 142.

5. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

6. Dufferin Private Papers: letter received from Hume dt. 13th August 1886.

7. Congress Presidential Addresses, Natesar & Co., First series, p. 3.

8. Chundal Lallabhai Parekh: Essays Speeches, Addresses and Writings, of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, pp. 332-33.

9. Congress Presidential Addresses, *op. cit.* p. 159.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-55.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

12. Hume differed temperamentally from the rank and file of the bureaucracy. His habit of expressing his views with great freedom was construed as insubordination and accounted for his transference in 1879 from the Government of India Secretariat to the Revenue Board at Allahabad. On Hume's insistence to know the cause of the expulsion from his original paradise in Simla, the Private Secretary to Lord Lytton in a letter of 17th June 1879 wrote that the decision of the Government "was based entirely on the consideration of what was most desirable in the interests of the public service."

13. Lord Reay's letter to Lord Dufferin dated 24th May 1885.

14. Ilbert's personal letter to Dufferin dt. 4th November 1886.

15. Congress Presidential Addresses, *op. cit.*, Second series, p. 63.

16. Hume's letter to Dufferin dated 2nd August 1886.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Hume's letter to Lord Dufferin, dt. 27th November 1886.

19. Congress Presidential Addresses, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

20. Dufferin Private Papers, draft letter dt. 18th June 1886.

21. "I have long since ceased to have any communication with Mr. Hume" Dufferin's letter to the Secretary of State dated 18th Nov. 1888.

22. *Ibid.*

CULTURAL LAG OR ADJUSTMENTAL DELAY—A NOTE

By DEBNATH MOOKHERJEE *

SINCE W. F. Ogburn coined the term "cultural lag" in early 1920's, it has been variously interpreted and used to mean a number of different situations. According to Ogburn, cultural lag is a lack of adjustment "between two parts of culture, one of which changes before or in greater degree than the other part does." He also precisely differentiated adjustmental delay from cultural lag. Unlike the later concept, adjustmental delay only implies a failure to adjust to a new invention, whereas a lag presupposes the existence of two or more inter-related and inter-balanced variables. But in spite of a rigid theoretical division between the two concepts, it is very difficult to draw a sharp line between their practical applications, specially when they are looked at in a society in transition. Most of the Asian societies are in a stage of transformation, desiring a change towards a betterment in the spheres of their social, economic and political life. As a result of this change an element of conflict and maladjustment is apparent among them in various degrees. It would be rather difficult to describe specifically whether these maladjustments can be termed as cultural lag or adjustmental delay; any satisfactory analysis of these phenomena would call forth a thorough study of their intrinsic social structures. Such an undertaking would be a tremendous task indeed and would go beyond the compass of their paper. An analysis of a few aspects of Indian society (of which the author has some empirical knowledge) may provide an insight into the problem.

In a complex society like in India, one is liable to be even more confused as to the proper use of these concepts. However, the major intent of this paper is not to bring forth any controversy regarding these concepts and their uses but to present a picture of the general nature of the adjustmental problems in India.

One of the various aspects of the psychosocial maladjustments in India is a problem resulting from an absolute high rate of increase of population in recent years. In the last decade, for instance, India has added over seventy-five million people to her total population. This tremendous increase would have some disastrous effect upon the socio-economic structure of India. In the past, population increase was not a great problem in India's village oriented economy. Consequently, there was little need on the part of the people to be concerned about birth control. In recent decades, on the other hand, with a decrease of death-rate mainly through improved medical and sanitary facilities and a maintenance of a steady birth-rate on a relatively broad population base, a disaster of over-population is looming large over the horizon of modern India. And it is absolutely necessary for the people to control and limit the birth-rate. But unfortunately, a large part of the people cannot yet get themselves psychologically adjusted to the idea of practising birth-control. The Government of India, however, is trying to stimulate this idea among the people in various ways. Since independence, numerous family planning clinics have been opened, free medical advice in this respect is provided, and attempts are being made to familiarize the people with various birth-control devices. But in spite of all these efforts on the part of the Government, the latest Census Report shows an increase of population by about 21.49 per cent over the previous census, against 17.49 as was expected. Should this situation either be thought of as a cultural lag or only a delay in adjustment between the national need and the psychosocial response? [It is to be remembered in this context that this maladjustment on the part of the people has been intensified to a considerable extent due to their low economic condition and a lack of proper sex-knowledge. With the general spread of educational facilities and a rise in the standard of living, it may be hoped that this problem of adjustment would be minimized to a certain extent in the future.]

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With the development of industrialization and urbanization, various other adjustmental problems have been cropping up in the economic and social structure. The problem emerging from family reorganization may be considered in this respect. The traditional joint patriarchal families were composed of the parents, their unmarried sons and daughters, married sons and their offspring. Each of these families was a largely integrated social unit which provided social, cultural, emotional and economic support, security, stability, and guidance to all the members of the family. Particularly the aged, disabled and infant members of the joint families were specially benefited in that system. Some of the accompanying consequences of urbanization and industrialization resulted in a gradual dispersion of the joint families. The newly created nuclear families, generally composed of the husband, wife, and their unmarried children, are too individualistic in their outlook. Socially and economically these families are either unable or unwilling to play the role of the former joint families. The newly independent State, on the other hand, has not yet been able to extend its social security programmes to fulfil every felt need of the society. As a result of this changing set-up of the family pattern, perhaps a sort of lag has emerged between the social [or rather individual] need, and its socio-national response.

A little contemplation also reveals a psychological maladjustment in this sphere of family reorganization. A large portion of the present-day nuclear families have been compelled to come out of their joint units due to various causes of which employment opportunities and housing problems are two major ones. Besides, joint-property ownership has become uneconomical as a result of recent land tenure and reform measures adopted by the State. Due to the shortage of housing and higher cost of living in the urban areas, to live under the same roof for all the members of a joint family has become an impossibility. Moreover, employment in different parts of the country required some of them to move away from the joint families. It appears that a considerable number of these people have not yet been able to adjust themselves psychologically to their new family structure and environment. Most of them still need the supervision, guidance and security once afforded by the joint families and feel themselves morally responsible

for rendering the duties and liabilities to the members of their pre-existing joint unit. As a result of this lack of emotional adjustment an element of unhappiness or an implicit psychological conflict between one's family orientation and that of procreation, is sometimes revealed in the life of some of the people during this transitory period.

A great deal of diversified opinions center around the appropriateness of the caste system in the context of the social change in modern India. It is an accepted fact that the caste system was very closely interrelated with India's socio-economic system from the ancient times. The economic positions and the relative professions of the four castes were Brahmins (priests and intellectuals), Kshatriyas (warriors and administrators), Vaishyas (merchants and cultivators), and Sudras (the menials and servants). Later developments also created a sub-caste, namely, the untouchables. With the gradual change in the traditional socio-economic structure, and with the industrial and urban developments, these differences of occupations and positions have no hard and fast binding upon the people. Moreover, any discrimination on the ground of one's caste and creed has been legally abolished by the Constitution of India. But still it is apparent that there is a lack of adjustment or lag between the structural change in the society and its 'mores.' Even today there are some set jobs for the lower caste people—and a person of the upper caste, even if uneducated and unsophisticated, either would be looked down upon by society or would be ashamed of himself if he performs these jobs.

This note illustrates the problem of adjustments by means of a few examples. Though these examples have been selected from the Indian society, most of the other changing Asian societies would perhaps reveal problems of the same nature. In most of the Asian societies some sort of conflict or lag is apparent between their respective traditional influences and the new wave of urbanization and industrialization. Even those societies who apparently seem to be quite serene and satisfied with the new ideas and changes would reveal an undercurrent of their own tradition and culture debarring them from a full-fledged adjustment in their social, economic and cultural life. In the case of India, this

maladjustment is even more pronounced. Impact of urbanization and industrialization, coupled with the ideas of so-called 'modernization' have entered into the very fibres of Indian society and are gradually spreading their roots into the soil of India. On the other hand, there is the 'Indianism'—India's own eternal tradition, values and cultures which are influencing Indians in every phase of life. As a result there emerges a maladjustment in every sphere of the life of the people—maladjustment between the national need and social response as revealed in their reluctance to practice birth-control, between the emergence of new social situations and their emotional response to it, as revealed in their sense of insecurity at the breakdown of the joint families, and between social change and social 'mores,' as revealed in their emotional instability regarding the caste system. Should these maladjustments be termed as 'cultural lags' or mere 'adjustmental delays'? More research is needed to find out an appropriate answer.

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN RURAL LIFE

Village Survey Findings

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

A distinctive feature of the report of the Census for 1961 is the village survey monographs which are intended, to quote Shri Asok Mitra, the Registrar-General and Census Commissioner, "to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where." Under the general scheme, at least thirty-five villages are to be surveyed in each State. To make the description vivid, personal observation is brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics in the case of villages selected for the survey monographs. The written description is supplemented by real life photographs of the people, the physical surroundings in which they live, and the implements with which they work on the field.

The monographs* under reference cover three villages in West Bengal where, according to Shri J. C. Sen Gupta, Superintendent of Census Operations, fifty villages are proposed to be covered by the survey. West Bengal being among

the most industrialized and most urbanized States in the country the surveys—dealing as they do with two villages (Kodalia and Kamnara) on the outskirts of urban areas and one village (Ghatampur) in the interior of the rural area—yield an interesting picture of the progress and limit of industrialisation and urbanisation in the country.

Kodalia is about two miles away from the town of Chandernagore and is also within easy reach from Hooghly—Chinsurah, the headquarter town of the district as well as of the division. It is easy for the people living in the village to establish communication with the outside world by trains, public buses, motor cars (even if none living in the village owns one) and cycle rickshaws. A number of residents of the village do indeed seek work in the nearby towns, and even in Calcutta, which is 20 miles away.

Similarly the village of Kamnara is situated about 3 miles away from the city of Burdwan along the Burdwan-Katwa road. From the point of easy accessibility to and from nearby urban areas, Kamnara is almost as well placed as Kodalia.

The village Ghatampur in the industrialized Hooghly district is on the other hand situated in the heart of the rural area, being sixteen miles away from the district town of Chinsurah. The nearest railway station is at a distance of half a

* *Census of India 1961, Volume XVI, West Bengal, Part VI, Village Monographs*. 1. (Kodalia village in Hooghly District), 2. (Kamnara village in Burdwan District) and 3. (Ghatampur in Hooghly District), by J. C. Sen Gupta, Superintendent of Census Operations, West Bengal and Sikkim. New Delhi, 1963, Pp. xi ; 35 and ix, 31 ; ix, 35 ; Price Rs. 2.20, Rs. 2.80 and Rs. 2.90 respectively.

mile from the northern boundary of the village ; but the nearest bus route is three miles away as is the nearest post office (even for posting letters the people in the village have to walk all the way to the post office at Makhampur, three miles away).

It is remarkable that through all the three villages the railway runs dividing each of them into two parts.

The population of the villages varies in size those near the urban areas having a larger population than that in the rural inland. There was 182 households in Kotalia with a population of 922. 150 households in Kamnara with a population of 970. On the other hand the village Ghatampur has 150 households with 727 persons. The population of the villages is multi-caste and in one multi-religious.

IMMIGRATION

In all cases the immigrants have accounted for a large number of the inhabitants. Fifty families in Kotalia village came to the village in the present generation, while eight families came one generation ago. In Kamnara sixty-eight families have come to the village to settle there in the present generation, while twenty-nine families had come to the village in the previous generation. In Ghatampur sixteen families came to settle there in the present generation, while fifteen families had settled one generation ago. In none of the villages any migration from the village is reported.

The types of houses lived in by the people vary according to the caste, which again roughly indicated the economic position of the inhabitants. In Kotalia the largest single caste group, Karmakar, does not have even a single *pucca* house for any of its members ; there are 18 sadgopes and 17 brahmin families (out of a total of 21 families in each caste group) live in *pucca* houses, the total number of such houses in the village being 53. In Kamnara, there are only four *pucca* houses, two belonging to two Urgrakshatriya gentlemen (one of whom does not live in the village), the other two being accounted for by the school and boarding house attached to the school. In rural Ghatampur 144 of the 150 families surveyed are found to live in houses having mud walls, 3 families live in houses with walls made of split bamboos and three other families having houses with brick walls.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN

The occupational pattern in the villages will be seen from the following table :

Occupational Pattern in villages

Kotalia Kamnara Ghatam-

			<i>pur</i>
Total No. of Families	182	150	150
Cultivation	4	68	49
Agricultural Labour	38	25	77
Manufacturing	—	12	7
Livestock	10	—	3
Construction	5	—	—
Wholesale Trade	18	—	—
Retail Trade	27	3	2
Transport, Storage and			
Communication	35	1	1
Other Services	39	31	4
Domestic Service	6	—	—
Non-workers	—	10	7

The overwhelming majority of the population in Kamnara and Ghatampur still relies on agriculture. Even in Kotalia as many as fifty-two families derive their living from agriculture. It will be noticed that in the rural Ghatampur village more than half of the population has to depend on work as agricultural labourers for their sustenance ; whereas in the villages near urban areas the proportion of agricultural labour families to the total is much lower. This is to be read with the disclosure by the Second Agricultural Enquiry that the percentage of landless agricultural families in West Bengal was 63.49 in 1956-57. Although in Kotalia village there is no non-working family, the number of families classed as non-workers is 7 in Ghatampur and 10 in Kamnara. Perhaps the most striking thing is that in Kotalia which is situated near an urban area within easy reach of electricity, there is no industry. Industrialization remains a far cry. Of the 12 families in Kamnara depending on manufacturing the heads of 8 families work in a rice mill in a nearby village (this again shows the undesirable type of industrialization that has encroached upon village life by replacing hand pounding of paddy which, apart from being a source of employment is also a source of nourishment to the rice-eating population), the heads of two families work in the loom shed at "Burdwan, the head of one family prepares and sells sweetmeats outside the village, while the head of one family makes blankets from wool."

The following tables provide further details :

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY

Caste	Cultiva- tion	Agricul- tural Labour	Live- stock	Construc- tion	Transport Storage and communi- cations	Wholesale Trade	Retail Trade	Other Services	Domestic Service
Brahman	1	..	5	6	9	..
Baidya	5	..
Kayastha	1	1	..	..	4	..
Sadgope	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	15	1
Goala	9	..	4	7	1	..	..
Bauri	..	10	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Bagdi	..	2	..	..	3	..	2	..	..
Karmakar	2	23	..	3	7	..	11	..	2
Rajput	1	6	..	2	..
Harijan	3	..	..	..	..
Kurmi	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Dosadh	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Rajwar	2	..	..	..	..
Mallah (Boatman)	1	..	2	..	..
Sau	1	..	2	..	..	..	..
Saha	1	..
Mahisya	1	..
Dhoba	1	..
Ambati (Cultivator from Srikakulam district in Andhra)	1	..	..	..	..
Bhuiya	1	..	..	..	..
Pasi	1	..	..	..	..
Ramani-Kahar	1	..	..	1	..
Baishnab	1	..
Bhor (Basket making)	1	..	..	..	..
Tili	1	..	..
Rajbanshi	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4	38	10	5	35	18	27	39	6

Note : The Industrial Classification has been done according to the system prescribed by the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India, with the modification that the division Trade and Commerce has been sub-divided into two parts, e.g., Wholesale Trade and Retail Trade. Similarly, Other Services has been divided into two parts—Other Services and Domestic Service.

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY CASTE AND INDUSTRIES CATEGORY OF THE HEAD

Name of Caste or Tribe	Cultivation	Agricultural Labour	Manufacturing	Retail Trade	Transport Storage Communications	Other Services	Non-Workers
Goala or Gope	29	..	..	1	..	..	5
Santal	12	8	5	..	..	8	..
Ugra Kshatriya	9	1	3	1	1	3	2
Bauri	2	3	2	..	..	11	..
Kush Metey or Bagdi	..	9	1	..	..	3	2
Namasudra	11	2	..	..	..	..	..
Muchi	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
Gandha Banik	1	..	..	1	..	1	1
Brahman	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Bairagi	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Ahir	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Hari	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total :	68	25	12	3	1	31	10

FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY CASTE|TRIBE|COMMUNITY AND INDUSTRIAL CATEGORY OF THE HEAD

Caste|Tribe|Community	Total No. of Families	Cultivation	Agricultural Labourer	Manufacturing	Retail Trade	Other Services	Livestock	Transport, Storage & Communications	Non-Workers
1. Muslim	26	17	5	..	1	..	..	..	1
2. Sadgope	24	14	2	4	1	1	..	1	1
3. Kora	19	3	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Kaora	15	2	11	..	..	..	..	..	2
5. Deswali	14	2	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Karmakar	13	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	1
7. Bauri	12	1	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Goala	11	7	..	..	..	1	3	..	..
9. Brahman	6	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
10. Bagdi	5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Bhumij	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Paramanik	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
13. Chhatri	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Total :	150	49	77	7	2	4	3	1	7

It is not difficult to imagine a picture of the conditions of living of different groups of people from the preceding table showing occupational distribution ; Ninetynine families out of 182 (i.e. 54.0 per cent of the families) in Kotalia were in debt ; seventythree families were in debt in Kamnara ; and 119 families were in debt in Ghatampur where only 31 families were free from debt. Not surprisingly many families are under-nourished.

LIGHTING

There is no electricity in any of the three villages under discussion, notwithstanding the fact that all of them are situated in or near the industrial belt and two of the villages lie on the outskirts of urban areas. The statement requires to be qualified by the fact that in Kodalia the house of the Inspector of Works of the Eastern Railway has electric connection. In Kodalia, 103 houses have hurricane lanterns and 78 houses are lighted by uncovered lamps. There is no petromax or hazak (kerosene pressure lamp) in any of the houses. "Judged by the standard of lighting, 78 households may be considered to be in the class of poor peasants," writes Shri Sen Gupta. (p. 9) In Kamnara, 91 houses use hurricane lanterns, while 59 houses use uncovered kerosene lamps or diba. In Ghatampur, 70 families use hurricane lanterns and the remaining 80 families use uncovered kerosene lamps.

If the Kerosene stove is taken as an indicator of industrial age, only 15.4 per cent of the households in Kodalia, could be considered to have entered the industrial era. Apparently none of the households in Kamnara has a kerosene stove, although 53 families there use coal or coke as domestic fuel solely, or in supplementing wood as fuel. In Ghatampur again only 3 families, or only two per cent of the families, possess kerosene stoves.

TRANSPORT

If possession of a bicycle is considered an indicator of entry into the industrial age, 18.7 per cent of the families in Kodalia and 13.3 per cent of the families in Kamnara and apparently none in Ghatampur are found to have felt the impact of the industrial age.

EDUCATION

In all the three villages people have a keen awareness of the need to educate the children. If all the people are not able to send their children to school, it does not indicate so much their unwillingness to do so as their inability to bear the cost of education of the children. The average cost of educating of a boy or a girl in school is approximately Rs. 150 in Kodalia and Rs. 41 in Ghatampur. It is, therefore, that only 36.8 per cent of the families having children between the ages of 8 years and 20 years in Kodalia can send their children to school; in Kamnara 51 per cent of the families having children in the age-group

5-16 years are able to send their children to school; and in Ghatampur only 42 families out of 89 having children in the age-group 5-16 years are able to send their children to school. Shri Sen Gupta writes of the attitude of the people of Ghatampur: "Those families which have children in the age-group 5-16 years but do not send their children to school are perhaps too poor to pay even this small amount for the education of a child. The parents of the young man who attends a college have to spend approximately Rs. 600 per year for his education.

"The residents of the village are fully alive to the need of educating their children. As far back as 1916 they established the primary school by their own initiative in the outhouse of the local official of the then zamindar. In 1925, the school was shifted to the present building. The building was constructed on a plot of land donated by the goalas and the muslims of the village. The sadgopes supplied the C.I. sheets required for the construction of the roof and also supplied the doors and windows, the building being constructed with the subscription raised from the villagers. Before the school was taken over by the district school board, the recurring expenses used to be met partly by the members of the managing committee of the school.

"There is a Junior High School at Porabazar and a High School at Belmuri.

"The adults who did not have the good fortune to attend a school in their boyhood, also feel the necessity of becoming literates, but there is no adult literacy centre in the village."

COMMUNICATION

The surveys have underlined an unmistakable gap in the existing system of communication. Twentyeight of the families in Kodalia read newspapers, while 12 per cent are found to listen to radio broadcasts. In Kamnara only in 11 families out of 150 newspapers are read and there are only two families possessing (transistor) radio sets and one family possessing a gramophone. In Ghatampur, newspapers are read in 15 families and radio sets are possessed by 6 families (and another six families regularly listen to the broadcasts).

Most of the Karmakars, bauris and bagdis in Kodalia village do not know that untouchability has been abolished by law. In Kamnara, the heads of only 55 households know that inter-

caste marriage is permissible under the law, while only 38 families know that untouchability has been abolished. The situation in Ghatampur is still worse : only 17 families are aware that inter-caste marriage is permissible.

In other words more extensive efforts are required to be made in the field of communication in the rural areas. Undoubtedly with the increase in the number of liberates the solution of the problem will be facilitated but in view of the inability of a large number of families to meet the cost of sending their children to school, wiping out of illiteracy is not going to be achieved soon. Again, the problem of adult illiteracy is none the less formidable. The best way to attack the problem would be to introduce universal free primary education, to start with, adult literacy classes, and community radio listening centres. Yet, if past experience be any guide, the mere extension of educational facilities may not be sufficient to induce economically underprivileged people to derive benefit from the same. Many of the families may find it difficult to spare the children who are valuable as helping hands ; in many families, again, want of sufficient clothing in a handicap to school going.

INEQUALITY AND STRAIN IN VILLAGE LIFE

The surveys confirm the existence of inequality and strains in the villages—belying much of the idealization of the village-life. The inequality is reflected not only in the type of dwelling houses owned or ornaments worn but also in the ownership of household land. In Kamnara village, for example, 51 families have their homesteads on other people's land, as the following table shows :

OWNERSHIP OF HOMESTEAD LAND IN KAMNARA AND GHATAMPUR VILLAGES

Area of Homestead	No. of Families	
	in Kamnara	Ghatampur
1. Up to 5 <i>cottahs</i>	55	49
2. Between 6-10 <i>cottahs</i>	29	29
3. Between 11-15 <i>cottahs</i>	3	4
4. Between 16 <i>cottahs</i> —1 <i>bigha</i>	2	15
5. More than 1 <i>bigha</i>	1	14
6. Ejmali estate (joint ownership)	9	—
7. Lives on others land	51	39
Total :	150	150

The same picture of extreme inequality is discernible in the field of ownership of agricultural land. In Ghatampur only 78 families own any agricultural land ; in Kamnara, the number of families owing agricultural land is only 72 in a trail of 150.

About Ghatampur village Shri Sengupta writes, "The village society is far from homogeneous and there are a number of factions in the village. This division into groups or factions is not guided exclusively by considerations of caste or community as there are more than one group within the muslims as also within the sadgopes and the goalas."

DESIRE FOR CHANGE

There is no direct evidence of any definite desire for change in the villages covered by the three surveys, although there is some dissatisfaction with their present occupations among a number of the people. In Kamnara, Shri Sen Gupta writes, as many as "97 out of the 150 families interviewed are satisfied with their present conditions and unless there is a change in their outlook, it would be futile to expect that they would exert themselves to bring about an improvement in their standard of living." (p. 29) This is not very surprising, though. The desire for change requires a stimulus to come to the fore. In a preponderantly illiterate society the ideas and imagination of the people cannot but be obviously restricted ; it will be idle to blame them for the absence of any desire for change which could come to the surface only with the knowledge or assurance that anything better is possible. To the extent that the villages have not been permeated with the desire for change one of the principal aspects of planning has failed to be realized in that planning itself is stipulated on the need for change. The need is, therefore, to generate action or programme to imbue the village population with the idea stressing the need for change as well as the possibilities and programmes for bringing about such changes in practice.

Finally, the sponsors of the survey are to be thanked for making available a wealth of supplementary information pertaining to the real life conditions in the rural areas. Shri Asok Mitra, Census Commissioner, informs us that this "is, perhaps, for the first time that such a survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love." The investigators, the

photographers and the writer of this monographs have earned the gratitude for all their work, as also the Census Commissioner by approving the scheme of publication. It is to be hoped that in future monographs, greater attention will be paid to studying the impact of the Estate Acquisition Act and the land reform measures.

BERNARDIN de ST. PIERRE AND HIS TINY NOVEL

BY B. BISSOONDOYAL

BERNARDIN de St.-Pierre who passed away at Eragny sur l'Oise on 21.1.1814, i.e. a century and a half ago, was a dreamer of dreams.

This disciple of Rousseau was stranded in Mauritius in 1767. The island was then a French possession and was known as Isle of France. Far from fretting and fuming, he made the best of a bad job. The means of communication were primitive, but this did not prevent him from making a walking tour. *Voyage a l'île de France*, his first book on Mauritius, was its outcome. It was soon translated into English and was highly prized as it happened to be one of the earliest accounts of this island that had appeared in the English tongue.

The *Voyage* was followed, although not immediately, by *Paul and Virginia*, a tiny novel that has immortalized Mauritius. The *Voyage* had paved the way for this novel that takes its name from Paul, the hero, and Virginia, the heroine. They are made to set out on a tour. The children come across a cruel slave-owner with whom the soft-hearted Virginia pleads the cause of a runaway slave. This kind act endeared her and her companion to the whole slave population. Standing out in sharp contrast to the White slave-owner, Virginia sympathizes with this population that set great store by the sympathy that came from the Whites. So does Paul.

The innocent children live in communion with Nature. Far from the town of Port Louis, the capital of Isle of France, in a valley that is the Vale of Kashmir in miniature, stood the huts of two forsaken French families. Paul belonged to one of them and Virginia to the other.

Tropical birds, luxuriant vegetation, lovely hills, noble streams and their soft murmurs,

smiling plains and vast fields with sugarcane plants lifting their green heads under a blue sky held in thrall the lover of Nature that St.-Pierre was. He did not let slip the opportunity that had come for the full display of his powers.

Thanks to the description of the flora and fauna that came from India and other Asian countries and especially the very names of tropical plants and flowers the novelist succeeds in creating an atmosphere that bears close resemblance to that of *The Thousand and One Nights*.

Rousseau could give pen-pictures of only the countries of Europe he had visited. His disciple excelled in describing Indian Ocean islands like Mauritius and Bourbon in glowing words. Many are the new terms he introduced into descriptive writing. His is not the arid vocabulary of his predecessors from whose writings the sights and sounds of Nature are carefully excluded. He created exotic literature. Could Chateaubriand have produced *Atala* if there had been no Virginia? St.-Pierre's tiny book is of unique significance in French literature. The pages he devotes to the description of Nature are a distinct gain to literature.

St.-Pierre produced several works some of which are voluminous. *Paul and Virginia*, on which his fame rests, pushes all the others into the background. There is no hope of ever rescuing from oblivion the *Voyage*, *Etudes de la Nature* and *Harmonies de la Nature*.

It is an embittered St.-Pierre that wrote *Voyage a l'île de France*. He was near starving and had to sell his books. He then looked upon the island as "a rugged country, covered with rocks." Seen from a distance, French Mauritius appeared beautiful. He was distant both in space

and time. He had left the little island in 1770 and his idyllic romance first saw the light of day, as part of *Etudes de la Nature*, in 1788 when it was entitled *Histoire de Mademoiselle Virginie de La Tour*. He had long been contemplating to give the title *Tableau de la Nature*. It was ultimately rejected.



Bernardin de St. Pierre—A portrait

Both, however, are suitable titles. With the sole exception of La Fontaine, writers in seventeenth-century France had nothing to do with full-throated birds, beasts, plains, fields and pasture. The French colony that was largely a wilderness when Bernardin visited it, would have conveyed nothing to them as it means nothing to the lovers of beautiful scenery who visit it now that the balance of Nature has been dangerously disturbed.

St.-Pierre's novel has a slender plot. Paul and Virginia who fell deeply in love, were happy and had not to go to school. Nature was their teacher. The Godfearing children shunned the society of the sophisticated islanders.

But a time came when Virginia had to be sent to Paris at the request of a rich relative.

Created by the eternal traveller, Bernardin, Virginia could not be stay-at-home. Paul is a character who had resolved to journey to India in order to enrich himself. The story is entirely in keeping with the character of its author. Virginia did not like that civilized centre and decided to come back home. In the early title of the book, Virginia had rightly been given greater importance than Paul. As ill-luck would have it, the ship that took her back to Isle of France, was wrecked by a cyclone within sight of the Mauritian shore and she was drowned.

The importance of the ship-wreck comes home when the reader realizes that Bernardin insinuates that Virginia could not have remained the Virginia she had been at the Vallee des Pretres. To allow her to come into contact with Paul and others would be to introduce manners that would convert the republic of St.-Pierre's dreams into a den of vice.

Novels depicting voluptuaries had culminated in *Manon Lescaut*, the novel of adventure written by the Abbe Prevost. Hence it is that St.-Pierre's book was hailed as a healthy reaction.

Its moral tone was appreciated at a critical period. After the French Revolution, it was being felt that a return to religion was desirable. Chateaubriand's *Genie du Christianisme* restored faith. The religious-minded people of Isle of France were delighted to see that some pages of *Paul and Virginia* were reproduced in it, as they agreed with St.-Pierre that morality must be respected and immorality eschewed. Mauritius island contributed its mite when interest in religion was revived in France.

It is true to say that in India too this little work was well received. As soon as they conquered India the British planned to bring the literature and science of the West within the reach of their new subjects. A committee was set up in Calcutta which had interesting European works translated into Bengali. *Robinson Crusoe* and *Paul and Virginia* were chosen at the very outset. Thus when Europe entered India a bit of Mauritius found its way to that sub-continent.

Bernardin was a great friend of Asia and, of all its countries, loved India most. He was out to visit the old continent, had started on his travel and had even gone as far as Poland and Russia where one of his peculiarities broke out and he rejoiced in Romantic adventures. He had to retrace his steps. His desire to see Asia

was never fulfilled. But he could not, for the life of him, put it out of his mind. He wrote two short stories about India. The first is *The Indian Cottage* which found favour in Mahatma Gandhi's eyes as in it casteism is condemned outright. *The Coffee-House of Surat*, which is the other, turned out so excellent a tale that Tolstoi whom Gandhi admired, included it in his *Twenty-three Tales*. Sainte-Beuve expresses, in *Portraits litteraires*, the opinion that Bernardin is "the uncle of Romanticism, and an uncle coming from India with the avowed object (of enriching French Romanticism)." The first translator of *Paul and Virginia* was a woman. Her work so absorbed her that she gave her book the wrong title *Paul and Mary*. She made *amende honorable* by adding the sub-title *An Indian Story*.

Although this classic finds readers among all sorts and conditions of men, it was, like Lyly's *Euphues*, a great favourite of ladies. On the eve of her tragic end, the ill-fated Marie Antoinette read it intelligently and shed tears. This famous book was a much needed breath of fresh air in the society of the day. "The century is his," writes Lamartine who adds that St.-Pierre makes his readers "pray and weep."

The story is pathetic. And the pathos is not in a minor key. It excites pity and terror and is a tragedy in the true sense of the term. Virginia's death was a calamity. Paul and all the other members of his family and Virginia's pass away in quick succession. The faithful slaves follow them to the grave. One of the slaves was Mary. She was so kind-hearted that she replaced Virginia in the affection of Helen Maria Williams, the translator that unconsciously entitled her translation *Paul and Mary*. The dog that was the constant companion of the children, is soon buried. When St.-Pierre reached the Vallee des Pretres the spot, so says he, had been completely deserted.

Appreciated by ladies nicknamed *Bernardines* and meant primarily for the young, *Paul and Virginia* is a little work that has a high place in all literature. Several editions were published during the lifetime of its author whose fame was ringing through France. He was made a member of the Institute in 1795. For the past 176 years this fascinating novel has been delighting travellers like Alexander Von Humboldt and others, a whole host of authors like Hazlitt and Carlyle,

Theophile Gautier and Joubert, Guy de Maupassant and the Goncourt Brothers, Flaubert and Anatole France, Lamartine and Tagore.

The future Napoleon was in his teens when he was moved to tears on reading this delicious novel. Whenever he met its author he used to say, "Monsieur Bernardin, when do you mean to give us more Pauls and Virginias and Indian Cottages?" The youngman won fame and did not forget Bernardin upon whom he conferred the Legion of Honour.

Long, long ago, or to be precise, in the very year Mauritius was definitely ceded to the British by the Treaty of Paris, i.e. a year before the decisive battle of Waterloo, the earth was closed over the remains of the father of the Godly children and the uncompromising foe to untouchability.

Bernardin was still in Mauritius when the island received E. Sonnerat's visit. Both these Frenchmen were naturalists, both were travellers, both have written interesting accounts of their voyages. Bernardin's *Voyage* (1773) is less known and is not as important as Sonnerat's. Curiously enough, it is the little-known book that has influenced the author of the much bigger and more important work.

Bernardin de St.-Pierre made a favourable impression on Sonnerat although he was not at his best when he wrote *Voyage a l'Île de France*. St.-Pierre would like to be remembered as a naturalist. Today it is the novelist who has two tiny novels to his credit that is read. It must be repeated that Bernardin is the author not only of *Paul and Virginia* but also of *The Indian Cottage*, the second novel. J. Chenier saw in it "the best, the most moral and the shortest of novels." It is shorter than *Paul and Virginia* which is short enough.

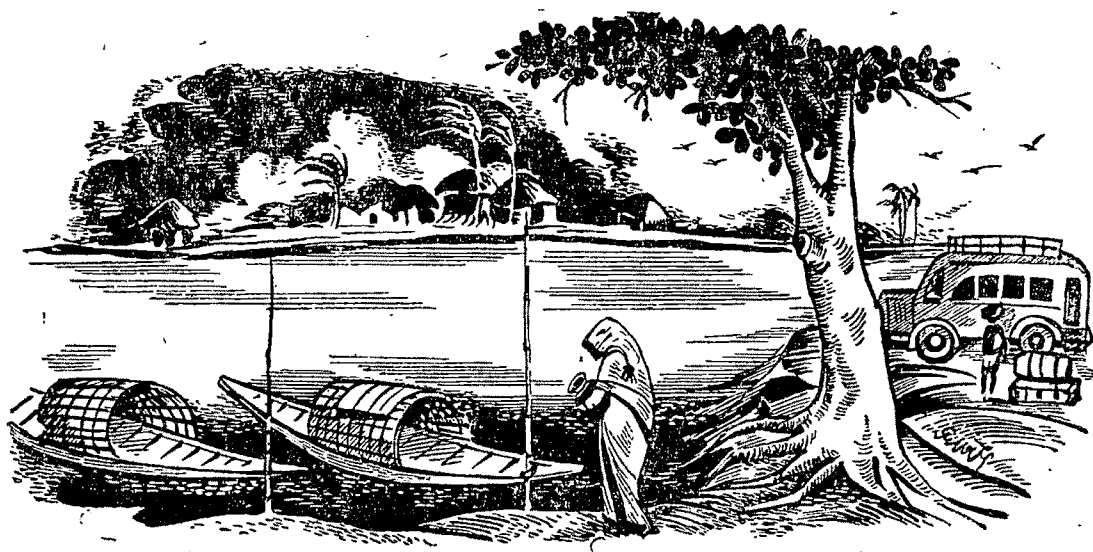
Mauritius Island had French rulers when these Frenchmen visited it. Neither the one nor the other hesitated to castigate those rulers who were their countrymen. Both found fault with the slave-owners who meted out ill-treatment to their slaves. It is interesting to note that Maurice Garçon of the French Academy has quoted Bernardin in an article that has appeared in June last, to show that he was among those who put up a defence in favour of the slaves and thus went a long way in bringing about the abolition of slavery in France.

If Bernardin has hinted, in *The Indian Couage*, that the Hindus have a sacred book known by the name of *Beth* (Veda), Sonnerat was out in search of the book. He spent seven years in India and went back home empty-handed.

When later he happened to acquaint himself with the contents of the work he was overjoyed. He made so good a use of the knowledge acquired that Sir William Jones was satisfied with his own contribution only when he outstripped Sonnerat. Almost all the European luminaries of the nineteenth century came under his influence. In a letter dated 27.2.1811, Goethe stated that had it not been for Sonnerat he would not have been interested in the Vedas. That interest drove him to read William Jones whom Sonnerat had put on his mettle. It is after reacing Sonnerat's *Voyages aux Indes Orientales et a la Chine* (1774), approved on 5.2.1782 by Condorcet of the Royal Academy of Sciences,

Paris, that Buffon wrote his *Natural History* that bears marks of the influence the illustrious traveller and naturalist exerted on him. Chateaubriand was fond of reading not only Bernardin but Sonnerat too. This sentence, borrowed from the latter's book, could not but have had the desired effect: "In her splendour India gave religions and laws to all the peoples of the world." This is indicative of the love he bore India. The sentence was to be repeated by Louis Jacolliot a century or so later.

Sonnerat's love of India was comparable to that of Jacolliot and Bernardin. Sonnerat and Bernardin shared much in common. Sonnerat too passed away in 1814. Both had heard in 1810 that Mauriteus had become a British colony. This year the 150th anniversary of the two deaths is being commemorated. The event must not be passed over in silence in India who owes them a debt of gratitude.



RANJIT SINGH AND THE FALL OF SIKH POWER

By S. N. QANUNGO

If the rise of the Sikh power had been phenomenal, its victorious mid-career under Ranjit Singh was meteoric and its fall within a decade after his death was a colossal tragedy. History has never provided plain sailing for any country or nation. Such has been the fate of the Mughal Empire and of the Maratha and Sikh powers. The Maratha power received a death-blow at Panipat; but it arose within a decade more powerful and managed to survive for more than half a century; whereas the Sikh power after a few sharp reverses lay prostrate like a chained giant never destined to rise again. The Sikhs were undoubtedly a more virile people with fewer vices than the Marathas. They were welded into a more solid mass of nationalism by Guru Govind Singh than what the Marathas had been under Shivaji or the Peshwas. Why then so tragic a fate for such a brave nation as the Sikhs?

No single cause explains the rise or fall of a nation. Such a historical phenomenon is usually the cumulative effect of several causes, general and specific. It is only superficial exercise in history to hold that the murder and counter-murder, intrigue and counter-intrigue at the Lahore Durbar after Ranjit's death or the treachery of the Sikh generals and audacity of the Khalsa soldiery were responsible for the downfall of the Sikh power. Causes lay deeper and a historical analysis can only reveal the due importance of each cause and fix the responsibility for the sad catastrophe resting on historical characters.

Ranjit Singh left behind him no worthy successor among his various descendants and children. He was not succeeded by an Augustus, capable of consolidating his work. His family life was full of scandals; his wives found paramours among his handsome Dogra favourites. Ranjit left a "legitimate" son Kharag Singh who ruled from sick bed and died on it after a year. Kharag's more promising son Nao Nihal Singh was murdered ingeniously by his minister, Dhyān Singh, on the same day. Kharag Singh was succeeded by Ranjit's "supposed" son Sher Singh who during his father's life-time had shown some

abilities as a soldier. After his accession to the throne Sher Singh turned an imbecile voluptuary. It is said that he made a paradise for himself in the Huzuri Bagh outside the fort of Lahore. There he would spend days and nights lying on a bed of roses in the company of musicians and dancing girls. Next came two "reputed" sons of Ranjit. Kashmira Singh and Peshawara Singh and a minor son Dalip Singh born of Rani Jhinda. Majors among these were each intent on stealing a race for the gaddi over others or setting up as virtually independent rulers. Where is the wonder, then, that Ranjit's legacy was lost by such intriguing imbeciles?

It Ranjit Singh could not help begetting incapable or illegitimate sons, he could certainly prevent the growth of dangerous factions at court and outside under his very eyes. It is common knowledge how the work of Ranjit Singh was undone by these factions within a decade after his death. Besides the court party formed by harem influence centering round his sons, there were two other parties during the life-time of Ranjit Singh. These were:

1. The Sindhianwala (or Sandawala) party of Ranjit's relatives headed by Tjit Singh and Lehna Singh.

2. The Dogra party headed by the three brothers, Gulab Singh, Dhyān Singh and Suchet Singh.

During the later years of Ranjit these three brothers exercised the most potent influence in the Lahore Darbar. Apart from the military and administrative abilities of these brothers, Ranjit's infatuation for Dhyān Singh's handsome boy, Hira Singh, was the reason of his father's rise to almost absolute wazirship. The three brothers were accomplished courtiers and ambitious adventurers. Dhyān Singh plotted to oust honest and straight-forward soldier Khushal Singh from the key post of Deodhiwala. These three were created Rajahs: Gulab Singh of Jammu, Dhyān Singh of Bhimbar, Suchet Singh of Ramnagar. They had practically an entrenched position in the hills, and were biding their time to become

independent of Lahore. They all professed to be anti-British knowing that it would pay with the soldiery and Sikh Sardars who were openly anti-British; but at heart they were looking to the British as their future allies should the Sikh antipathy against the non-Sikh Dogra party threaten their power. This avowal of anti-British sentiments strengthened the Jammu party against the non-Sikh but loyal Hindu party headed by Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan. Ranjit tried to keep a balance between the two, but a sort of senility made the Maharajah blind to the motives and actions of the Jammu brothers. Dr. N. K. Sinha writes, "We even hear from Mumes that Dhyani Singh fortified his home in Bhimbar by strengthening it with guns taken from Lahore, but no one dared to disclose these facts to the Maharajah." He justly remarks, "In their case his departure from his usual attitude of vigilance has its nemesis. His sons paid very dearly for the engrossing and prejudicial influence which he allowed the Dogra brothers to attain."

Dr. N. K. Sinha maintains that Ranjit Singh so completely centralised everything pertaining to his civil and military administration that his disappearance caused not a vacancy but a void in which the entire structure of government was submerged. But as a matter of fact, Sikh monarchy itself is a strange phenomenon in the history of Sikhism. Ranjit Singh forced a violent transformation of the Sikh Commonwealth of the eighteenth century into a personal state or at best a dynastic monarchy. This was a misreading of the Sikh character by Ranjit. The Sikhs from the very start had no tradition of monarchy. It went against the grain of individualistic egotism and the democratic bias of the Jat clans which formed the substance of Sikh nation. The Sikhs had discarded the Hindu theory of kingship as a divine institution and of a king as a superman. Nor did they look upon the temporal ruler as the shadow of Allah (Zill-i-Sobhari) as medieval Muslim jurists held. So both the seed and soil of Sikhism were unsuited to the creation of a dynastic monarchy as Ranjit did.

Moreover, Ranjit Singh's state lacked the cement of any high principle of secular nationalism and yet he discarded the other alternative; namely, the mortar of communal patriotism that had held together the Sikh Commonwealth. In Punjab there was no tradition of secularism,

administrative or political. Since the days of Aurangzeb it had been the battle-ground of a deadly communal fight, ringing with the Sikh war cry:

"He is of the Khalsa, who fights in the van,
He is of the Khalsa, who slays a Khan."

Ranjit could not make his people forget this bitter legacy of hatred in a day. And yet Ranjit wanted to play the Akbar as a ruler of the Sikhs.

Dr. N. K. Sinha holds that a collision between his military monarchy and British Imperialism was inevitable. Ranjit Singh, the Massinissa of British Indian History hesitated forgetting that in politics as in war, time is not on the side of those on the defensive. Dr. Sinha's observation is very significant indeed. The whole military armament of Ranjit Singh was meant ultimately for measuring swords with the British. So he himself believed at heart and such was the belief among his people and army chiefs. But Ranjit lost a golden opportunity for catching the English at a tight corner. First when the British were busy with the Burmese war in the east and the siege of Bharatpur on the west, Ranjit might have taken his chance. The Rajah of Bharatpur solicited Ranjit's aid and promised him one lakh of rupees per day after crossing of the Sutlej with his army. The embers of the last Maratha war were still burning (1819) and the Gurkhas were smarting under defeat. If Ranjit had made an eastward dash, the Marathas, the Gurkhas, the Pindaris and the Jats would have probably joined him against the English. It is, of course, true that Ranjit Singh's kingdom was landlocked; he had no navy; his officers were mainly Europeans, and his resources were not sufficient. His north-western frontier was also insecure because of the Afghan and Pathan menace. But remembering the terrible shaking which the Khalsa army without a Ranjit gave to the English in later times, Ranjit had a fair chance of success in inflicting some defeats on the English army, and rounding off the Sikh national commonwealth by compelling the British to leave the cis-Sutlej states to his suzerainty. Ranjit took no risk and therefore, indirectly compelled the Sikh state to do so in sheer self-reliance when the Khalsa felt smothered within the closing net of British Imperialism.

Ranjit Singh failed to subordinate the military to civil authority. He left the army too powerful for the civil authority to control. As a

result the struggles and convulsions in the Sikh kingdom after Ranjit's death had caused the collapse of the central civil government at Lahore, and resulted in the ascendancy of the Khalsa army through the typically Jat institution of the Panchayats. At a time when the country needed a powerful brain and the strong hand of an Iron Chancellor or a Lord Protector, a government controlled by Panchayats meant chaos and hubbub. At every turn of palace revolution they were bribed by an increase of pay. The Khalsa army became what the Praetorian Guards had been in Rome or the Janissaris of Constantinople under the Ottoman rulers.

Historians have been all praise for Ranjit Singh for his political and military reforms as an enlightened and progressive ruler. It proved an uphill work for Ranjit with the Sikhs to create his army of the New Model. This army was held to be the finest in India. Pitted against any oriental army its success could be confidently predicted; but against the English it could never come out victorious. Of this army the Sikh supplied brawn, muscle and indomitable spirit; but the brains that officered this army were non-Sikh or foreign at the top. White officers were not always acceptable to the proud sentiments of the Sikhs. Moreover the British records convey the impression that the European officers of Ranjit Singh were restive towards the latter part of his reign. Even Ventura is said to have once offered his services to the British Government through McGregor and later directly to Wade. Besides no less an authority than Lawrence observed, "the Maharajah would have shown more foresight if he

had devoted the same attention that he did to the European tactics to rendering his troops really efficient after their own fashion, if he had erected fortifications around Lahore and Amritsar on European models and there planted his guns, encumbering his troops in the field with but a few, perfectly equipped light artillery." Ranjit's military system was designed for aggressive regular warfare; but it was ill-suited for flexible tactics of irregular warfare on the defence. He always thought in terms of the offensive and not defensive. He ought to have taken the latter contingency into consideration. For a flat and open plain like the Punjab, forts were more necessary than trained battalions and artillery for the purpose of defence. The garhis of old mists, which proved the rallying points of scattered bands in their fight against the Mughals and the Abdali were beyond doubt useless before European artillery. And the example of Bharatpur was before the eyes of Ranjit Singh. If Ranjit had built a Bharatpur at every confluence of numerous rivers in the Punjab, the Sikh power would not have been so completely and so swiftly broken after a few sharp reverses. The Sikh army lost its nerve and staying power without such forts to recoup their strength and give time to the people at large to rise *en masse* against the invaders.

Though the Fall of the Sikh power is necessarily to be seen against the background of deeper and more impersonal factors, few will deny that individual failings and faults of character also played their due role. It is a paradox of history that Ranjit Singh had no mean share in it.



LIBRARIES IN DAKSINAPATHA

By DIPAK KUMAR BARUA, M.A., Dip.Lib.

Libraries as the Store-houses of knowledge and organs for the spread of learning were fully developed and ornamented in Daksinapatha (Southern India).¹ These South Indian libraries which were located mainly in the Buddhist Viharas (Monasteries) and Brahmanic temples represented the classical phase of the library movement in this country. Through a long tradition of institutional learning the people of this part of the country did their best to establish and preserve the libraries which, perhaps, became maturer in age and physical make-up than the libraries of other parts of India. There lies little doubt, to-day, as to their richness in contents and importance in the cultural life. Under the liberal patronage of the kings of South India many libraries were founded to help the innumerable readers and scholars. From this point of view the South Indian libraries occupy a very prominent place in the history of Indian education. The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been discovered in the Mathas, Viharas, Ghatikas and Pathasalas in South India show that the library was there a well-recognised institution and was a part and parcel of the religious as well as educational life.²

Of the Buddhist centre in Andhra, Amaravati is the most widely known. Its old name was Dhanyaghata³ or Dhanyaghataka. Here was a magnificent Stupa built during the Satavahana period. Round this Stupa, a community of monks had settled down. Consequently in course of time Amaravati became a famous monastic centre. It was originally inhabited by the monks belonging to the Mahasanghika School. But later it developed as a Mahayanist centre. The Buddhist monks had here two separate establishments situated on two cliffs. The Chinese Pilgrim wrote: "At a hill to the east of the capital was a monastery called Purva Sila (Fu-poshih-lo) or 'East Mountain Monastery' and at a hill to the West of the city was the Avara Sila (A-fa-lo-shin-lo) or 'West Mountain Monastery'. These had been erected for the Buddha by a former king of the country who had made a communicating path by the river, and quarrying the rock had formed high walls with long broad corridors contiguous with the steep sides of the hills. The local deities guarded the monasteries which had been frequented by saints and sages during the millennium immediately following the Buddha's decease, a thousand ordinary brethren came here to spend the retreat of the rainy season. Afterwards common monks and arhats sojourned here together, but for more than one hundred years there had not been any brethren resident in the establishment and the visitors were deterred by the forms of wild animals which the mountain gods assumed."⁴ From the Chinese account we further find that Bhavaviveka, the great dialectician, lived here for sometime in a monastery on a hill.⁵ Hiuen-Tsang recorded that the mountain cliff, which Bhavaviveka entered by the magical power of the Dharani Sutras was not far from the south of the Capital. According to the "Life," Hiuen-Tsang stayed here for several months studying the Mulabhidharma and other Sastras of the Mahasanghika School.⁶ Taranatha wrote that the great Monastery near Lhasa with 7,700 monks and a University with six colleges was built after the model of a monastery at Dhanyakataka which was surely a great centre of Buddhist learning in the South during the seventh century A.C.⁷ Here were very good collections of manuscripts which quenched the thirst for knowledge of the erudite scholars who took their abodes there. A part of teachers' educational programme at Amaravati was the creation of a good library.⁸

Nagarjunakonda is a large valley on the right bank of the Krisna river in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur district of the

Madras Province. It covers an area of a little over eight square miles and is completely shut in by the surrounding hills which are the off-shoots of the Nallamalai Range. The area is dotted with numerous hillocks and mounds which represent the sites of former Buddhist monuments, mostly Stupas, Caityas and Viharas. A large number of limestone pillars which were probably intended to support the monastic buildings,⁹ are also unearthed here. From some circumstantial evidences it is clear that at Nagarjunakonda also there were very good collections of manuscripts. The monk-scholars here were deeply engaged in numerous scholastic activities which invariably gave birth to excellent store-houses of written records. Nagarjunakonda, ancient Vijayapuri, must have been one of the largest and most important Buddhist settlements in South India and enjoyed international reputation for its educational eminence and huge collection of texts. In the east and north of Vijayapuri was an extensive out-lying plateau called Sri-Parvata where Nagariuna the great took his resort in the last part of his life.¹⁰ Though there is no reference to Nagariuna in any of the inscriptions discovered in the locality, the name Nagariunakonda lends strong support to its association with that great scholar. From the extensive ruins it is obvious that the central monastic establishment of Nagariunakonda besides possessing other features of a structure of the similar nature, was a great seat of learning too and was designed to house a monastic university with its library.

Hiuen-Tsang saw a great Sangharama (not far from Vingila) which may be identified with the Vihara of Guntapalle. This Monastery had spacious halls, storeyed towers, balconies beautifully carved and ornamented. There was an image of Buddha, the sacred features of which had been portrayed with the utmost powers of the arts. In front of this convent were erected two stone Stupas, one several hundred feet high.¹¹ The Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis there had to perform their respective duties. This Monastery also possessed a well-equipped library which was a fountain of

learning to its inmates.¹² Even today on the hill of Guntapalle may be found the remnants of a grand Vihara associated with numerous other rock-cut monasteries and a large pillared hall. One may still see here the monks' cells. "The facade of the Monastery has one main entrance in the centre flanked by two little windows and are decorated with little horse-shoe shaped gables of the usual early Buddhist type, with simulated wooden fanlights or screens, above the semi-circular door and window frames."

Buddhism flourished also at Kancipura¹³ which was situated near modern Conjeevaram, the capital of Dravida or Cola on the river Polar, Forty-three miles south-west of Madras.¹⁴ From this place monks left for Ceylon. Many renowned scholars dwelt here. Buddhaghosa is said to have written the Monorathapurani, a commentary, at this place at the request of Venerable Jotipala. Hiuen-Tsang in the seventh century noticed the Kancipura Monastery with its library containing the Yoga texts.¹⁵ He mentioned a certain Dharmapala from Kanchi as being a great teacher at Nalanda. Dhanyabhadra, a son of the king of Magadha and a monk, also heard at Kanci a sermon delivered by a Buddhist monk or the Karanda Vyuha-Sutra.¹⁶ This Buddhist seat of learning was well-known for its reputed teachers and well-furnished library. Scholars from even Ceylon used to come here to study the scriptures and utilise the rich collection.

An inscription in the Arutala-perumal temple at little Conjeevaram¹⁷ dated Vikari. Mesha Sudi Prathama (March 29, A.C. 1359) records that a certain Vaisnava Dasa was invested with the title of Brahmatantra-Svatantra-Jiyar by God, and directed to establish a matha, with the lands necessary to meet the expenses and provide with books procured by him. This epigraph refers to a collection of manuscripts, which was kept in the matha and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep as envisaged in the expression "iva tedina postakangalum, vendum upakaranangalum."¹⁸

Here the term "postakangalum" indicates the manuscript-bundles, while the

"upakaranas" are the accessories and paraphernalia required for maintaining a library, such as, racks for accommodation of manuscript-bundles, spare stylus of cadjan leaves for copying work and other scribal apparatus.¹⁹

We have also reference to the Sarasvati-bhavana or library, founded and maintained by the Maratha rulers, which contained a large number of important works²⁰ at Tanjore or Tanjai which is the name of a village²¹ and was the capital of the Cola Kings, Nayak rulers, and the Maratha rajas.²² This temple-city of Tanjore of the tenth century can thus really be called a city of libraries and educational institutions. But details are lacking in this respect. It is said that in a renowned library of the king of Tanjore, which dates from the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century A.C. there were about 18,000 manuscripts written in a wide variety of languages. From A. C. Burnell's printed catalogue we learn that it had 12,375 manuscripts.²³

At Nagai in Hyderabad there existed a big temple-college in A.C. 1058. Among the ruins of the place there is a "big building with an outer courtyard, with rooms on either side, with a big doorway which leads into a spacious hall with a number of stone benches serving as pials and seven niches in the back wall."²⁴ Evidently this ruined building is a part of the Ghatikasala referred to in the inscription of Nagai. The same epigraph tells us that there were six librarians in the College, obviously in charge of the library. The seven niches in the back wall of the ruined building must have been a part of this college library. The same copper-plate grant of Western Chalukya King Trailokyamalla from Kolura and dated Saka 980, Vilambi Pushva Suddha Chavuti (24th December, A.C. 1058) further records a grant of land for the maintenance of 400 Brahmans in the Nagavavi or Nagai Agrahara. Maduva founded an educational institution called Ghatikasala for two hundred scholars studying the Vedas and fifty-two studying the Sastras. The Institute was manned by three Vedic teachers, three Sastra teachers, for teaching Bhatta-

darsana, Nyaya and Prabhakara, and six librarians (Sarasvati-bhandarikas). Madhuva gave that land for the maintenance of the teachers and students. In the same inscription we find that the distribution of donations were made in the following order "35 mattar of land under the dam of Arturu and Diggavige (lower cave at Nagavavi) to the expounder of Bhattadarsana, 30 mattar of land to the expounder of Nyaya, 45 mattar to the expounder of Prabhakara, 30 mattar to each librarian, 30 mattar to the striker of the hours (ghatika-prahari)". This mention of the allotment made to the librarians is interesting for our present study. It shows that library and librarianship occupied so much of an important place that the royal declaration was necessary in this respect even in the eleventh century of the Christian era.

Coming to the thirteenth century we find many interesting examples of royal collections. In the Andhradesa itself, the collections of the feudatory rulers of Gadwal and Vanaparathi deserve special mention. Thousands of rare and valuable manuscripts have still been preserved in these states out of the literary zeal of generations of enlightened rulers.

At Sravanabelgola, the famous seat of Gotamesvara in South India to each of the Jaina temples was attached a spacious monastery known as Matha or Upasraya. At these dwellings the ascetic monks lived, reading and copying their sacred books and translating these for the benefit of the populace. In the Monastery at Sravanabelgola there was a large, valuable and well-preserved collection of manuscripts mostly on palm-leaves in Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil languages.²⁵

Bijapura, under the name of Vidyapura, was a great centre of literary activity in the pre-Mohammadan period. The Western Chalukyan Kings of Kalyana erected here beautiful buildings, ruins of which are still to be seen and which housed good collections of books,²⁶ as the inscriptions of the place show.

At an obscure place called Mudabidre (or otherwise) spelt Mudabidri) near the West Coast in South Kanara there was an

ancient Jaina Matha which contained a very large manuscript bhandara, where were kept copies of valuable works.

An undated inscription which is assigned to the latter half of the thirteenth century mentions the foundation of a library (Sarasvati-bhandaram) in the temple of Srirangam which is an island near Tirucirapalli or Trichinopoly²⁷ where stands Ranganatha temple²⁸ of Palapalli Nilakantha Nayakar who also installed the image of Hayagriva, Sarasvati, and Veda Vyasa in the mandapa housing the library²⁹ and provided for their daily worship.³⁰ From an inscription dated A.C. 1269 we learn that Nilakantha Nayakar was a contemporary of Vira Ramanathana.³¹ According to the Agamas, a temple of the first magnitude should have a library of its own. So the temple of Srirangam, an important centre of religious activities, had also a big library for the dissemination of knowledge. Here the images of Hayagriva, Sarasvati and Veda-Vyasa in the mandapa, represented the three presiding deities of learning.

There were, besides, numerous other small libraries in South India. Details are extremely sketchy as regards their origin, location and consequent development. So with meagre sources an attempt has been made in the following space to give an account of them.

In an old document a reference is made to a library and librarians (Sarasvati-Bhandaratta) in a brahman village called Vikrama-Pandya-Caturvedi-Mangalam in South India.³²

Another South Indian Inscription numbered 695 of 1916 contains a grant to the College of a temple somewhere in the district of Tinnevely in South India having liberal provisions for enriching the Sarasvati-bhavana or library of this monastic educational institution.

The South Indian Inscription numbered 277 of 1913, too, refers to the foundation of a cultured colony of 108 Brahman families adorned with all the necessities of life and even with a library called Sarasvati-Bhandara.³³ From this epigraphic record also the existence of libraries in South India is proved. The inscription shows an ardent

love for books and libraries of the South Indian people.

The library development in the Deccan plateau took a very colourful and embellished course. In South India, as we have seen already, libraries grew up abundantly. Though the libraries, here, are of much later age in comparison with those in other areas yet these have set up an example of marvellous perfection in the East. The splendid collections of books and manuscripts of South India represented the classical age of libraries in India. These Collections with their precious contents may really be compared with other ancient libraries of Western World. But curiously enough we find that most of these libraries were subsidised adequately by the royal personalities. Naturally as financial security was assured, the library authorities found enough scope and privilege to build up their excellent collections. We have already observed that the libraries of Nagai, Dhankataka, Kancipura and many other places were really remarkable store-houses of human knowledge. Thus South India being a fertile ground for the development of libraries had shown an excellent example of helping the scholars by supplying books as well as necessary information for the advancement of learning.

1. By Daksinapatha we mean the tract of land which comprises the whole of the Peninsula from Nasik on the West and Ganjam on the east, to cape kumari (Comorin) on the South including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana. Maharastra and the Konkan, with the separate states of Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, or very nearly the whole of the Peninsula to the south of the Narmada and Mahanadi rivers (Majumdar, S. N. ed. *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, p. 14). For our convenience we have followed here the above boundary—limits of Southern India, which are of Chinese origin, to locate the ancient libraries there.

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3. *Epigraphia Indica*, vi, pp. 146-157.

4. Watters. *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. ii, pp. 214-215.

5. Beal, S., *Buddhist records of the Western World*, vol. ii, p. 223.

6. Beal, S. *The life of Hiuen-Tsang*, p. 136.
7. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. iv, p. 163.
8. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, viii, pt. 4, 1934, p. 226.
9. Subramanian, K. R., *Buddhist remains in Andhra and the history of Andhra*, p. 27.
10. Das, S. C. ed. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, pt. i, p. 74; Wassiliew *Der Buddhismus*, vol. i, p. 220.
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13. *Indian Antiquary*, 44, p. 127.
14. Law, B. C. *Historical geography of ancient India*, pp. 161-162.
15. Watters. *On Yuan Chawang*, ii, p. 227.
16. Melanges, *Chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. i, (1931-32), pp. 355-376. (Waley, Arthur. *New light on Buddhism in mediaeval India*).
17. *A.R.E.*, 1919, No. 574.
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19. *Journal of Indian History*, vol. xxxiii, pt. II, August, 1955.
20. A'tekar, A. S. *Education in ancient India*, p. 160.
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22. Law, B. C. *Historical geography of ancient India*, p. 192.
23. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1935 ed.) Vol. XIV, p. 9.
24. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 8, p. 1, (Inscriptions of Nagai).
25. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. viii, pt. 4, p. 231.
26. *Fergusson Architecture of Bijapor*, p. 12.
27. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. iii, p. 168, *Epigraphia Indica*, iii, 7 ff., *Ancient India, Bulletin of the Asiatic Society of India*, No. 5, January, 1949.
28. Law, B. C. *Historical geography of ancient India*, p. 190.
29. Sastri K. A. Nilakanta. *The Cholas*, p. 633.
30. *Madras Annual Reports on epigraphy* ii, p. 70.
31. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1937-38 No. 4.
32. *Madras Epigraphy Report for 1913-14*, No. 277 of 1913.
33. Mookerji, R. K. *Local Government in ancient India*, p. 284.

THE MAHALANOBIS COMMITTEE REPORT—AN APPRAISAL

BY MRS. MANORMA HUKKU, M.A., (Econ ; & Phil.),

It has been stressed, since the advent of economic planning in the country, that the objective of planned development is not only to increase production and attain higher levels of living, but also to secure a social and economic order based on the values of freedom and democracy. Taking into account the experience of the first two Plans and the social and economic considerations which have been accepted by the Government, the Third Five Year Plan was formulated, inter alia, to bring about a reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

The problem of reducing disparities in income and wealth has always attracted the attention of the Government. Measures have been

taken during the past decade by the Government to reduce the economic and social disparities. The achievements of the first two Five Year Plans have been somewhat satisfactory inasmuch as there has been an increase of 42 per cent in the National Income. Despite this increase it has been the common feeling that we are not heading towards the attainment of the cherished objective of reducing the disparities of income and wealth and that the concentration of economic power in fewer hands persists. The problem had been discussed at length, with deep concern, within and outside the Parliament, by social reformers, practical economists, politicians and the common man alike. Looking to the intensity of the problem the Planning Commission appointed

a Committee on 13th Oct. 1960 under the Chairmanship of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, to enquire into the distribution of additional income generated in the first two plans and to study the concentration of wealth and economic power. The Committee has now submitted the part I of its report, which was submitted to the Lok Sabha on 29th April 1964.

In the opinion of the Committee there does not appear to be any significant change in the overall distribution of income. The Committee having probed into the cause has stated in its report that, "despite all countervailing measures, the concentration of economic power in the Private Sector is more than which could be justified as necessary on functional grounds." Though it is quite reasonable to believe that the private sector should also prosper along with the public sector and the latter should give a fair chance to the former rather than ousting it, yet it is felt that the concentration of economic power in few hands in the private sector is an evil which will go on multiplying from year to year. The case of concentration of economic power cannot be discarded altogether on economic grounds especially in the context of our scarce resources and the imperative need of the most economic utilization of those resources. On purely economic grounds the concentration of economic power or the growth of big business makes the attainment of the economies of large scale possible. In many industries any attempt to reduce the degree of concentration by breaking down economic size units into a larger number of uneconomic size plants would lead to waste. Though the Committee has recommended the appointment of another committee to study this matter in detail, it has suggested that instead of the break up of the large units into smaller ones it would be better to adopt a policy of regulation, continuous scrutiny and, possibly nationalization, which will help to prevent the anti-social consequences of big units. These suggestions do not seem to be very effective. Experience during the last decade has evidenced concentration of economic power in the private sector despite the various regulations and restrictions. As regards nationalization it cannot be regarded as a general policy and a cure for all evils in the economic system of a democratic country.

There are great variations in the distribution of national income. According to the findings of

the Committee the lowest ten per cent of the population had only 1.3 per cent of the share of aggregate household income after tax while the top 10 per cent had the share of 40.4 per cent. It has further been observed that the top 10 per cent of households account for 23 to 28 per cent of income while the bottom 20 per cent account for 7.5. to 8 per cent of income. These figures specify the extent of inequalities of income. The National income during the first decade of economic planning has increased by 42 per cent mostly increasing the income of an already rich minority while there has been little improvement in the income of the poor masses. Optimists may feel happy about an increase of 16 per cent in the per capita income during the said period. This is an illusion if we take into consideration the extent of rise in the general level of prices. It is not simply the nominal income that counts but an increase in the real income is necessary for raising the standard of living of the masses. It is often said emphatically that economic growth can be attained only through sacrifice. The principle of the sacrifice should be uniform for the rich and the poor alike. The economic growth of the country has enhanced the enjoyment of the luxurious life for the rich while the poor cannot earn even the bare livelihood. What is the use of putting before ourselves the ideal of Socialistic Pattern of Society or democratic socialism when, in practice, we are sticking to the age-old capitalism? We can as well call our economy a "Capitalistic Pattern of Society" where the inequalities of income and concentration of economic power obstinately continue to grow.

It is mentioned in the report that ours is not the only country that has great inequalities of income. There are many other developed and under-developed countries which suffer from this evil. There is hardly any justification to feel gratified about the existence of this evil in other countries also. We should not look to them for any moral support because it is only our country which is wedded to the doctrine of Democratic Socialism. It has been observed by the Committee that inequalities of income are greater in the urban sector than in the rural sector, and that the increase in the inequality of urban income and its reduction in the rural sector seem to neutralize each other. Consequently there appear to be no change in the inequality of income. We should not combine both the urban and the rural

sectors for observation because industrialization and rapid growth are predominant in only the urban sector. Moreover there is not only an unequal distribution of income but the distribution of wealth is also unequal. It is but natural as the latter is the outcome of the former. A fair distribution of incomes shall ultimately lead to an equal distribution of wealth.

The picture is not as dark as may seem from all that has been said. The problem is not without a cure and the evil is being attacked from many angles simultaneously. The budget for the current year caters for reducing the inequality of incomes. Income tax on lower brackets has been reduced and that on the higher ones has been increased. This measure provides relief to a smaller section of the society. A greater number of people would have been benefited if the burden of indirect taxes were reduced. It is true that the rich shall be paying more in terms of direct taxes but then they are also getting the lion's share of the increased national income. It, therefore, shows little scope for the reduction of disparity of incomes. The rationalization of Capital gains Tax, increase in the Estate Duty, Gift Tax and the reimposition of Expenditure Tax are some of the steps towards the reduction of unequal distribution of wealth. It is heartening to note that the Monopolies Inquiry Commission has already been constituted under the Chairmanship of Justice K. C. Das Gupta to inquire into the extent and effect of concentration of economic power in

private hands and to suggest such legislative and other measures that might be considered necessary in the light of such inquiry. As already stated, the rise in per capita income has been simply nominal because of rising prices. Measures to control prices have also been adopted though they have yet not been effective. Every possible attempt is being made to increase the industrial and agricultural production. Subsidies to the industries, price policy, buffer stock operations, and opening of fair price shops, etc. are some of the attempts made by the Government to curb inflation and to increase the real worth of the meager earnings of the masses. The Central Government is also considering the case of increasing the dearness allowance and the wages of Government employees, earning low incomes, for giving them some relief against the rising level of prices. As all these measures shall mostly benefit the people in the low-income group, it shall be a step towards reducing the disparity of incomes. The entire problem necessitates a re-assessment in the proper perspective. Every study is handicapped by the absence of reliable and relevant statistical data. Moreover, the findings of the various Committees lose their significance because of delay. The Mahalanobis Committee has taken about three and a half years in submitting only the part I of its report. The Monopoly Commission which has recently been constituted should expedite its study and make recommendations in time so that necessary steps may be taken to mitigate this economic evil.



UNIQUE NEPAL

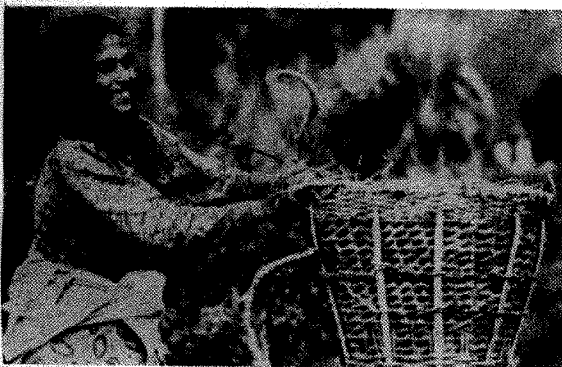
BY PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY

RELATIONS between *Bharat* and Nepal are intertwined historically, culturally and geographically. Historically, Nepal has been an elder brother in its duration of independence; in strides of industrialization, India is in the position of an elder brother. What struck me after a ten-days stay at Kathmandu and interviews with a few statesmen there, are the *unique* characteristics of Nepal.

If Nepal is noted for its Pasupathinath and Mukthinath, it is equally famous for having Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha, within her territory. It is a unique centre where Hinduism and Buddhism thrive in mutual respect.

At Lalitpur (Patan) near Kathmandu above the Krishna image in the next higher circumambulation is a fine image of Kailasapathy. Never in such a reconciling pose have I found any shrine in India. It is at once a reconciler of Saivism and Vaishnavism.

The sight that I experienced during Navarathri of Sakti-worship I could never forget. No doubt in the Amber City near Jaipur I have found the *prasad* of red flowing through offer of one goat to Kali but such a flow of red blood offered during Navarathri, I have not seen anywhere else. The hefty Nepalese men and women enjoy the Navarathri as a national festival.



Village Woman

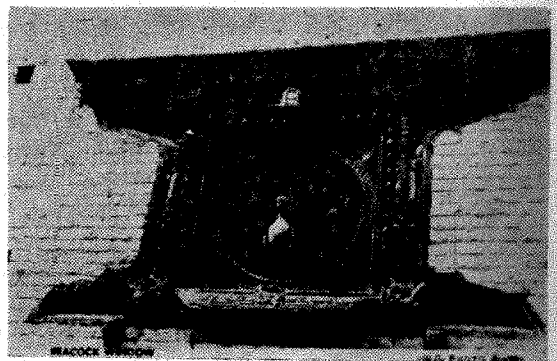
The Bhaktapur Palace is in every sense a hidden aesthetic paradise. "It is classical without being too highbrow." (*Biography of King Mahendra* Y. G. Krishnamurthy p. 93). • This ancient palace in Bhaktapur, six miles east of Kathmandu was founded in 889 A.D. The *Durga*

Sapta Sati frieze engraved in stone, eighteen shades of BHAIRAV emotion carved in wood and sculptural detail and tension in the image *Unmatha Varahi* hit the stream of awareness-technique. The technique here as in the Vaishnavi image emphasises an attitude of inner probing. The news of these incomparable pieces has not yet leaked out to the art world.

The Malla Kings were the votaries of *Shakti*; no wonder their experiences are found conveyed in art forms. In poignance, grace and aspiring Tantric mood, there is none more striking than the image of *Unmatha Varahi*. "Measuring over 4 feet with a smooth and radiant surface almost unknown to modern sculpture, tusks and eyes giving a hint of its earth-shaking power, every inch of its crown carved with ravishing designs, *Varahi* breathes the sublime touch of a true sculptor's chisel" (Y.G.K.).

Within the courtyard our heart verily becomes a vast amphitheatre of the *Spirit*. There is a mysterious waterhole in the yard. A yogi as Naresh Mulla could make the rills murmur out. For weird *tantric* symbols it is hard to beat picturesque Nepal. A frog riding a lion, a mouse on the back of a tiger and both frog and mouse teasing an elephant—hundreds like that not merely confuse us but I did not want to come out of the courtyard.

The magnificent peacock window at the Mohant's mansion at Bhaktapur is a unique piece of wood carving. I do not know if wood carving anywhere in India has attained this standard and its intricate perfection.



Peacock Window

TANTRIC MUDRAS GALORE

In the Kumari Chowk on the top frieze there are forty-nine images. The middle pier has twenty-five images and the base has thirty-three. South India is noted for master sculptors in stone; but they could not emulate these *tantric* mudras.

The conception of nine goddesses is not merely warm and sensitive. It is best depicted only here. *Brahmi, Maheswari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Narasimhi, Indrani, Chamunda* and *Mahalakshmi*. Durga is the total effect of these nine manifestations. As E. A. Powell expresses it "In the forgotten valley artists, priests and master craftsmen have been at work unceasingly for generations beyond reckoning".

Pasupathinath with its *Panch Mukti Brahma* has heavy associations with Adi Sankara and H. M. King Mahendra of Nepal assured me that the best priest here is from the Sringeri Mutt.

Nepal has produced a Buddha, but the Nepali has not sheathed his *Kukri*, the curved little sword.

Near Muktinath at an altitude of 18,000 feet and in the water beds of Kali Gandaki around Mukti-betra there is a large deposit of black ammonite fossils known as thrice sacred *Saligrams* worshipped as sacred symbols of Vishnu in every Hindu home as part of the *Panchayatana* Puja.

If the Srikrishna Temple at Patan is known for its engravings of the Mahabharata scene, Nepal has also Janakpur in South-east Kathmandu valley, the birth-place of Sita, the heroine of the Ramayana.

Bronze craftsmanship is to be found in Royal statues. The masterpiece is certainly the golden door of Bhaktapur which displays a marvellous quality of technical skill and harmonious beauty.

Nepal is verily a treasure-house of rare manuscripts. The earliest Sanskrit manuscript of Narada Smriti was from Nepal and Jolly translated in the *Sacred Books of the East*, (Vol. XXXIII). Astoundingly interesting is a rare manuscript on *Yoga Tarangini*—a dialogue between Kumbhakarna and Lakshmana being translated by King Mahendra, the scholar-poet of

Nepal. *Sangeeta Sura Sangraha* composed to the command of Jagajoti Mulla is also being translated by the King. It opens with an impressive invocation. The milky way is the stage curtain; lightning is the illumination; the sky is the stage and thunder is the drum. The stars are the decorations and the sun and the moon are the cymbals. The Goddess Gouri is the Dancer.

Kathmandu was the centre of Asian fashion in the fourth century A.D. In the Gupta period, the reigning beauty was a Lichchavya, a Nepalese princess. So a work as *Hayamekhala* contains indigenous recipes for preserving beauty, effective slimming, costume jewellery and fashion in fabrics.

It would be surprising if a work as *Yavana Jatakam* (12th century A.D.) a great work on Astrology containing horoscopes of emperors, kings, statesmen and dacoits (!) is not found in this ancient Himalayan bowl.

Enough has been stated illustratively about the art, sculpture and manuscripts of Nepal, the only Hindu independent kingdom where cow slaughter is unlawful. Unique in many respects, Nepal's lesson to India is in her interwoven reconciliation of Hinduism and Buddhism and of Saivism and Vaishnavism.

The more we are *brotherly* with Nepal as cultural, historical and geographical ties, bind us indissolubly, the more can we maintain our integrity, faced as we are by a ruthless yellow aggressor beyond Father Himalayas.



Rice Planting

THE POETRY OF SHAKESPEARE—HOW IT STRIKES AN INDIAN ADMIRER

BY PROF. DEBIPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA

It is interesting to speculate how, after the lapse of four hundred years, the world would have received him if Shakespeare wrote his plays in prose instead of verse. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the world in that case would not have celebrated his fourth birth centenary; even if it did, he could never have aroused such spontaneous and unprecedented enthusiasm all over the world. He would still be remembered and admired, it is true, as a shrewd observer of human nature, an excellent humorist and a comic dramatist of genius. His great tragedies, however, which are his supreme gift to mankind, would, I am sure, be dismissed, with something like horror, as fantastic and monstrous melodrama and his *King Lear* as the work of a madman. He would still be credited, no doubt, with profound insight into the dark recesses of the human soul, but then, even from that point of view his supremacy would be successfully challenged by the great masters of prose fiction of the last century.

All this, I fear, may appear irrelevant and fanciful, and yet I think the point is worth making because although we, his Indian admirers, have had the supreme good fortune, due to a lucky accident of history, of reading Shakespeare in the original, our reaction to him would not, I am afraid, have been very different from what it is had he chosen prose as his medium. I say this because Shakespeare is regarded by us as primarily a dramatist who, however, often couched his noble thoughts in beautiful verse. If this is how Shakespeare is conceived by us who have read him in the original, what would be his fate in countries where he is accessible only in translation? Voltaire, for example, as everybody knows, never thought much of him, and Tolstoy thought *King Lear* horrible. This is not a question merely of temperament; a great deal of this curious insensitiveness, on the part of men who were by no means incapable of appreciating greatness, is attributable to the fact that their acquaintance with Shakespeare's work was con-

fined to translation. It was unfortunate, because no other great poet of the world is so utterly untranslatable.

Shakespeare is commonly thought a great dramatist who expressed himself in verse. I am not sure whether it would not be better for the understanding of him if we regarded him as a great poet who chose drama as his medium. It is not an accident that his masterpiece, from the purely dramatic point of view, is also his greatest poem. It is also a remarkable fact that of all his great tragedies *Macbeth* contains the least admixture of prose.

I am also not sure whether it would not be truer to describe Shakespeare's plays as dramatic poems rather than as poetic drama. Take for example his *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. This delightful sylvan comedy of Shakespeare's early phase has considerable dramatic merit and yet what lingers in our memory is its incomparable lyrical charm. A striking illustration of how poetry can redeem a play is *Troilus and Cressida*. Considered as drama, it is frankly disappointing and extremely puzzling; what makes it still enjoyable is its admirable poetry. *Romeo and Juliet* cannot, of course, challenge comparison with its great tragic successors; yet it is almost as satisfying a work of art; it is, above all, the entrancing music of its verse that makes it such a marvel of romantic enchantment. *Antony and Cleopatra* is not, on the whole, as great as *Macbeth* or *King Lear*; it lacks the symbolic depth and tragic grandeur of either (though I think it is a finer play than *Hamlet*). What makes it such an astonishing creation is the incomparable liveliness and movement of its blank verse, as bold, as full of infinite variety as the amazing heroine of the play. What I think saves *Othello* from lapsing into a tragedy of intrigue is the fact that the hero of the play is, with all his serious intellectual limitations, a supreme poet.

Shakespeare's prose, considering the fact that English prose at that time was not yet mature, much less mature than French prose, is excellent

and remarkably modern ; it has not yet received the attention it deserves. And yet I often find myself wondering, I must confess, why a man whose very breath was poetry, whose whole being was permeated through and through with the quintessence of poetry, should have resorted to prose so often. To me personally, to return, after a particularly long-drawn-out prose dialogue in Shakespeare, even if it is witty and brilliant, to his verse is always an intense relief. It is only with an effort of will that I can bring myself to groan through the interminable verbal quibble and logic-chopping of his earlier comedies ; it is only the prospect of meeting poetry again that sustains me during these tedious moments. I do not mean to say that Shakespeare took to prose when his inspiration was at a low ebb ; in fact some of the supreme triumphs of his dramatic genius, like the Falstaff scenes in *Henry IV* are in prose. In some cases, like the delightful rustic scenes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the use of verse, I admit, would be utterly out of place. And yet I cannot help wishing that a poet who could make Juliet's nurse speak in verse with such brilliant success, who could put poetry in the mouth of a scoundrel like Iago, might have dispensed with prose more often than he did. Shakespeare himself has shown, in the wonderful first scene of *Hamlet*, how a brief, brusque and thoroughly businesslike conversation can be conducted in verse with triumphant success. There have been poets, great poets, who, like Milton, could write great poetry on great, exalted themes ; Shakespeare himself has done that over and over again. But for a great dramatic poet that is not enough. A great dramatic poet, unlike an epic poet, must be able to express, convincingly, plausibly and beautifully, moments of comparatively little dramatic tension in verse without resorting to prose or lapsing into pedestrian verse. Shakespeare possessed this power, the rarest and most difficult of all faculties in a dramatic poet, in a supreme measure ; it is this divine gift which more than anything else, makes the appearance of Shakespeare on the stage of world literature such an astounding phenomenon. Like a divine alchemist he could transmute the most prosaic and utterly intractable material into the golden splendour of poetry. Considering the enormous output of his poetical production and his often-heard carelessness as an artist, it is amazing how rarely his verse is inelegant, un-

interesting or tiresome. How refreshing, how readable Shakespeare is, even at his worst !

What makes Shakespeare, unlike most of his Elizabethan fellow dramatists so intensely interesting even when the drama is at a low tension, are his diction, rhythm and imagery.

To take his diction first. That a poet who never knew what a university was like, who, according to Ben Johnson "knew little Latin and less Greek" should have used what is, at least in European literature, both ancient and modern, the largest vocabulary ever used by any poet, will remain a mystery till the end of time. Milton, who is unquestionably the most learned of all English poets, used about eight thousand words ; Shakespeare, twenty thousand. This is one of the reasons why Shakespeare remains, with all his tremendous popularity, the most difficult author of the world. The strange thing is that even this copious, almost inexhaustible repository sometimes failed to supply the demand. It was when Shakespeare had to work at high tension. Then it is that we watch, breathless and aghast, the greatest master of language the world has seen, fiercely ransacking this enormous storehouse. It is not the smiling, aloof and serene Shakespeare of Matthew Arnold, that we are watching then ; it is the terrifying spectacle of Shakespeare who has summoned all his resources, girded up his loins, and then plunged headlong into the roaring waves, the passion of an *Othello* or the raving frenzy of a *King Lear*.

Nothing is so illuminating, in discussing a great poet, as to contrast him with another great poet who is very different. Such a poet is Racine, Shakespeare's greatest tragic successor in European literature, and almost as great a master of dramatic verse. I have always been surprised at the Englishman's curious insensibility to the charm of Racine. At the same time it is understandable, even natural for a compatriot of Shakespeare who is used to the superb irregularities of the British dramatist to find Racine monotonous if his ears are not tuned to the music of French verse. The main reason is, of course, the metre ; the French Alexandrine which Racine brought to perfection is, after the variety and richness of the blank verse of Shakespeare's mature poetry, a dull affair. But there is another reason for this comparative monotony (with all its music and consummate metrical virtuosity) of Racine's verse : his vocabulary, which is, com-

pared to Shakespeare's, very limited indeed. Let me give an example from my own experience. I happen to know English much better than French, and yet in reading Racine it is rarely that I find it necessary to look up the dictionary, while in reading Shakespeare, I am scarcely halfway through a moderately long speech when suddenly I stumble upon a word, a total stranger whom I meet for the first time in my life and perhaps for the last ; for the last because it is extremely unlikely that I shall ever have the pleasure of meeting it again, even in Shakespeare. Even a cursory glance at a Shakespeare glossary will show us scores of such words, words, namely, that occur only once in the thirty-odd plays of this incredibly prolific writer. The result is a perpetual surprise; the reader or the spectator is kept in continual suspense by not merely what is going to happen next, but also, and equally, by what is going to be the next word ; we can often anticipate the next event, but never the next word. Shakespeare is the supreme example of the English idiom, and yet his diction is never inevitable and natural in the sense in which Racine's is.

Critics have emphasised the thoroughly English character of Shakespeare's genius. In this they are right, provided, however, this Englishness of Shakespeare is not meant to characterise his vocabulary. What we actually find in his diction is not an overwhelming preponderance of the Anglo-Saxon element but that delicate and difficult balance between the Teutonic and the Latin elements to which, more than to anything else, the English language owes its richness and variety. We must not forget that the man who wrote "After life's fretful fever, he sleeps well" is the same man who wrote, in the same play, "Multitudinous seas incarnadine" ; that, "Absent thee from felicity awhile" is as great poetry as, "Ripeness is all."

Shakespeare has often been called rhetorical, especially his early verse. Rhetoric, unfortunately, has gone out of fashion in our age ; it has become a term of reproach. If rhetoric is something too crude for our modern taste we had better leave Shakespeare alone. Some of the finest passages, even in his later works, are highly rhetorical. It is a mistake, I think, to suppose that Shakespeare, as his poetry became maturer, abandoned his earlier rhetorical manner for a more direct and natural style. What are Othello's

great speeches, including his famous dying speech, but brilliant rhetorical utterance ? Shakespeare's poetry is never, as Dante's often is, the poetry of plain statement ; his poetry is always figurative ; it suggests rather than states. The naturalness of Shakespeare's mature poetry, like the naturalness of anything Shakespearian, except his English idiom, is an illusion. That an author so highly individual and original should give such an overwhelming impression of naturalness is one of the ultimate paradoxes of genius. The progress was not from the rhetorical to the simple and natural diction ; his really significant development, from the technical point of view, lay in perfecting his instrument, and the instrument was blank verse. This development, which is of the greatest interest from the point of view of the music of poetry, is not in the direction of greater simplicity ; it consists essentially in an increase in the subtlety and complexity of rhythm.

Shakespeare achieves this rhythmic subtlety not merely by the mechanical Miltonic device of sliding the caesura backwards and forwards ; it depends mainly on what Dr. F. R. Leavis defines, with his characteristic felicity and precision, as "the play of the natural sense movement and intonation against the verse structure." This subtle counterpoint between speech movement and verse rhythm is what we miss in Miltonic blank verse. In *Richard III* it is hardly perceptible ; in *Hamlet* it is distinctly audible ; and in *Antony and Cleopatra* this contrapuntal melody reaches the highest point of complexity. In the blank verse of *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare forged a dramatic instrument of incomparable power ; it is, as the quotation that follows shows, a unique combination of strength and suppleness, of statuesque grandeur and exquisite delicacy of movement.

For his bounty

There was no winter in't, an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping ; his delights
Were dolphin-like, they show'd his back above
The element they lived in ; in his livery
Walked crowns and crownets, realms and islands
were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket.

Finally I pass on to Shakespeare's imagery. This is not the place to discuss so vast a subject ; what I propose to do in what follows is to point

out how his imagery strikingly illustrates the sheer *dramatic* power of poetry. The drama of Shakespeare is not the drama of men and women alone; behind this human drama there is enacted another drama, quite as exciting and as fascinating, the drama in which the *dramatis personae* are not human beings, but images and words. An image in Shakespeare is itself a drama, intense and vivid; it is, so to speak, a play within a play. What Dr. Leavis calls "Shakespeare's marvellous faculty of intense local realization" is best exemplified by a passage like the following; it is the famous address to sleep by King Henry IV in *Henry IV Part II*.

Wilt thou upon the high and giddy mast
Seal up the ship-boy's eyes, and rock his brains
In cradle of the rude imperious surge,
And in the visitation of the winds,
Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
Curling their monstrous heads, and hanging them
With deafning clamour in the slippery clouds,
That with the hurly death itself awakes?

This is the poetry of Shakespeare, Shakespeare at the height of his power, and Shakespeare at the height of his power is perhaps the most terrifying spectacle in literature. The drama of *Henry IV* has for a moment stopped; we catch

our breath and watch another drama, the drama of "the rude imperious surge," the "winds" and the "ruffian billows"—clashing with deafening clamour. And yet the main drama has not stopped; the image admirably reflects the state of mind of the speaker, tormented by the unspeakable terror of sleeplessness. This is Shakespeare's real miracle as a dramatist: "intense local realization" so far from being incompatible with the general design of the whole, always, in a mysterious way, enhances it; it is never a mere beautiful irrelevance. He always combines, as no other dramatic poet of the world has been able to do, the poetry of detail with what T. S. Eliot has called poetry of design.

It was T. S. Eliot again who said that great drama is always poetic and that great poetry is always dramatic. Whether or not this is a universal truth, I do not know. What I do know is that it is certainly true of Shakespeare. Shakespeare has taught mankind one thing, if nothing else, and for that at least we should be grateful to him. And it is this: he has opened our eyes, and our ears, as nobody else has done, to the power, the tremendous dramatic power, of poetry, of above all, great poetry such as his, which he has given us so often, so generously and in such divine abundance.



THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ENTERPRISE IN INDIA

By G. RAM REDDY, M.Sc., (Econ) London

RECENTLY the Government of India announced that a Committee on Public Enterprise would be appointed.¹ This Committee will take over from the Estimates Committee and also from the Public Accounts Committee the work relating to Public Enterprise. In this paper it is proposed to examine the need, character and scope of the Committee.

The Committee owes its origin, as in Britain,² to the desire of Members of Parliament to secure some form of closer relationship between Parliament and Public Enterprise. The Members wanted to have a method by which they could best inform themselves about Public Enterprise without acquiring responsibilities of Ministers or encroaching on the independence of these enterprises. The conflict between accountability and autonomy of Public Enterprise has been resolved by the creation of a Parliamentary Committee.

In Britain there was a controversy regarding the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee. Arguments for and against were put forward. Ultimately government decided to appoint a Parliamentary Committee on Nationalised Industries. The terms of reference of the 1955 Committee were narrow and the Committee felt itself restricted to do any useful work. The terms of reference of the new Committee (1956) were widened. The Committee was authorised "to examine the reports and accounts of the Nationalised Industries." Doubts were expressed by the Members on the ground that the terms of reference were too wide; it would interfere with the proper chain of responsibility; would create a new bureaucracy and would expose the commercial activities of Public Enterprise. In his reply Mr. Butler expressed the hope that "the Committee would not trespass upon the authority of these bodies respectively responsible, namely in the one case the Corporations themselves, and in the other the Ministers of the Crown." It was left to the Committee and the Chairman to use discretion and develop "case law." The Committee has produced five reports since then. All of them are acclaimed by the Commentators on Public Enterprise.³

The situation in India is different. From the beginning the Estimates Committee, the Public Accounts Committee and the Comptroller and Auditor General have been dealing with the Public Enterprises. Although the Estimates Committee has been very active in this sphere, opinions are conflicting about its functioning. Some writers point out that the Estimates Committee has been doing fairly good work.⁴ But the general feeling is that the Estimates Committee's work has not been satisfactory. It adopts the same attitude towards Public Enterprise which is adopted towards the Government Departments.

The Estimates Committee has produced several reports on the public undertakings some of which are of "general nature" and others relate to particular undertakings. Its recommendations cover a wide range e.g. it says that there should be a cadre of capable men drawn from business, commerce, industry and trade to whom Public Enterprise should be entrusted and this should be in the nature of an All India Service designated as "Indian Commercial and Industrial Services." A report (Eighth) on the D.V.C. says that the corporation should be asked to plan their requirements of stores and supplies in advance to determine which of them should be purchased through the Director General, Supplies and Disposals.

Recently a sub-committee of the Estimates Committee was also appointed to look after Public Enterprise. The appointment has weakened the case for a separate committee on Public Enterprise to some extent.

The Members of Parliament were not satisfied with the accountability of Public Enterprise to Parliament. They felt that it was defective in several respects. This feeling was based on the ground that Parliament was not properly fed about Public Enterprise. The Estimates Committee was overburdened with work, it was doing too many things at a time. Since the Estimates Committee deals with the Government Departments it has no opportunity to appreciate the problems of public undertakings—particularly

when there has been a large growth in the public Enterprise. The pattern of Public Enterprise is quite different from the Government Departments and this special characteristic is not understood by the Estimates Committee. The functioning of the Estimates Committee is also not satisfactory. It gives contradictory advices ;⁵ deals with the problems in a cursory manner and sometimes goes into the day to day administrative problems. It is also pointed out that the Estimates Committee expresses opinions on even technical matters. Some writers hold it guilty of arrogating itself certain powers which do not properly belong to it.⁶

Some of these criticisms could have been met by the appointment of a special sub-committee of Estimates Committee to be incharge of Public Enterprise matters. But the Public Enterprise in India have assumed a vital role and probably for this reason it is felt that it is not proper to keep them in the hands of Estimates Committee for whom Public Enterprise are one of the several functions. Only a separate committee would do the job. Hence the demand for a separate committee.

The demand for a separate committee on Public Enterprise was made as early as in 1953. In the Lok Sabha several MPs pleaded for the creation of a separate committee. Appreciating the anxiety of the members of Parliament, late Mr. Mavalankar wrote to the Prime Minister that something had to be done. He said that "there was a general feeling that a Standing Parliamentary Committee might be appointed to see from time to time how these corporations etc., were working and to make suggestions for improvement."⁷ Mr. C. D. were working and to make suggestions Deshmukh speaking for the government felt that it was better to wait and see. Again a demand for its creation was made in Parliament in 1956 debate on the L.I.C.⁸ At that time Mr. C. D. Deshmukh said "that he was in favour of it, for such a committee could do some kind of achievement audit." In 1958 the L.I.C. episode sparked off the controversy once again and it revealed that the parliamentary control was inadequate. The appointment of V. K. Krishna Menon Committee on the State undertakings was indicative of the urgency. The committee favoured the appointment of a separate committee for Public Enterprise.⁹

The Government announced its willingness

to appoint a committee on Public Enterprise. Its appointment is a culmination of the efforts mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. The decision of a Government for its appointment assumes that the new committee would be better than Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee. This assumption is probably based on :

- a. That the Committee may be composed of business and other elements who know something about the State undertaking. But this is a questionable assumption, for the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee might attract the best members and this committee might not be able to do the same.¹⁰
- b. The Committee on Public Enterprise would adopt a broader approach than the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee. It can examine the background of the cases of Public Enterprise. But this will very easily lead the committee into the day to day administrative problems.

If the Committee on Public Enterprise is to function successfully it should borrow good traditions of the Estimates Committee and improve upon them. It should avoid the mistakes of the Estimates Committee, e.g. it expresses views on technical matters.¹¹ The new committee must also meet the criticism levelled against the Estimates Committee failing which it would become a pale shadow of the latter. Some of the important criticisms against the new committee would be :

- a. Sub-Committee of the Estimates Committee is doing useful work and the experience gained by it would be lost if a new committee is appointed.¹²
- b. By creating a new committee it is not certain that it will be able to examine the working of more enterprises than what the Estimates Committee has already been doing.
- c. A new Committee wholly dealing with Public Enterprise is more likely to interfere in the day to day affairs of Public Enterprise than the Estimates Committee.
- d. Even the special committee will need an expert staff to assist it. In the absence of it, the Committee is not likely to fare

any better than the Estimates Committee. hesitate to express its views and point out their If expert staff is given to the Estimates mistakes. Autonomy does not mean that the Committee that itself will function Boards are immune from criticism. As the Menon effectively. Committee put it "there cannot be any fettering

- e. The financial matters of Public Enterprise of its judgment and expression of its views in are so greatly mixed with those of departments that it would not be good parliamentary traditions."
- possible for the new committee to deal The Committee should keep Parliament in- formed of important developments in Public with them. It would not be able to ex- Enterprise and should interpret the policies of the amine the Departmental Secretaries as Public Enterprise to it. There is no harm if it Chief witnesses. Moreover the Civil becomes a kind of honest broker occasionally Servants are closely associated with the between Public Enterprise and Parliament and boards of Public Enterprise.¹³ make them understand each other. Through its

There is no reason why the experience of the work the committee should reduce the burden of Estimates Committee or its sub-committee is to be Parliament regarding Public Enterprise by considered lost; it can pass to the latter. As giving purposeful information.

regards criticism (b) and (c) it may be stated The Committee at the same time should not that the purpose is not to examine more enter- interfere with Ministerial responsibility. Its prises but the type and quality of examination. function is not either to manage or administer the The experience of the British Committee on enterprises but only to see that they are properly functioning.

Nationalised Industries shows that the special committee on Public Enterprise need not go into The committee should also refrain from the temptation of going into details and expressing day to day administrative matters. The Indian opinions on technical matters for which job it is Committee may also adopt that convention. The not competent. Such matters should be left to the Indian Committee on Public Enterprise can learn experts. much from the experience of its counterpart in

Britain. The criticism of financial matters is also Since the Committee on Public Enterprise is similar to the British Committee on the Nationa- not convincing, for gradually the aim should be lised Industries, it can learn much from the latter's experience and practice. The latter has set up healthy traditions some of which can be transplanted on the Indian soil without any climatic difficulties. In a recent article¹⁴ on the

Methods and principles of the new Select Committee on the Nationalised Industries Committee's work should also be different. If Sir Toby Low, former Chairman of the Committee, describes how the Committee has worked and the new committee merely implies a transfer of what difficulties it faced. For the successful work- ing of the committee "careful leadership," the work of the Estimates Committee and without the role of the Chairman. Much depends upon a change in the principles of work, no qualitative the committee falls into less able hands.¹⁵ The main object of the inquiry of the Committee is improvement in parliamentary control will occur. to find out whether the industry is effectively managed. How to judge the efficiency of an indus- try? Here they had to be very careful whether

The Committee on Public Enterprise can to compare the performance of an industry with achieve positive results only when it gains the the role of the Chairman. There are dangers if the committee falls into less able hands.¹⁵ The main object of the inquiry of the Committee is confidence of the Boards of Public Enterprise. It should try to understand the peculiar problems of each industry. The Committee should not give the impression that it is suspicious of the Boards or it is a sword of Democles hanging over their heads. This is essential to avoid the fear complex in the Boards and also playing for safety. The earlier years or should it be compared with Boards should be made to believe that in the private and foreign firms. One thing was clear decision which they take in the interest of that they should compare the like with the like. Public Enterprise they would not be let down or Another test of efficiency is the profitability of the enterprise. But prices in Public Enterprise are exposed by the committee. the enterprise. But prices in Public Enterprise are controlled in one way or another and "tended

At the same time the committee should not

to be artificial." The committee tried to look at all factors that go to make up efficiency in management.

The British Committee and its Chairman are assisted in cross-examining the witnesses by the Clerks of the House of Commons. These Clerks are not experts, but they "do have trained minds." The Chairman of the Committee at times felt the need for a professional accountant and a trained economist to put his "nose on the right scent." But later they decided that there was no use in introducing a new machinery between Parliament and Nationalised Industries. The expert assistance could be got informally from outsiders. They thought that it was important that the Nationalised Industries had full confidence in the Committee's staff. Instead they asked for an additional clerk. After this the Committee worked on the Railways and the Gas Industries with the help of the Clerks, and Sir Toby says "I did not during either of these inquiries feel the need for an expert staff assistance." This is an eloquent tribute to the Clerks of the House of Commons.

It is the experience of Sir Toby Low that there is no mystery in working out "what were the essentials in each of these industries," regarding their efficient functioning; with few exceptions the same points arose and they tried to examine the working of the Industries in that light. They are :

1. Attitude of the Board whether they were carrying out a public service or doing a commercial job.
2. Degree of Ministerial interference—its direct and indirect effects on the decisions of the enterprise.
3. Continuance of un-economic services.
4. Control of capital investment.

This is the main work of the Committee. Almost all the above points are worth remembering for the Indian Committee. They only point on which it may have to follow a different course is that of expert assistance to it. The British Committee has decided against expert assistance but the Indian Committee may feel the need for it, because the Public Enterprises are many and varied in this country. In the fields of technology, accounting, economics and administrative assistance is required. In the Indian Parliament 80 per cent of the member represent rural constituencies and they probably are not in a position to understand the problems of industrial

enterprises. Even in Britain writers like Robson feel that the Select Committee should be assisted by an Audit Commission. In India the assistance could be given by setting up an Efficiency Audit Bureau or by building up a Secretariat of the Committee with experts from all the fields. There are advantages and disadvantages of these. But the best solution would be for the committee to suggest what kind of help it needs and ask for assistance on that basis. The British Committee takes up only one or two industries every time for detailed study because the number of enterprises in that country is limited. In India Public Enterprises are larger in number. Therefore, the Committee has to take up several enterprises, every year for study. Here the best course to follow would be to divide the industries into some categories such as defence industries, commercial undertakings, financial undertakings etc. and appoint sub-committees for each category.

1. Mr. Kanungo in the Lok Sabha on September 21, 1963.

2. Sir Toby Low, Article on "Select Committee on Nationalised Industries in Public Administration," Vol. 40, Spring, 1962, pp. 1-15.

3. W. A. Robson—*Nationalised Industry and Public Ownership*, pp. 198-202.

4. H. C. Dasappa: Parliamentary control and Accountability of Public Undertakings—*Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 2, April-June, 1961-62, p. 140.

5. A participant in the Seminar on Administrative problems of State Enterprises in India—*Indian Institute of Public Administration*, p. 10.

6. A. K. Chanda: *Indian Administration*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958, p. 193.

7. Quoted in the Menon Committee Report, "Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings"; a Report, 1959.

8. Mr. Ashok Mehta, during the debate in the Lok Sabha on the L.I.C. in 1956. He said that such a committee would answer or challenge the government on Public Enterprise, would make thorough enquiry into Public Enterprise. There should be a Standing Committee "... members of unit Standing Committee or Select Committee or Statutory Committee—whatever it is—will be in a position to come here and challenge the government on various important points with the requisite information and knowledge—*Lok Sabha Debates* 1956, Vol. V, part 2.

9. Congress Party in Parliament: Parliamentary Supervision over State Undertakings: A Report 1959, pp. 38-39.

10. Prof. V. V. Ramanadham's Report of Control of Public Enterprise in India, Sponsored by R. P. C. Plg. Commn, 1961.
11. For a detail study of this see *Ibid*—*Nationalised Industries Public Administration*, chapter on the Estimates Committee the D.V.C. Vol. 40, Spring 1962, pp, 1-15.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
14. Sir Toby Low—*Select Committee on*
15. *Ibid.*

THE PROBLEM OF SLUMS AND SLUM CLEARANCE IN CALCUTTA

BY SOM NATH CHATTERJEE, M.A.

(I)

CALCUTTA Slum Clearance Bill 1957 has defined slums as "any land containing a collection of huts used or intended to be used for human habitation" where HUT means any structure, no substantial part of which, excluding the walls upto a height of 18" above the door or floor level, is constructed of masonry, reinforced concrete, ferro-concrete, cemented brick, steel, iron or other metal or any combination of these materials, but includes any building constructed of plain or corrugated iron sheet "if the State Government is satisfied that in any area (a) the huts used or intended to be used for human habitation are unfit for such purpose, or (b) the unhealthy or unhygienic condition thereof or of the huts therein is dangerous or notorious to public health or to the health of the inhabitants of the area."

It is evident that the above definition only includes Kutcha and semi-kutcha structures. But the views of the Indian Conference of Social Work held in Bombay from 14th to 20th May 1957 were otherwise. There Mr. P. R. Nayak, I.C.S., observed: "A slum may be defined as a building or an area which is unfit for human habitation, by reason of serious deficiencies in the nature of the living accommodation or of the environment." To the reader, Mr. Nayak's definition will be more appealing.

Calcutta is known as the City of Palaces. Yet it is an irony that in this very City of Job Charnock more people are living in Kutcha and semi-Kutcha houses than in Pucca ones, that

about three-fourths of the city families live in over-crowded conditions and the problem of providing privacy for the family members is a serious one for not an insignificant section.

Slums of Calcutta must be discussed on two ground: (1) Nature of construction of the houses and (2) the extent of availability of the bare amenities of life like bath room, privy, water closet etc. On the basis of an actual survey—Socio-economic Survey of Calcutta by Dr. S. N. Sen (1954-55 to 1957-58)—the following conclusions have also been drawn: (a) on the basis of the second criterion above, barring about 10 to 12 per cent of the sample households, all others cannot enjoy the ordinary amenities of life: (b) from the first criterion that all Kutcha or semi-Kutcha structures are to be regarded as Bustees—28 per cent of the households containing roughly 27 per cent of the sample population live in Bustees. (c) On the whole, about 25 per cent to 26 per cent of the households (roughly a quarter of the total population of Calcutta) live in Bustees. In this calculation, nature of the structure and nature of the available essential amenities are not lost sight of.

CONDITION OF BUSTEES

About the general picture of the slums of Calcutta, one can do no better than to quote the description given by the Royal Commission on Indian Labour, p. 271. According to this Commission, in slum areas houses are built close together, eave touching eave and frequently back to back in order to make use of all the available

spaces. Indeed, space is so valuable that in place ment house development in New York, one is of streets and roads, narrow winding lanes struck by a curious fact. The aesthetic pleasure provide the only approach to the houses. Neglect is gained almost entirely from the contrast of sanitation is often evidenced by heaps of rotting grabage and pools of sewage, whilst the surroundings—the 19th century slums and the absence of latrines enhances the general pollution industrial blight.

of air and soil. Houses, many without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation, usually consist of a single room, the only opening being a door often too low to enter without stooping. For some privacy, old Kerosene tins and gunny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air.

The Staff Reporter's account of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated the 12th July 1962 as quoted below completes the picture of the slums :

"I am just describing the condition, of a bustee situated at the junction of Hem Chandra Street and Watgunge St. in Kidderpur area. In that bustee, the number of dwellers is considerably large but there is only one latrine for the common use. The inhabitants including women and children have to stand in a queue before that latrine for their turn to have the opportunity to use it. This sort of unhealthy way of living is nothing but a scandal of the city. Foul smell is constantly polluting the surroundings but the unfortunate bustee-people are compelled to stand before the service-privy The life of the bustee has become more unbearable for the acute scarcity of water"

Yes, Calcutta is the city of paradoxes. That is why on a large number of roads palatial buildings and abominable bustees coexist side by side. And sometimes the bustee-dwellers happen to be the domestic staff serving these palaces!

LONDON, NEW YORK AND CALCUTTA COMPARED

Slums are not new words in the dictionary of large cities. But history teaches us that in almost all the cities where slums grew up, extensive demolition was carried on to remedy the evil. In England, Glasgow showed the way : in 1866, her Improvement Trust demolished 38 acres of slum property. Birmingham followed the steps of Glasgow in 1875. Even U.S.A. is no exception. Looking at the latest modern apart-

Unlike the West, Calcutta's problems is quite different. Her areas are so badly let out that the wisest course is to pull them down and rebuild them. Yet in practice that is impossible. For example, the whole of North Calcutta cannot be pulled or razed down though this area positively cry out for such treatment. Razing the slums down to the ground without caring to provide alternative accommodation like England is an inhuman act because that makes men and women shelterless, tears them off from home comforts. Not only that. Without alternative accommodation these displaced persons just move off a little bit and create again new slums : thus old slums are only replaced by new ones. Naturally, less drastic remedies are to be adopted here. For example, the Calcutta Corporation can compel the individual houses to remedy sanitary defects and abate overcrowding.

Again, unlike the East-end of London, bustee areas of Calcutta are not concentrated in separate regions. The tragedy is that Calcutta has grown up practically in haphazard manner and then when affairs were found to be intolerable, sporadic improvements were made.

REHOUSING, THE ONLY NEED

The need of the hour is not only to raze the slums down but also to rehouse the resident families. It is a fact that 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the families in Calcutta needs rehousing. It is interesting to record here that the Construction Board, West Bengal and Calcutta Improvement Trust estimated roughly Rs. 6000/- as construction cost of an one-roomed tenement in multi-storied buildings. The families, however, being of various sizes, all the slum-dwellers cannot possibly be accommodated in one roomed tenements. But assuming all of them will be satisfied with single room accommodation, then the cost alone for accommodation will be Rs. 135 crores. It may be noted that this sum will exclude further expenses involving compensations of different categories that will have to be paid before slum-clearance and subsequent costs of rehabilitation.

(II)

DR. S. N. SEN'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Dr. S. N. Sen of Calcutta University made a socio-economic survey of Calcutta between 1954-55 and 1957-58. The results of his survey are indispensable for our discussion. According to this survey, about a quarter of this City's population live in slums and so schemes of slum clearance would involve the construction of new houses for about 8.8 lakh to 9 lakh people, 6.5 lakh being adults and 2.3 to 2.5 lakh children and young persons. Dr. Sen agrees that estimating the cost of one-roomed tenement with the usual amenities in a multistoried building at Rs. 6,000/-, the total expenditure for housing these 9 lakh people will amount to Rs. 190 crores. This sum, however, excludes the cost of the land.

Another important factor we must not forget. Majority of the slum-dwellers of low-income group prefer to stay near their places of work to save transport charges, time and discomforts. So if we aim to clear the slums by providing alternative accommodation as near as possible to the existing slums, in that case the cost of land would be very high because of soaring land prices in the city. Dr. Sen further reminds us about the payment of suitable compensation to the existing slum owners. Finally he observes :

"Thus the total amount of investment necessary for these schemes would be a very large sum, varying between Rs. 250 crores to 300 crores. The sum involved is about 3 to 4 times the present annual interest charges on this sum, if borrowed from the market at the current market rates, would absorb about 10 per cent of the revenues of this State."

The financial problem becomes more acute when the question of fixing rents of these new houses comes in. Generally, the slum-dwellers pay between Rs. 9/- to 10/- as rent whereas a rent of Rs. 20/- would yield only 4 per cent return on the sum invested in each new house. To solve this problem, to fix the rents within the paying capacity of the slum-dwellers, all that is needed is to subsidise it heavily by the State. This subsidy and the annual interest charges on the loan would involve a sum of not less than Rs. 16 crores,

an amount being more than one-sixth of the revenue of the West Bengal Government.

TOWARDS THE SOLUTION

The questions that remain unanswered in above discussions are : "What is to be done? How the operation of slum clearance will be carried on?" We all admit that slum clearance is to be tackled as a part of the bigger problem of housing. Housing again depends on the availability of building spaces, resources, income and culture of the slum-dwellers. Yet something has to be done : Kipiling's remark of the "City of chances, chance directed and chance rected" has got to be disproved.

SUGGESTIONS OF MR. C. H. BOMPASS, I.C.S.

Discussing the subject of "The task before the City builders," what Mr. C. H. Bompas, I.C.S., observed before the Social Study Society of Calcutta in September 1912 about Calcutta's improvement is still applicable today. He argued :

"The tasks before the Improvement Trust are manifold and to which shall we turn first? For some purpose when we talk of Calcutta we mean old Calcutta and in particular old Calcutta, north of Park Street : when we talk of congestion, of the solid masses of masonry buildings preventing proper conservancy, of the want of roads suited to the modern traffic, we think of north Calcutta proper. If we consider the future and to make provisions for the future, we cannot be bound by the partly official boundary of Corporation jurisdiction. We must look on Calcutta and its surrounding municipalities as a unit."

According to Mr. Bompas, Calcutta is always growing and while considering the future we must take into account Greater Calcutta with all the suburban municipalities as the unit. "The Greatest drawback," warns Mr. Bompas, "is that there is no relation at all between the Street Planning in the City proper and the suburbs : There is not a single adequate road which starts in the centre of the city and runs out in the surrounding areas. This defect in the planning has been caused due to the lack of authorities with

sufficiently large territorial jurisdiction. The necessity for an authority to deal with the growing cities and their surroundings as well has always been forcibly felt in London and other growing cities. Such a centralized authority like that in London to tackle all the problems of ever-growing Calcutta and her suburbs is the crying need of the day—specially to clear the slums.

EXAMPLE OF CHICAGO

Here I cannot help quoting an American authority. From the *Local Planning Administration* by the International City Managers' Association, U.S.A., we learn that in the "City Beautiful Campaign (1893) of U.S.A., the most spectacular accomplishments occurred in Chicago where Daniel Burnham's plan for a monumental waterfront and architecturally impressive streets and avenues led to vast improvements. It was during this period that Daniel Burnham uttered his famous challenge :

"Make no little plans ; they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realised. Make big plans; aim high and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon your beauty."

We must pay respect to Mr. Daniel Burnham: we must make out a Master Plan for Calcutta's slum clearance.

TRANSPORT FACILITY

With the growth of a city, its business tends to grow at one or more centres. But it is impossible for all workers to live at these centres and so they have to be transported from and to their homes everyday. The quicker the journey, the farther they can afford to go. This is, however, not the case of Calcutta. Here slums grow by the side of factories because of the want of quick transport facilities. But we must bear in mind that the extension of a city means cheap rents and cheap living because the rate of rent is made high due to the excessive competition for land.

Thus the extension of a city and the quickest means of its transport from one end to the other not only solve the problem of slums but also reduces the cost of living. So, in Calcutta roads must be provided linking directly the suburbs to serve the present needs as well as the future. "These roads should be so made as to run through and open out the worst plague spots, the insanitary and congested areas of the town." This is a policy which was followed in Birmingham and Bombay.

LESSONS OF ENGLAND

England's example to solve the housing problem must be an eye-opener to us. The Garden Suburb Movement of England dealt with the problem of inflated site values, tenant co-partnership, subsidized transport and commercial ownership of land. The lessons of England we must not forget. "Here the Improvement Trust or, C.M.P.O. should directly devote its funds to the reduction of inflated site values so that rehousing schemes—a crying need to rehabilitate the slum-dwellers—should be remunerative on a basis of 'house valuation.'"

In London, when a dwelling house is demolished by a public authority, Parliament compels it to rehouse the displaced population and charge a rent within their means. This lesson again we must apply in case of our slum-dwellers also.

Again, in London the County Council may either construct the dwellings itself or may sell or lease the land to a third party willing to comply with parliamentary regulations. But in parting with the land saddled with these requirements, the County Council naturally receives a much smaller price because of certain restrictions. We must pay serious attention to this aspect also.

(III)

From the last two chapters, the readers will find that slums are cancerous sores in the anatomy of civic administration and solution of this problem depends on multiple factors. I suggest below some more remedies to make the city clean and free from slums.

AESTHETIC FACTOR

The aesthetic factor should also be considered. In America and Europe this is always carefully

taken into account. In Calcutta the slums grow in a mushroom fashion because there is no "make-the-city-beautiful-campaign." All we can hope is that the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organization (CMPO) will kindly bear in mind the fact that in the West no public building—not to speak of slums—can be erected, no street alterations made when the public vehemently opposes such construction from aesthetic sense. There, enormous sums are cheerfully spent to make the city beautiful, to remove the slums. Unfortunately, we have no such feeling: His Majesty's Government in the past never took any steps to develop this spirit of civic sense and beauty amongst us, a feeling so vital to check the growth of any further slums. Mr. Bompas is, of course, very optimistic in this aspect. He prophesies:

"But one may hope that a generation will arise here imbued with a desire not only for a Calcutta which is sanitary and which is convenient but also for a city that shall be beautiful and grand, the worth capital of a province or a nation which aspires to be something great in the future."

SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITIES

For removing the slums, for making the City clean and beautiful, development of suburban municipalities should be emphasized so that people can be dispersed in suburban areas and overcrowding avoided. Recent railway electrification also stresses this point. This need is not only to create suitable living conditions for these suburban people but also to link them up with the centre of Calcutta by the quickest means of proper traffic routes. At present the conditions in suburban municipalities are very very sad. It is hoped that the CMPO will create equal opportunities for all under which all the necessities and amenities of healthy municipal service will be possible in the suburbs. It is hoped that the CMPO will take the role of a centralized authority for controlling all the municipalities under a greater Calcutta project.

UNITED EFFORT

Slum clearance will not be possible unless it is supplemented by a policy of dispersal and decentralization to attract people out of Calcutta. This again depends on the united efforts of town,

planners, economists, sociologists, public health authorities, representatives of chambers of commerce, trade unions, engineers etc. and the neighbouring municipalities. Indeed, Mr. J. W. Dark has rightly commented: "Housing diverted from town and regional planning is at best a folly, at worst a harmless fraud upon the long suffering public."

Removal of slums depends on so many factors: (1) improvement of some of the slums, (2) prevention of new slums, (3) demolition of worst slums, (4) creating additional housing accommodation and (5) rehousing and rehabilitating displaced slum-dwellers. Because of the five-fold difficulties, many slums are going to have a prolonged existence. As such, it is much more humane to improve at least their sanitary conditions to reduce the ravages of epidemics.

Slum clearance is sometimes opposed for want of cheap alternative accommodation as also under the pressure of vested interests. Here also schemes for low cost housing and socio-economic development to defeat conservation and backward influences are only answers.

FUTURE NEEDS

Any ideal scheme of slum clearance cannot be complete unless it visualizes the future needs as housing implies long terms investment. Our schemes will only then be ideal when we will foresee our needs in the social and economic sense in advance for the next 30 to 40 years and adjust our present projects with the same.

SHARING OF COSTS

It is impossible for the State to bear solely the cost of slum clearance. As such, other resources must be found. The following steps, if taken, will relieve the pressure on the State to a considerable extent:

(1) Employers should be encouraged to arrange suitable housing conditions for their own workers. Slum clearance is essentially a part of labour welfare. It is worth recording here that housing facilities as provided at present by industrial units for their workers are of no significance at all. Naturally any large scale programme carried on by private industrialists for their staff welfare will reduce the strain to a great extent.

(2) If loans with terms of long repayment from the slum dwellers. Hence, the emergency and land at reasonable rates are provided for the to remove the slums to reach the goal of our earners of steady incomes—specially of low and socialistic pattern of society. middle income groups—then they would be in a position to build their homes individually or on co-operative basis. Certainly the City of Job Charnock has its glories, yes, even its virtues. But she must also be the symbol of the common man. Rousseau's violent dislike of Paris that "I saw nothing but dirty and stinking little streets, ugly black houses, an atmosphere of filth and poverty etc." is equally true of present Calcutta. We must, therefore, follow the steps of William Morris who hoped actually to destroy the city and rebuild it and so sang this immortal song :

(3) Housing societies should also be formed to launch the project of large-scale housing on a co-operative non-profit making basis. These societies will grant loans at very low rate of interest and supply building materials at reasonable rates.

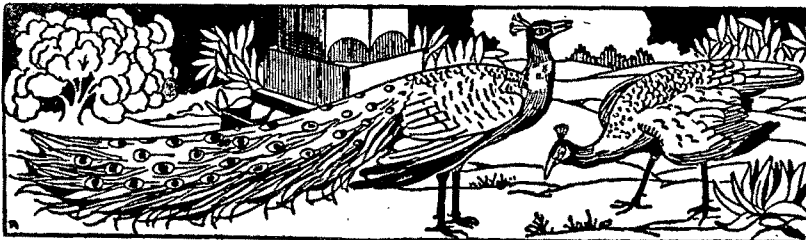
(4) Building costs should be brought down by making constant research on housing and production materials.

(5) Entrepreneurs may be encouraged to build houses for low-income groups by providing subsidies to them. This will bring down the market rents.

To conclude, the famous saying of Martin Luther must be a warning to us. He once observed: "The prosperity of a country depends not on the abundance of its revenues, nor the strength of its fortifications, nor on the beauty of public buildings; but it consists in its cultivated citizens, in its men of education, enlightenment and character. Here are to be found its truest interest, its chief strength, its real power." Surely all these prosperities—"cultivated citizens, men of education, enlightenment and character"—we cannot expect

"Forget six countries overhung with smoke,
Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
Forget the spreading of the hideous town;
Think rather of the pack-horse on the down.
And dream of London, small and white and clean,
The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green."

Let us dream of Calcutta, white and clean and free of her hideous town or slums. Let us hope in the years to come we shall see a tremendous change in Calcutta's town planning that will go in fact hand in hand with suburban development. Let us further hope that the distinguishing feature of Calcutta's new development under C.M.P.O. will be based on an emphasis on ensemble and humanism.



BOOK REVIEWS

BETRAYAL OF TIBET : By Mr. Justice J. P. Mitter, Allied Publishers Private Ltd., Calcutta, Demy 8 vo. Pp. 192 (inclusive of Bibliography and Indices) ; Price Rs. 21 :

This is not, as the author says in his preface, just another book on Tibet. It is a well reasoned and fairly authenticated repudiation of China's claims of suzerainty over this unfortunate country which India under Nehru, then the sole arbiter of India's foreign policy, both endorsed and confirmed. How fictitious and untenable were China's claims to suzerainty over Tibet was, has been amply proved by the author by a mass of authenticated materials rooted in the history of the ancient Tibetan race and in the history of Sino-Tibetan relations.

Eminent ethnologists and anthropologists have also conclusively proved that the Tibetan people, racially, are distinct and separate from any of the Sino-Mongolian races that constituted the peoples of the Chinese empire. Politically also, the Tibetans have, for all practical purposes, been independent of Chinese imperial domination. One of the conclusive evidences of the fact is to be found in the host of treaties and diplomatic relations that have always been concluded and maintained by the Tibetan Government from time to time at their own discretion independently of any Chinese intervention or control. One of the latest evidences of this indisputable act would be found in Tibet's steadfast refusal to permit China to run a part of the strategic supply road through Tibet into Burma and India on the occasion of the Sino-Japanese war. It is significant that friendly and diplomatic persuasions by both Britain and the U.S.A. were unable to induce the Tibetan Government to shift from the position of strict political and military neutrality that they were determined to observe in this behalf. What more conclusive evidence of Tibet's complete independence of Chinese overlordship could one ask for ?

The beginnings of Indo-Tibetan political relations may be said to have been laid on the occasion of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa in 1904 when the Lhasa Convention was jointly ratified by Tibet and the British India Government without any reference to the Chinese Central Government or their representative or Amban in Tibet. This was evidence enough of Tibet's

complete independence of Chinese suzerainty and an acknowledgment of the formers' competence to enter into treaty obligations with foreign powers on her own rights and solely at her own discretion. Then, again, on the occasion of the famous Simla Conference in 1914, the British Indian and Tibetan Governments signed and ratified a further treaty convention notwithstanding China's refusal to be a party to its terms. It may be recalled that China's refusal to ratify the treaty was based upon her failure to agree on the Sino-Tibetan boundary otherwise agreed upon by India and Tibet. As a result the Tibetan Government, later in the year, formally stopped all trade between the two countries which was followed by certain acts of retaliation by China against Tibetan residents in the frontier regions. Contemporary newspaper reports and comments reveal that the British foreign office took very serious exception to these acts of retaliation and warnings were issued to the Chinese Government by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, that the British Government "will not tolerate this any more than (they) will tolerate China ruling in absolute sovereignty at Lhasa." British reaction to the Chinese threat upon Tibet was predicated upon the fact that "She could no consent to this in the case of a State enjoying *independent* treaty relations with her."

Innumerable other instances from Tibetan history of recent decades have been cited by the author in evidence of the fact that Tibet has always, since 1914 at least when the Simla Conference was concluded, continued to enjoy a status of complete sovereign independence free from all Chinese intervention and control. In none of the negotiations between Tibet and India held to settle minor boundary disputes between the two countries that arose from time to time, was China ever represented which should be accepted as confirmation of the fact that Tibet's has been recognized as a sovereign independent status and that she was fully competent to regulate her own foreign relations without reference to any other paramount power. Even Chinese visitors to Tibet had generally to enter the country through India with the help of proper transit visas granted by the Government of India with the consent of the representatives of the Tibetan Government.

It is on this background that the history of

subsequent developments in Tibet and Chinese aggression will have to be viewed if a proper understanding of the series of events and situations that eventually led to India's humiliation and considerable loss of territorial integrity, has to be arrived at. In a statement to a press conference in November 1954, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was stated to have claimed that he happened to be "rather well acquainted with China's history of the past thousand years." In a statement to the Lok Sabha later in 1959, Shri Nehru stated that . . . "the fact is and it is a major fact of the middle of the 20th century—that China has become a great power—united and strong. By that (he) did not imply that because China was a great power, India must be *afraid of China* (italics mine) or submit to China . . ." Much earlier, on the occasion of his visit to the U.S.A. in 1949, Shri Nehru was reported to have held forth at the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York that: "we are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, *we cannot be and shall not be neutral.*" Even much earlier, long before Independence and on the eve of the Second World War, Shri Nehru averred—"During the Czechoslovak crisis what I saw of Franco-British Statesmanship in Prague . . . in London and Paris and in Geneva . . . amazed and disgusted me. *Appeasement* seemed a feeble would for it. There was behind it not only fear of Hitler but a sneaking admiration for him."

In spite of these forceful assertions and criticisms when the Government of India under Nehru had to actually face responsibilities on its own, much the same things, which he so vitriolically criticises, would seem to have been occurring here. When the Chinese invaded Tibet only a year later, all that was considered necessary in that context was to send a "note" deploring (but significantly not protesting against) the invasion. The Chinese reply was peremptory and curt to the point of rudeness which, in so many words, merely meant that it was China's own concern and none of India's business who, she accused, must have been influenced by foreign influences hostile to China and Tibet. A reply from India to China merely made the point that all that India desired was that "Chinese suzerainty and Tibetan autonomy should be reconciled by peaceful negotiations" and that India's sole interest in the matter was that of a friendly neighbour. A further Chinese note dated November, 1950, reiterated that Tibet was China's domestic concern and the former did not appreciate what was described as

India's interference into China's sovereign rights. Under instructions from the Government of India Ambassador Pannikkar exchanged several notes of protest which ultimately "recognized Chinese *sovereignty* over Tibet and disclaimed all desire to intervene in its affairs." So the high-sounding principles vented in New York only a year earlier were buried lock-stock-and-barrel in Peking.

If this was not betrayal of the most brazen order one does not know what the word really means. The fact that India, notwithstanding Chinese displeasure and even threats, eventually gave asylum to the Dalai Lama and large hordes of Tibetan refugees later, could not in any way detract from this essential fact of betrayal. India had neither any moral nor any other kind of right and justification for bartering away the basic freedoms of a friendly and unoffending neighbouring country. Her only justification, perhaps, was her own self interest in trying to keep on the right side of a newly resurgent and mighty power which is not merely the strongest military power in Asia but one of the strongest in the modern world. And if that were acknowledged, the fact that it was appeasement of the meanest kind could not also be repudiated.

But appeasement is very like yielding to blackmail and it is an indisputable fact of life that the demands of the blackmailer know no end. Little may have Shri Nehru visualized that the seeds of appeasement of Chinese avarice that he and his Government had so thoughtlessly sown *vis-a-vis* Tibet would, not long afterwards, recoil upon themselves with violent impact and humiliate them before all the world. India, despite her then Prime Minister's assertions to the contrary, had not a word of even the mildest protest to utter when Hungary was raped but, paradoxically waxed sanctimoniously virtuous when the Suez incident occurred. One does not try to extenuate Anthony Eden's policies on the Suez but one cannot also equally uphold the rape of Hungary! She becomes virtually an unwilling but frankly acquiescent party to the rape of Tibet, but expects the democratic world to come to her rescue when her own territories are over-run by her one-time accomplice. Can national humiliation descend to any lower depths?

India, and perhaps, the world at large, have been virtually ignorant of Sino-Tibetan history and the role of India in recent developments in these mysterious regions beyond the Himalayas. Mr. Justice J. P. Mitter's book should give them an objective and integrated picture of the whole story. The Allied Publishers deserve to be congratulated for presenting this to the public.

Karuna K. Nandi

Indian Periodicals

Problems of National Integration

Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director General, Indian Anthropological Survey, writing under the above caption in *Science and Culture* presents, in his usual lucid style, one of the most insidious problems facing the nation today, which would deserve to be carefully studied :

INTRODUCTION

The problem of national integration has assumed great importance since the attainment of independence in 1947. A social scientist feels interested in it for two reasons. He may try to discover the causes of separatism which thwart the growth of national solidarity ; and if the causes have been rightly diagnosed, he may venture to suggest suitable remedies. In other words, his function may be diagnostic or therapeutical.

Right diagnosis is necessary ; but one who is successful in this, may or may not be right in suggesting remedies. It is with this note of warning that we shall approach our present task with some amount of hesitation and caution.

A SURVEY

Several years ago, the Anthropological Survey of India undertook a study of tensions among Hindus and Muslims in a place near Calcutta. The results were published in the Survey's *Memoirs* and part of it was also presented in Gardner Murphy's book entitled, *In the Minds of Man*. For the last two years or so, Survey has undertaken a survey of stereotypes among inhabitants of states in the neighbourhood of West Bengal. The object is to find out, for instance, what different kinds of people think about speakers of the Bengali, Bihari or tribal languages with whom they happen to come in contact.

The final results are not yet ready ; yet as the analysis progresses, it is becoming apparent that there exists a certain amount of ill-feeling against speakers of the Bengali language in Assam. This feeling is, however, unequally distributed among various segments of the population. Among the highest professional

groups, it is comparatively feeble ; but lower down, it occurs in a more unrepressed form. Among the peasantry, again, who are in actual competition with Bengali-speaking immigrant peasants from outside, the feeling seems to exist in an attenuated state.

A hypothesis has been suggested that provincialism based on linguistic difference varies in proportion to the actual or potential competition for jobs between communities easily distinguishable by such difference. It has, however, been discovered that students in Assam who have passed through the High School or obtained degrees are hardly endangered by competition from outside. For the time being, the State Government is able to find employment for them by an open or tacit protection against the latter. The question therefore remains as to why provincial feelings, as revealed by an analysis of stereotypes, in harshest among a segment which is in actual enjoyment of discriminatory patronage as 'sons of the soil,' and therefore need not be afraid of competition from 'outsiders.'

There is moreover another fact which deserves consideration. Bengali-speakers monopolized certain professions during British rule to which the western-educated Assamese are now aspirants. But there are other avenues of employment like trade and commerce, work in the plantations or mines, or even in the fields and farms where 'outsiders' are more numerous than 'sons of the soil.' But a feeling of hostility is absent in these spheres in contrast to the situation in respect of Bengali-speakers who usually manned professional services under Government. This may be construed to prove that the cause of 'provincialism' lies in the existence of potential competition for desirable jobs. This explanation does not, however, appear to be wholly satisfactory. For it exists even when there is no cause for frustration through large-scale unemployment.

Another possible explanation is likely in relation to the observed fact. Among the segment which exercises a sharp feeling of hostility against Bengali-speakers, there is present at the same time a second equally powerful emotion. This is in relation to something which might be designated as 'Assamese nationalism.' Educated speakers of

the Assamese language evince a strong patriotic sentiment in relation to Assam. There is also an attempt to prove that the present 'undeveloped' condition of Assam is not so much due to any weakness of the Assamese themselves as to the conspiracy of those speakers of the Bengali language who have hitherto usurped positions of power.

'Nationalism' is a feeling which thrives best when it is nurtured in a climate of resentment against another community which is regarded as superior, even if it be in a limited number of ways. A nationalist exercises an ambivalent attitude in respect of one whom he admires for certain qualities and also hates for other reasons. He tries at the same time to fortify his position by deriving glory from a past which is idealized.

Something like this seems to be taking place in Assam. Assamese 'nationalism' is in an early stage of growth; and the feeling of hostility towards 'outsiders' is only a lefthanded manner of registering one's loyalty and love for the motherland, which is Assam.

It is therefore not enough to say that provincialism is a straightforward growth of actual or potential threat to employment or possession of economic power among the 'middle classes.' It is partly so; the rest is the demand for the dissolution of local, parochialities, which is slowly, but unmistakably taking pace as a result of the growth of nationalist sentiment.

PROVINCIALISM IN GENERAL

Nationalism in India is an affair of recent growth. It arose in the second half of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th century principally in opposition to British rule. The heart of revolutionaries was aglow with a feeling of patriotism; and a part of that glow also spread among other segments of the population.

But the British quite India after the second World War even before all Indians had become welded into a nation through a long-drawn war of independence. There was not enough social and political integration. The results has been that now that India is faced by the task of economic and social reorganization and collective action becomes necessary, a thousand smaller interests like caste or small regional and sectional interests are being discovered along which cementation more readily takes place. Indirectly, this tends to re-emphasize existing distinctions and comes in the way of a new integration which is needed in order to give effect to the new schemes of social co-operation.

All over India there is thus an abundance

of small eddies of local nationalism; sometimes they are centred upon differences of language, as in the case of Gujarat *versus* Maharashtra, or Andhra Pradesh *versus* Tamil Nad. Sometimes cultural differences are emphasized and uniformities ignored, as in the case of Dravidian South *versus* Aryan North. Sometimes differences of language, culture and economy are pooled together to serve as grist in the mill, as in the case of tribal folk in Middle and East India, when they are eager to sink local differences, even if they are large, in order to offer combined opposition to those who come from 'outside' into their 'homeland.'

EXISTING REMEDIES

If the above analysis of the inner meaning of 'provincialism' is correct, then the therapeutic measures arising out of it are also likely to be different from remedies which are in vogue at present.

If 'provincialism' is the result of an immature state of social progress by modernization it need not necessarily be regarded as a reprehensible thing. There are many who wish to promote an all-India feeling of nationalism, and who advise people of smaller vision to 'forget' petty differences, and dedicate themselves to the service of a common motherland. Some hold that if there were a common national language, freer inter-communication, and a realization of the dangers by which India is threatened today, then national integration will take place more rapidly than otherwise. If integration is weak at the economic or political level, then it has to be strengthened at the 'emotional' level by conscious endeavour.

Such measures are undoubtedly useful; but they do not seem to yield the anticipated results. Let us examine one or two of the suggested steps already taken. There is an argument that if Hindi (or Hindi plus English) were adopted as a common medium for higher education all over India, it would help a student to join any university and secure employment anywhere in India. Today English is used as a common medium in most universities. Yet no exchange of teachers or of students is possible under the existing organization of our universities. The question of employment is, in addition, becoming saddled more and more by questions as to whether a person is a 'son of the soil' or whether his 'mother-tongue' is identical with that of those whom he wishes to serve. The point is that a mechanical framework of unity does not by itself automatically produce emotional integration unless

conditions for promoting it are laid up at the same time.

The worst manifestation of provincial antagonism has often taken place among English-educated young men rather than among the uneducated, although the latter might have been drafted as a tool to support the claims of the educated minority. This was particularly in evidence during the Hindu-Muslim antagonism before partition, as much as it is in the provincial conflicts which have succeeded it after independence.

The phenomenon of narrow sectional loyalties in conflict with one another seems to arise, as we have suggested already, from the incomplete integration and modernization which has taken place in unequal measures in different parts of India. The sooner such growths are allowed to work themselves out the better perhaps for India as a whole. For the latter growth will become possible only if smaller, narrower sectional interests are abandoned. And that is a gain in itself. Local patriotism thus becomes a 'progressive' force where people are sunk in the well of still smaller interests of a divisive nature.

The dangers of encouraging such a development are also clear. They might endanger the growth of an all-India feeling of nationalism. Perhaps this is the reason why our Prime Minister constantly reminds us that all India must combine in a joint endeavour in order to make our developmental plans a success. Any sectional interest, any local patriotism is, therefore, in the Prime Minister's opinion, a crime against Indian unity. True, he does not say so openly; but he hurls angry satires and invective against casteism, linguism and the like. He feels particularly disturbed when a language group like Andhra or a religious group like the Sikhs, or a tribal group like the Nagas demands separation. He feels miserable even while conceding these demands; but his advice of his exhortation does not seem to be effective, for 'separatism' seems to grow in volume instead.

THERAPEUTIC MEASURES

One step taken by the USSR with regard to linguistically and culturally discrete communities is to allow considerable freedom in the matter of language or of culture of an ornamental nature. But when it comes to economic enterprise, such groups are not allowed to function separately. Economic plans are drawn up in common and settled by representatives of all states at the Union level alone. A small degree of choice is left at the local level; but this does not endanger

the broad framework which is forged by all the states of the Union in common.

Conditions of administration are different in India. The states have been allotted a measure of independence under the Constitution which does not prevent them from obstructing national plans, if they are so inclined.

If that is so, and if we presume that it would be hard to reduce the degree of provincial autonomy except when India is threatened by external aggression, then it would at least be wise to recognize why provincialisms arise, and take necessary steps so that good may come out of it, and the evil minimized, so that a larger sense of unity may slowly take the place of promoted local differences.

Of course, we assume that such measures are possible and practicable.

Let us suggest that the economic freedom of the states should be curtailed and common plans are forged for all India by the states working together. Once it is organizationally possible to forge such plans, the freedom of states should also be curtailed so that no obstruction can be created against measures which all have adopted in common.

Let us also suggest that the cultural distinctivenesses of the present states should be encouraged; and, at the same time, *adequate steps are also taken for their dissemination in other parts of India*. Interchange should be promoted rather than discouraged, so that if a North Indian, for example, wishes to learn a South Indian language and seeks a job there, he should be welcomed rather than discouraged. If a climate of local cultural growth is thus built up, and adequate steps taken for its diffusion all over India, instead of a desire to wall it up, then much of the harm which may possibly arise out of local patriotism, which is already in evidence today, is likely to disappear.

Positive steps have also to be taken for the removal of educational backwardness wherever it is present. Let us examine how this can be done without causing permanent injury.

If a country's sportsmen have not attained a high standard, it is not usual to demand that the standard of international sports should be lowered so that backward may also secure a place. Instead of that, the sportsmen of that country put in more work in order to attain higher standard.

But now that the Central and State Governments of India are becoming the largest employers, it appears that, at least at the state level, standards of efficiency are sometimes lowered in order to 'protect' the interests of the 'sons of the soil' although the rest of the sons of the soil have to

pay a higher price for indifferent services rendered.

But here, things should be as they are already in the world of international sports. If a community lags behind, every endeavour should be made to make education more efficient, social reconstruction more effective and rapid; and there should be a consistent desire not to lower standards by any means whatsoever.

What is thus suggested is that so long as economic and political authority are held in common, it should be the Indian nation's special responsibility to equalize conditions of growth all over the land so that none lags behind, but no one is also encouraged to bask under the sunshine of special treatment.

A GANDHIAN FORMULA

The programme outlined above calls for a strengthening of central authority, attended by a relation in some spheres of local cultural initiative in the states.

There is also an alternative way. This may be designated as the Gandhian way. Like any other Hindu, Gandhi was not afraid of the existence of many faiths, nor of the existence of many languages in a country like India. His only fear was that if the State became all-powerful,

and eclipsed men's voluntary organizations, it might tend to serve the interests of the 'classes' instead of the 'masses.' Then India would go astray. So his first recommendation was that the work of life should be conducted through voluntary organizations as far as practicable. Government should be called into aid only where necessary. Moreover, the State, whether provincial or federal, should make it its primary interest to promote the interest of the 'masses.'

In his political idealism, he held that only those who contributed by 'manual labour' to the service of the State should have the right to vote. All interests should subserve the interests of labouring humanity. If 'class' interests were not capable of the required revision, they must go under.

Gandhi's hope was that if by intensive education and organization the State and voluntary organizations could be so built up as to promote this supreme task by mutual assistance, then the family of man would be born with a new sense of unity, and all sectional interests would progressively disappear.

But perhaps, situated as we are in India today, we are far from that ideal. Yet it is perhaps not wrong to look up to the pole star even while we are treading firmly upon the earth on which we live.



Foreign Periodicals

Garbage in the Air

Norman Cousins writing editorially in the **Saturday Review** under the above caption, has something to say which would seem to be especially apposite in the context of the widening areas of urban concentrations in India today:

Fifteen years ago or so, if you did a lot of flying either in commercial or private planes, you began to notice the change in the atmosphere over the world's large cities. A grayish murk was settling over the metropolitan centers, marking them off from the surrounding countryside. Year by year, since then, the murk has been intensifying. It is now more black than gray. And it is reaching out from the large cities like a brackish fog over large areas of countryside.

Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world have to consult their memories for a notion of what clear light really is—or clean air, for that matter. The sun comes through, but it is filtered light and not the real thing. Only rarely, after sustained rains and strong winds, is it possible for most city-dwellers to know how blue a blue sky can be, or to experience the sensation of fresh air.

A decade ago, the existence of an atmospheric pall over Los Angeles first pressed itself upon the national consciousness. There, a combination of wind currents, natural overcast or haze, industrial smoke, and the gases of combustion engines produced a hazardous and ugly concentration, causing eyes to smart and lungs to protest. "Smog" it was called, and it was supposed to be a geographical phenomenon. Since that time, however, city after city in the world has come under heavy atmospheric pollution. Wherever you fly in the world today—Madrid, London, Frankfurt, Bangkok, Tokyo, Manila—you can identify large cities from the air not by their towers but by a thick black veil. Not until you are fairly close can you begin to penetrate the curtain and discern a specific

configuration. Your inevitable reaction is one of disbelief that human beings could exist in the center of such atmospheric contamination. And from the perspective afforded you by the cockpit of your plane, you find it even more incomprehensible that people don't even seem aware of the steadily increasing assault on their environment.

Of all the cities, none seems to be under more of a filth fog than New York. Some of the sources of the pollution are clearly visible. Industrial plants between Newark and Jersey City throw up huge plumes of smoke that fan out and descend on New York. Even worse are the tall smokestacks of the power companies and New York City's own garbage incinerator inside Manhattan itself. Seen from the air, these chimneys in action look as though they were designed to protect the city against air attack by laying down a massive smoke-screen. Meanwhile, heavy smoke from thousands of smaller chimneys—from hotels, apartment houses, and office buildings—pump hundreds of tons of soot into the Manhattan air. All this, of course, is in addition to the choking gaseous emanations from buses, cabs, and cars. The same city trucks that spray and clean the streets give off heavy emanations of foul exhaust. Gutters are clean but lungs are filling up. Statues from Egypt or Greece, transplanted to New York parks, show more effects of erosion in a few years than took place over centuries in their original homes. The stone sides of new buildings, after only a year or two of exposure to New York's soot and gases, become heavily streaked. This is the same grisly grime that now coats over the once-pink tissue of the human respiratory tract.

New York City has ordinances against chimney smoke, but enforcement has become a joke. Indeed, the city itself is among the worse offenders. It operates a large incinerator on the East River Drive, pumping garbage smoke over a large part of the

metropolitan area. What makes the situation in New York paradoxical and ludicrous is that city officials wage a widespread educational campaign to persuade people not to litter the street with candy wrappers or cigarette boxes. The city itself adds to the poisonous garbage that litters the air.

The nation is alarmed, and properly so, about the steep rise in the incidence of cancer. A report issued by the U.S. Surgeon General has linked cigarette smoking to this increase. Is there no connection between malignancy and air contamination, much of it from smoke and fumes? Is it unreasonable to expect that the U.S. Surgeon General should also undertake a report on air pollution?

The problem of impure air is not an isolated one. It is related to the larger problem of environmental poisoning now so characteristic of contemporary living. Brooks and streams are being contaminated by the widespread use of detergents, the chemical composition of which does not permit water to become purified through nature's replenishing chain. Our rivers are infected by poisons from insecticides, killing millions of fish. Even greater numbers of birds have been affected. Meanwhile, the nation itself is being despoiled at a fearsome rate. A million acres are taken out of cultivation each year for new superhighways. Another million acres are being claimed by expanding cities. Asphalt, cement, and black hydrocarbons now become the main features of the human environment.

Any verdict on man—modern man—is bound to show him as incredibly inventive but just as disdainful of the connection between cause and effect. He has devised ways of turning wheels faster and doing things more efficiently than they have ever been done before, but he has

given only the most superficial attention to the cheapening of human life that sometimes results from the process. Most astounding of all is the importance he attaches to individual cleanliness even as he creates a total environment of poison and filth. Parents teach their children to clean their fingernails but are apparently unworried about the dangerous layers of dirt that get into their bodies. Vast enterprises are developed to kill off body odors and make the human being a sweet-smelling delight. But what about the horrendous odors and poisonous gases that emanate from the backs of buses, trucks, and cars? How is it that the passion for daily baths and deodorants has not been extended to the environment itself?

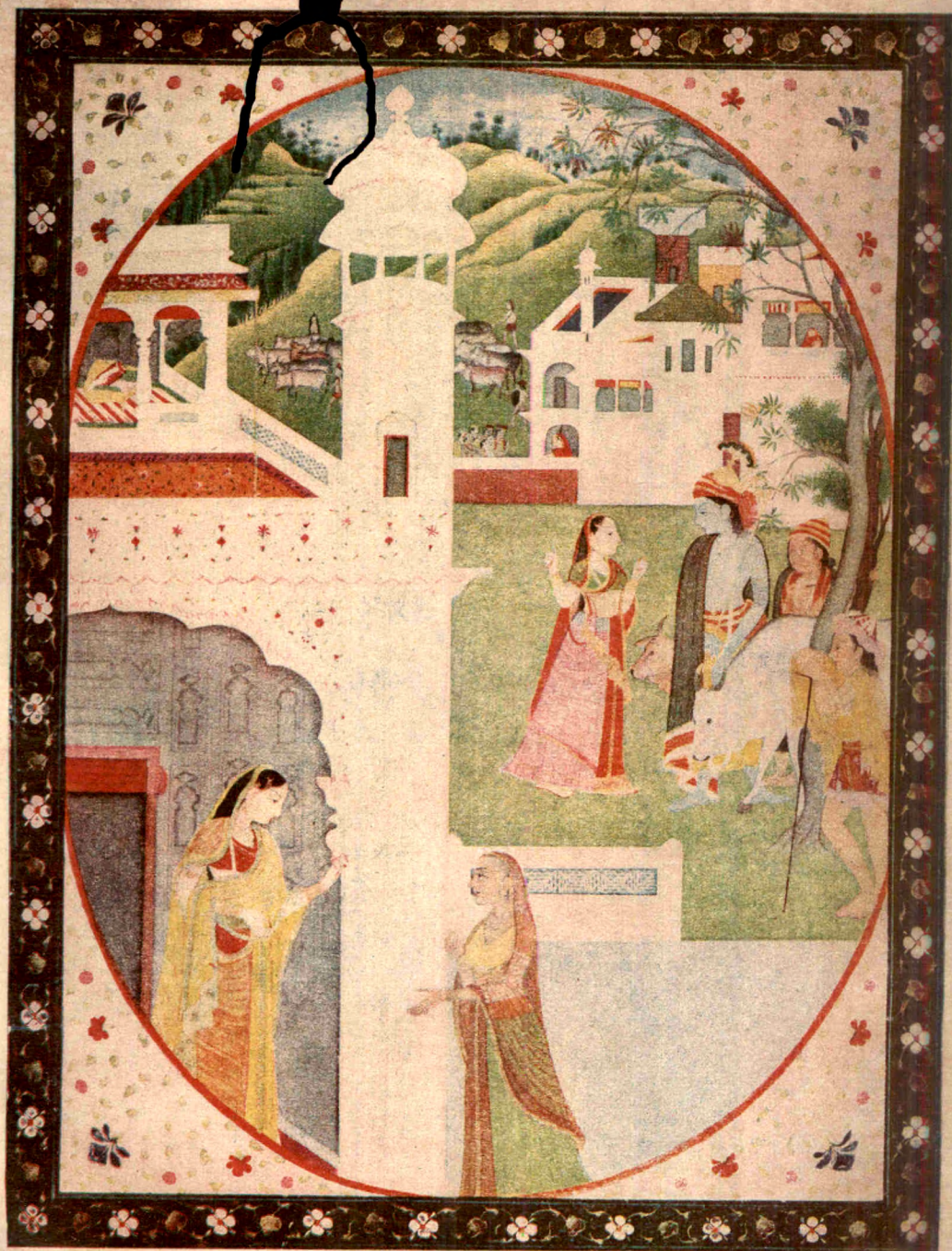
Even if environmental fouling were not a health hazard and were solely a matter of natural disfiguration, it would warrant a torrential outpouring of human anger. No man need apologize because his sense of beauty and wonder is assailed. A considerable portion of beauty is disappearing from the world. If the process is to be stopped, indignation in appropriate depth and quantity will have to be registered.

One man in the United States Congress, Senator Abraham Ribicoff, of Connecticut, has taken leadership in the fight against stenches, poisons, and pollution. If enough people make known to him their concern and support, he may get somewhere. Without public backing, his cause may wither.

It is perhaps significant that the expedition to the moon, now in preparation, will sterilize and sanitize every object, however small, carried by our space ships. The purpose is to avoid contaminating the moon. This is a commendable purpose. Perhaps a bit of the same intensity of effort and expenditure might be directed to getting rid of some of the colossal contamination now burdening the earth.

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FOR A GLIMPSE AT THE DOOR

An old painting

Prabasi Press, Calcutta-13

(By Courtesy of Samarendra N. Gupta)

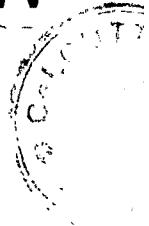
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NOTES

The World

History is, indeed, a complex tissue, with facts and fiction as warp and weft, woven to suit the purpose of the historian or to serve the behests of those who are placed in positions of power by those inexorable forces that rule the destinies of nations. The threads that are woven into the fabric of history are spun and twisted by those very same forces, whose action sometimes seems to be beyond the understanding of the wisest of men.

The history of the Post-Second World War period is as yet very much in its formative stage. This war to end all World Wars—like the 1914-18 World War, has brought in along its train a chain of old and new enmities which have rekindled old feuds and hatreds and reawakened old lusts for power and world supremacy. Out of the witch's cauldron that simmered over these fires, emerged Stalinism which, in its turn, procreated a new China where all old traditions and ancient moral values were scrapped in order to form a Red China whose sole objective was World Domination. The reaction to Stalinism and the China of Mao Tse-Tung was equally strong. Under the leadership of the U. S. A. a number of big and small states entered into treaties and alliances to form a formidable

barrier to the expansionist policies of the Communist Bloc. An attempt was made to divide up the free world into two warlike components, opposed to each other. Those who did not want to get involved in this jousting for power were faced with internal disruption engineered by Stalinism's fifth columns and with open condemnation from fanatical anti-Communists who labelled non-alignment "immoral!"

Stalin died in 1953, but his heritage of hatreds, class-war and world domination through internal disruption, remained. But slowly, over the years, as world tensions started mounting to a climax, realization of the impending doom of civilization through the universal destruction of life by nuclear warfare, began to dawn over the minds of those who were competing in this mad race to destruction.

Many critical situations have developed during the years Stalin was leading the Communist World and in the years that have passed since then. But through all those the relative positions of the main claimants to world leadership remained fairly constant until two years back. From about that time the leaders of Red China have tried to throw the leader of the Soviets off the saddle and to

assume leadership of the Communist World. The treacherous assault on the borders of friendly India, preceded by the occupation of Indian territories in the Aksai Chin sector of the Indo-Tibetan frontier, was just one significant phase of it. There were acrimonious exchanges of notes of protest and counter protest over the Sino-Soviet borders in Central Asia, and cracks—which developed into wide rifts—appeared in the solidarity of the Communist World.

Meanwhile tensions eased between Moscow and Washington, much to the rage and chagrin of Peking and simultaneously the individual states in both the Blocs developed tendencies to go in divergent paths, each according to his own bent. The monolithic structure of world Communism, that had assumed such gigantic and menacing proportions during the dictatorial regime of Stalin, showed schismatic tendencies immediately after the de-Stalinization measures initiated by Khrushchev after the death of Stalin in 1953. The figure of Mao Tse-Tung stood out in the Far-East as a separate entity with its own particular satellites in North Korea, North Vietnam and later on in Albania. Similarly in the Western Bloc, American leadership was disowned and later on challenged by France under De-Gaulle and, to a lesser extent by Britain—particularly in the matter of trade and commerce.

The forces poised in an unstable equilibrium against each other "in this communist bid for world domination, were dominated during the Post-Stalin period by Khrushchev and Mao Tse-Tung on the one side and on the other by President Eisenhower and, later, Kennedy of the U. S. A, with their treaty and alliance organizations of NATO, SEATO, CENTO, etc. Outside the orbits of these two power Blocs, there were a number of uninvolved

states who preferred to remain neutral or, according to the latest terminology, non-aligned. The most prominent figures in the last group were Prime Minister Nehru—to whom the credit of formulating the outlines of the tenets of mutual understanding should belong—President Tito and President Nasser, as the prime movers.

The World tensions, which had mounted to alarming peaks during the Korean War, Berlin air-lift, Berlin wall and Cuban missile episodes, gradually eased after the *detente* following the acceptance of the terms and the signing of the Test-ban Treaty by the Soviets. The armed confrontation as between the rival Blocs gradually assumed the more or less normal aspects of international power politics with its negotiable elements of diplomatic give and take. Red China of Mao Tse-Tung, however, maintained a hostile attitude, which was strengthened by the diplomatic advances of the French Foreign Office and the commercial ventures of Britain in China, which are as yet in the primary stage. Red China had repudiated the nuclear Test-ban Treaty and had confirmed her adherence to the creed of World domination through war, by her treacherous and unprovoked assault on the northern frontiers of friendly India. The peaceful co-existence formula devised by the Soviet Chief, Khrushchev, was ridiculed by the Chinese, and an ideological war ensued which had widened to a gulf of hate.

Then followed a series of events which can only be termed as unpredictable quirks of fate which bring in changes in the course of history. Firstly, there was the assassination of President John Kennedy on Nov. 22, 1963 under circumstances that would never be fully cleared up, though the Warren

Commission has produced a voluminous report, which demonstrates the comprehensive nature of the judicial procedure in this inquiry and comes to a definite conclusion—with certain gaps. This savage act of a man who has been pictured in the Warren report as the human equivalent of a lone rabid dog, has removed from the Cavalcade of history a figure that was shaping for a place in the Valhalla of the truly great. Democracy has suffered a cruel blow through the passing of this man, who combined the strength and vigour of youth with the mature processes of intellect and logical thought to a most extraordinary degree. His successor has shown considerable ability in carrying on, despite the internal situation in the U.S.A. being complicated beyond measure through the unleashing of primeval passions and prejudices by the passing of the Civil Rights Bill into law, and the international affairs of the World being tangled by the disruptive forces let loose by Red China. To cap all, the Presidential elections are imminent, the campaign against Lyndon Johnsons, the present incumbent, being carried on in a fashion that can only be called crude and savage to the extreme. It is only to be hoped that the picture of the U.S. Common Citizen, as portrayed in the weekly news magazines and some dailies that come to India, is as distorted as are some other news and comments—written with a slant—contained therein.

Then followed the serious illness of Nehru, followed by his sudden death at the end of May of this year. The treachery of China had given a rude and violent shock to his faith in the essential goodness of Mao, and the insidious propaganda carried on against him by China on the one hand and the conservative press in Britain together

with a similar campaign in the major portion of the U. S. press, had made deep inroads on his mental and physical poise. The end came very suddenly and though the question of succession to office and the consequent reshaping of the Cabinet did not cause any upheavals—much to the disappointment of the enemies on our frontiers and our detractors in the British and U.S. press—the present set-up has yet to prove its ability and efficiency through the passing of test of circumstances that have been bedevilling it from the start, and before.

Then came the fall of the British Conservative Party from power after thirteen years through the general elections in mid-October. The Labour Party has a precarious majority of four, but is determined to see it through and to carry on with the programme as announced before the election.

Almost immediately after that came the fall of Khrushchev from the position of supreme control he had assumed over the Soviets. And a day after that the World came to know that Red China had exploded what has been termed “a crude nuclear device” in the U.S. press!

In less than a year from that fateful 22nd of November of last year, three Titans have passed out of the world stage, leaving only the malign and menacing figure of Mao Tse-Tung to loom over the World's destiny. And the news of the Presidential Election results—though yet to come at the time of writing these—are also due by the first week of November. And then there in the so-called elections in Pakistan between November 1 to 15th to choose 80000 “electors” who will pick Pakistan's next President!

The tenuous thread holding up the international relations in balance is indeed being

subjected to a whole series of violent jerks within a year from November 22 of last year. It is indeed a year of extreme tension and as yet the outcome is uncertain to say the least. The exit of Nikita Khrushchev and the nuclear explosion by Red China are violent jolts in particular, the resultant reactions to which are not likely to be measurable for some considerable time to come.

Speculation is rife all over the World regarding the causes that led to the eviction of Khrushchev from the commanding and exalted station in the political set-up of the Soviets that he had occupied virtually from the death of Stalin: There is also a considerable amount of conjectural statements put forward by outsiders regarding the course to be followed by the Soviets in World affairs under the new direction. It is obvious that the World will never know the full details about the overthrow of the leader of the Soviets and that only time will determine the course of the Soviet's political machine. For the time being the present incumbents, who have divided up the dual executive functions of Khrushchev, have assured the World that no drastic new departures are in the offing and that the international policies laid down by Khrushchev being all formulated by their assent also—since they were all colleagues in office with him—there cannot be any deviation in that. The World has to accept that statement and wait to see whether the new authority in the Soviets can retain their seats firmly in their positions of power.

The A-bomb explosion in China is quite another matter and we hope our powers—that be—are not trying deliberately to shut their eyes to the portents. Brave statements and a declaration of faith in the matter of the use of atomic power, are all very well—and

certainly measurable at the moment. But we have had a bitter lesson on the folly of relying too much on moral force and the power of peace and neglecting almost to a criminal degree our duties to be prepared to defend our rights by armed force against treacherous aggressors who regard moral values or principles as follies and place all their faith in armed might. This lesson is too recent and we cannot afford to forget what it has taught us about the methods and motives followed by the dictators of Red China—particularly about their treachery and lust for world domination through the use of armed might.

The deposition of Khrushchev has deprived India of a friend who took quick and hard decisions in our favour, in times of great emergency and in the furtherance of our industrialization programmes. Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been assured by the high authorities in Moscow that this policy of friendship and helpful assistance towards India shall remain unaltered on the part of the Soviets. We can only hope that in the years to come there shall not arise any circumstance that may lead to a change in that attitude. In any case we cannot ever forget the deep debts that his ready and friendly assistance to us in the matter of supplies of war equipment of vital importance which we were unable to procure from any of the Western powers, have laid upon us.

In this very same month of October there was a conference of non-aligned states of the world at Cairo. This conference and the proceedings therein have been viewed from different angles and in different lights by the great quasi-great and not-so-great men of the world of politics and of the erstwhile "fourth estate." The International edition of *The New York Times* of October 11, gave

an editorial commentary in a characteristic fashion, high-lighting a minor episode in order to splash ridicule over an affair which went against its conservative grain. The editorial started off as follows :—

Three Kings, five Princes, 19 Presidents, nine Premiers and other representatives and observers from a total of 57 nations sat down last week in the main assembly hall of Cairo University for the opening of a conference of non-aligned states.

Not far away, in the Al Oyuba Hotel, a Premier who had been refused admission to the conference hall, Moise Tshombe of the Congo, stole the show. As he sat watching the proceedings on television, a virtual prisoner in his hotel room of the United Arab Republic, what should be done with him became a main point at issue at the conference.

The non-aligned group of nations, by its own definition, consists of countries not tied to any Western or Eastern military alliance. It includes, however, two states with communist regimes, Yugoslavia and Cuba, and because many of its members are former colonies and, therefore, vigorously anti-imperialist, they tend to follow an anti-Western line on many issues. Last week the U. S. was frequently assailed for its policies in Cuba, Vietnam and the Congo, the most virulent attack coming from President Sukarno of Indonesia.

The emergence of many new nations in the last few years has resulted in a doubling of the group's membership since the previous, and first, non-aligned summit conference at Belgrade in 1961. The role it expects to play in world affairs has not yet become clear. As a forum for the emergent nations, it duplicates the U. N. General Assembly and the U. N. World Trade and Development

Conference ; in both, these nations have the predominant voice. The possibilities for a role as a "third force" have been narrowed since cracks in the Western alliance and an open split in the Communist movement have led to confusion over the boundaries of the neutral ground between them.

All other discussions, however, took second place last week to the controversy over Mr. Tshombe. Most of the non-aligned nations suspect the Congolese Premier of being a tool of Western imperialism. The African nations also resent the fact that their conciliation commission to the Congo has not produced any results, while Mr. Tshombe's mercenaries appear to be steadily winning back territory earlier lost to the rebels. Therefore, they had told Congolese President Kasavubu that Mr. Tshombe's presence at the conference would be "inopportune" and asked him to send someone else. They said that this "should in no way be interpreted as an attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo."

The special report, however, was more factual and although the viewpoint was American as was natural, the summing-up was fairly level and comprehensive. Some excerpts from the report are given below :—

"CAIRO, Oct. 10—The leaders of the non-aligned world gathered in Cairo this week only to discover that non-alignment has fallen on hard times just as some of their most cherished dreams were beginning to come true.

"That hardy band of neutralists who organized the first non-aligned conference noted with satisfaction that, in the words of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, they no longer lived under the "shadow of danger" that menaced their very existence at Belgrade three years ago.

Since then the glacial confrontation over Berlin has begun to melt, nuclear weapons are no longer tested in the skies over Siberia and Nevada and the hot line now runs from Washington to Moscow to prevent war by miscalculation.

Not only has the cold war eased, but there has also been erosion in both the Eastern and Western alliances and an increase in the number of countries finding shelter under the umbrella of non-alignment.

Such a flowering of the mood of peaceful coexistence in three short years should have warmed the hearts of the chief patrons of the non-aligned world—Marshal Tito, Mr. Nasser, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India, Jawaharlal Nehru's heir.

But at the same time these developments robbed the mixed company of 57 neutralist nations that met here of a sense of urgency and a sense of direction and let loose dangerous centrifugal forces among them.

For the leaders, now called "moderates," of non-alignment found here on the banks of the Nile that if Washington has its de Gaulle and Moscow its Mao Tse-tung, then non-alignment has its Sukarno.

Indeed, Marshal Tito was reported to have become so irritated with the Sukarno militancy at one point that he called the Indonesian President an 'Oriental Goldwater.'

In the end the moderates succeeded in writing the key portions of the final conference communique, as they seemed bound to do at a meeting that had to find a common denominator between such diverse countries as Saudi Arabia and Cuba, Guinea and Libya, Cambodia and Ethiopia, Burma and Burundi.

But the split in the non-aligned world is every bit as fundamental as those within the Eastern and Western block and promises to plague the leaders of the "third force" just as seriously in months to come.

Indeed, Algeria, already sensing pressures from Peking militants, has decided it would be wise to fend off holding the African-Asian conference, to be attended by Peking, on her soil next March and suggested moving it to Kenya.

The generally anti-Western complexion of

many speeches reflected to a certain extent the failure of Marshal Tito's campaign to expand the non-aligned group beyond its traditional African-Asian base and make it more truly worldwide.

Only Finland among the European neutrals came. Pro-Western Latin-American countries generally remained aloof and those that sent observers played only limited roles."

* * *

"Western diplomats have taken comfort from some of these planks, especially the one on disarmament, as well as the implied criticism of Communist China in the non-aligned powers' demand for all countries to adhere to the nuclear Test-ban Treaty. Many delegations also had words of praise for both the United States and the Soviet Union for the Test-ban Treaty.

But Washington will obviously find it uncomfortable to have the United States and the Western European allies generally played off against Communist China while the Soviet Union escapes criticism altogether.

It is traditional among the neutrals here to be 'more neutral' toward Moscow than the West, largely because of their colonialist past and the fact that they have lingering disputes with the British and Portuguese, especially in Africa and the Middle East.

But to this traditional outlook neutrals have added wide-spread criticism of the United States for its Cuba policy and its involvement in Vietnam and the Congo, especially its retaliation against North Vietnam after the Gulf of Tonkin incidents.

By contrast Moscow has managed to tread lightly among the 57 nations represented here. Clearly the Russians have been the major beneficiaries of the Chinese-Soviet dispute and the relaxation of the cold war as far as their image among the world of the non-aligned is concerned."

Fifty-eight nations were in the list of the non-aligned. Malayasia could not be included because of the British ties that are still there. Congo, which was included, could not attend because the President insisted on sending his "Strong man", Premier Tsombe, despite a clear statement that he was *persona non-grata* with a large number of American states. Nine

American states sent observers only and Finland also sent an observer. Forty-seven other States, twenty-eight of them African, actively participated in the Conference.

What has been the outcome of this conference? Time alone will provide a fuller answer, but for the present this conference has given each participant a glimpse into the mental, political and economic set-up of the World outside the Power Blocs. For the last few centuries almost all Asia and Africa has suffered from deep ignorance about the outside world. We only saw the highly distorted and tinted pictures that the Western observers deigned to supply us with, and needless to say those pictures were drawn to suit the particular nefarious purpose of the nation to which the observer belonged. The Belgrade Conference and this Conference at Cairo has gone a long way towards correcting the second-hand impressions that all the participants had about each other. The more so because there were no Western experts in diplomatic manoeuvres present to apply special torques, strains or "considerations" to influence or prejudice the minds of those at the Conference. Conferences of this type very seldom result in anything beyond development of skills in observation where others are concerned, and these skills also are gained only a little at a time as even the "Great" powers are now reafirming through painful experiences.

In the world within the two Power Blocs and their spheres of influence not much has happened either way to indicate any significant change. The Berlin wall has now been made slightly surmountable and thousands of families on either side are now being permitted to contact for a while their kith and kin. In Cyprus the situation is very slightly more relaxed and the mediator has hopes of arriving at a permanent solution. The British Queen's visit to Canada has proved beyond doubt that there are schismatic forces playing on the minds of the french Canadians of Quebec, but the position as yet has not slid to the brink of a precipice as reported in some papers prior to the visit. Similarly President de Gaulle's tour of the Latin Americas has given results that can be called "mixed" at the best.

There is still considerable stress in the Indo-Chinese area, where three states are still within the orbit of Chinese expansionism—indirectly advanced. In Cambodia the Chief Executive, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has taken some military aid from the Soviets, according to the latest reports. In Laos there is the same uneasy peace with occasional bursts of a shooting war. The Pathet Lao forces are not on the aggressive as determinedly as before and some ground has been recovered from them by the neutralist and rightist forces. The position is not quite clear, but it does seem that the Pathet Lao has some fresh handicaps put on its forces. The Americans claim that their aerial strafing of the supply routes and strongholds of the leftist Pathet Lao forces has had some effect.

In the shooting war in South Vietnam the initiative still remains with the Viet-Cong it seems. The Government forces, despite very substantial support from the U.S. advisory forces and despite massive aid in war material, does not seem to be able to obtain the upper hand anywhere along the straggling front.

Indonesia has again started the "confrontation" campaign though the Cairo Conference in general, disapproved of the methods employed by President Sukarno. Malaysia has mildly countered by showering leaflets over certain parts of Indonesia.

The India Ceylon Agreement

The end of October saw the settlement of one of the most deeply tangled problems that has been holding up the flow of goodwill between India and some of its friendly neighbours. The problem of "State-less people", that is people of Indian origin who have migrated to Ceylon, has been impairing good relations between the two countries for about a quarter of a century. There are some 975000 persons answering to the above description at present in Ceylon and no real answer to the intricate question of their nationality has been found until the recent accord. The problem has been solved at last, thanks to the tact and sincerity displayed by the two heads of State who have been tackling it with zest and determination for the

last few days, tempered with seemingly inexhaustible flow of goodwill on both sides. It is certainly a magnificent achievement of the Shastri Government and much is due to the extra-ordinarily balanced temperament and an endless fund of tact possessed by our Prime Minister. Mrs. Bandarnaike the Prime Minister of Ceylon, has displayed a great deal of patience and a considerable amount of the spirit of give and take during the negotiations.

The main points as given in the *Statesman* are as follows :—

The letters exchanged between the two Prime Ministers have laid down the main points of agreement which are as follows :

1. The declared objective of this agreement is that all persons of Indian origin in Ceylon who have not been recognized either as citizens of Ceylon or as citizens of India should become citizens either of Ceylon or of India.

2. The number of such persons is approximately 975,000 as of date. This figure does not include illicit immigrants and Indian passport holders.

3. Altogether 300,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number will be granted Ceylonese citizenship by the Government of Ceylon ; the Government of India will accept 525,000 of these persons together with the natural increase in that number. The Government of India will confer citizenship on these persons.

4. The status and future of the remaining 150,000 of these persons will be the subject-matter of a separate agreement between the two Governments.

5. The Government of India will accept persons to be repatriated within a period of 15 years from the date of this agreement according to a programme as evenly phased as possible.

6. The grant of Ceylonese citizenship under paragraph 3 and the process of repatriation under paragraph 5 shall both be phased over the period of 15 years and shall, as far as possible, keep pace with each other in proportion to the relative numbers to be granted citizenship and to be repatriated respectively.

7. The Government of Ceylon will grant to the persons to be repatriated to India, during the period of their residence in Ceylon, the same facilities as are enjoyed by citizens of other States (except facilities for remittances) and normal facilities for their continued residence, including free visas. The Government of Ceylon agrees that such of these persons as are gainfully employed on the date of this agreement shall continue in their employment until the date of their repatriation in accordance with the requirements of the phased programme or until they attain the age of 55 years, whichever is earlier.

8. Subject to the exchange control regulations for the time being in force which will not be discriminatory against the persons to be repatriated to India, the Government of Ceylon agrees to permit these persons to repatriate, at the time of their final departure to India, all their assets, including their provident fund and gratuity amounts. The Government of Ceylon agrees that the maximum amount of assets which any family shall be permitted to repatriate shall not be reduced to less than Rs. 4,000.

9. Two registers will be prepared as early as possible, one containing the names of persons who will be granted Ceylonese citizenship, the other containing the names of persons to be repatriated to India. The completion of these registers is not, however, a condition precedent to the commencement of the grant of Ceylonese citizenship and the process of repatriation.

10. This agreement shall come into force with effect from the date hereof and the two Governments shall proceed with all despatch to implement this agreement and, to that end, the officials of the two Governments shall meet as soon as possible to establish joint machinery and to formulate the appropriate procedures for the implementation of this agreement."

The most remarkable feature of the negotiations were the repeated postponement of the departure of the Ceylonese delegation. Mrs. Bandaranaike, the leader of that delegation made it clear to the world by those gestures that she was determined to arrive at an amicable settlement of this problem and

that she was willing to explore every avenue and all the various solutions offered in good faith by the other side.

Our Prime Minister was backed by the continuing goodwill and strong moral support given by the Congress President, Sri Kamaraja. Our felicitations are offered to both.

The Orissa Disturbances

Sanity seems to be dawning on the minds of the student community in Orissa following a move by the guardians of Ravenshaw College students, which was reported in the newspapers of 30th October last. The report said :

'A Government Press Note issued from Bhubaneswar today said the Government would give 'full and sympathetic consideration' to the proposals contained in a resolution passed last night by guardians of Ravenshaw College students, at a meeting held under the chairmanship of the principal of the college.

The guardians in their resolution appealed to the Government to take immediate steps to restore normalcy and for this purpose, they suggested that the Government gave an assurance to institute a judicial inquiry into their 'recent incidents' in the State."

We have no doubt that if proper publicity is given to the Government's attitude then the students will calm down. Due precautions and stern measures if necessary must be taken against those who have been inciting the students to open the gates for mob violence, looting and arson by hooligans. Nowhere in the world is the general run of students remarkable for clarity of thought or judgement. Hasty action, taken at the instance of "advisors" without consideration and without any thought regarding consequences, is the usual order of the day where student movements or agitations are concerned. It is this matter of "advice" and "guidance" that weighs most in all such cases. The following extracts from the Statesman of 30th and 31st October show how this "advice" has proceeded in Orissa and who are the advisors :—

"In the two months of student unrest, beginning with the raid on the Orissa

Assembly, the fact that has prominently emerged is that the Chief Minister, even at the cost of disagreeing with some of his colleagues, was responsible for the police not adopting the usual stern methods of dealing with violators of law and order. He is, however, today the man most condemned by the agitators. Apart from slogans and placards denouncing him, his effigy has been burnt at several places. All this because of some alleged police excesses in meeting disturbances arising out of a quarrel between a student and a radio dealer at the end of September in Cuttack.

As a result of shooting by the police, who are still hesitant to act quickly and drastically, three people have been killed and about 12 injured so far.

Today, a mob was fired on at Jaipur Road in Cuttack district after a police outpost had been attacked and seriously damaged. Other places where the police fired on Wednesday and Thursday were Bhubaneswar, Berhampore, Bhawanipatna and Jagatsinghpur.

The agitation has assumed new dimensions. It has ceased to be a student movement and has become a belligerent political campaign. So far actively supported by the Samyukta Socialist Party, the movement has now been joined by Communists.

According to informed sources, in the initial stages of the agitation there were many unseen hands behind the disturbances, some of them being those of dissident Congressmen. It is stated that cases were prepared for the arrest of two or three prominent men among the latter, but the Chief Minister restrained the police."

If and when the Judicial Enquiry or a Commission to go into this matter is instituted, we hope a thorough enquiry into this matter of incitement of students to indulge in these outrageous movements would be made. Those who try to serve their own political ends or to carry on with their private vendettas by these methods are criminals of the worst type, and some measures should be taken to curb such anti-social behaviour on their part through drastic action.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

N. D C. and the Fourth Plan

The meeting of the National Development Council which has just concluded its consideration of the Fourth Plan Draft Memorandum formulated by the Planning Commission in New Delhi would not, on a close examination of its proceedings, appear to have yielded much in the nature of a realistic, integrated and a purposive national approach to the priorities, techniques and the potentialities of the coming Plan whose size, in terms of estimated outlays, has only been generally confirmed at anywhere between Rs. 21,500 and Rs. 22,500 crores depending upon availability of resources. The size of the Plan, now accepted as more or less final, would thus appear to be larger, as pointed out by Shri Ashok Mehta, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, than the combined size of the first three Plans. According to the Memorandum circulated by the Planning Commission, the projected over-all growth rate during the Plan period has been envisaged at 6 per cent per annum, while the rate of growth in the agricultural sector has been targetted for at 5 per cent annually. It is well to remember in this context that the achievements of the first two Plans, as calculated by the Planning Commission, in terms of the growth of the national income, has been assessed at 18 per cent and 21.5 per cent respectively and that although the Third Plan has a target for an over-all annual 6 per cent growth rate over the Plan period in this respect, the order of actual performance has now been assessed at 2.6 per cent (the first year of the Plan) in 1961-62 2.4 per cent in 1962-63 and just about 4 per cent during the two following years. Even assuming that there was a fresh upward

spurt in performances in this behalf and the growth rate was to rise to as high a level as 6 per cent (the over-all annual growth rate as originally assumed in the Plan) during the last year of the current Plan, the gross growth over the entire Plan period would not be likely to exceed just about 60 per cent of the original target. In other words, the current Plan would be likely to close with the national income at a level not higher than about Rs. 17,900 crores per annum (the Planning Commission's revised estimates of the level of the national income at the end of the Second Plan, it should be pointed out, was placed at Rs. 15,050 crores at 1956-57 prices) instead of Rs. 19,500 crores as originally envisaged.

This, more or less, is a realistic picture of the background on which the Fourth Plan contours had to be drawn. The Memorandum now said to have been accepted as the basis for the Fourth Plan outlays and targets would, thus, seem to largely ignore the failures of the current Plan and the inevitable pressures that they have generated. It is small consolation that Shri Ashok Mehta has pledged that there would be no more deficit financing resorted to for the Fourth Plan. While not denying that deficit finance has certain inherent inflationary potentials which may impinge upon the price structure with pretty corroding effect if sufficiently realistic precautionary measures are not adopted and applied, we do not accept the contention that deficit financing must necessarily generate inflationary pressures of a corresponding measure, just as we do not accept the contention preferred by certain leaders of the ruling party in the country that a rapid rate of economic growth would be bound to occasion a measure

of untoward pressures upon the price level. The technique of deficit financing was, for the first time, as far as we know, applied by the late Sir Stafford Cripps immediately after World War II when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the then British Cabinet, with a view to financing post-war reconstruction. This is a method of financing capital projects and care has to be taken that the money so released is tied down rigidly to the project for which it is intended and is not allowed to inflate demand. It is necessary, in order to ensure that the money flowing from deficit financing is rigidly circumscribed within the boundaries of the specific purposes for which it is created and also that the yield from the project in the shape of revenue surpluses over a pre-determined period would be ample enough to fully cover the credits so created. Deficit financing is, in effect, nothing more nor less than an *advance draft* on future development yields and if the requisite precautions were taken and effectively applied—it is conceded that it is not very easy to do so—inflation need not necessarily be an unavoidable corollary of the process.

What, really, has been the matter with the economy, is a progressively widening gap between demand and supply, a process which has been in evidence even as early as during the earlier half of the Second Plan and which has been assuming a progressively accelerating tempo during the current Plan. That planning in the manner in which it has, so far, been resorted to in this country, has played a major role in this destructive process is a fact which cannot be repudiated by any means. The progressively widening lag between investment and *implementation* and which has now been proved to have been of a devastating order, has created corresponding lags between demand and supply with their inevit-

able reactions on the price level. It has been estimated by a Working Groups of the Planning Commission that investments in the Third Plan would comprise roughly 93 per cent of the original allocations by the end of the Plan period. We have endeavoured to demonstrate that a realistic assessment of the Third Plan prospects yields the conclusion that the optimum growth rate during the Plan period could not be expected, by any manner of means, to exceed a 19 per cent increase of the national income over the entire Plan period against the 30 per cent originally envisaged in the Plan or about 60 per cent only of the original target. In other words by actually investing 93 per cent of the capital originally estimated to yield 30 per cent increase in the annual national income, we can now expect only a 19 per cent yield. Proportionally against the investment undertaken, the yield should have been an increase of the national income by 27.9 per cent. The inflationary potential of such an order of management of the Planning process should be quite obvious. There are other factors involved in the various aspects of Plan implementation which also have demonstrably contributed to this widening gap between demand and supply and its inevitably inflationary results.

It would, of course, be unfair as well as incorrect to make planning alone responsible for the present situation. The Government, by their reckless policy of proliferating non-productive departments under them and, generally, by inflating the cost of administration far beyond the levels at which the economy could, without untoward consequences, sustain its burdens, has also been playing a major and a very substantial role. In addition there is that very large credit sector of what has been euphemistically described as *unaccounted money* which,

taking advantage of the widening gap between supply and demand, has been creating deliberately engineered speculative pressures upon scarce essential consumables, thereby very substantially intensifying the already subsisting (and progressively increasing) inflationary pressures upon the economy. These are factors which, although they cannot be said to flow directly from the planning process as such have, nevertheless, been of undeniable importance in dislocating or, at least,, holding up Plan implementation. The Fourth Plan Memorandum as it has been formulated by the Planning Commission, would seem to have very largely ignored, if not quite repudiated the impact of these various factors in the process of Plan development.

There would, thus, seem to be an aura of unreality about the projected size and process of the large new Plan for the Fourth Plan period. Shri Ashok Mehta insists that what has been envisaged is the absolute minimum that would enable the Country to proceed towards a self-sustaining growth rate in the foreseeable future. The Union Finance Minister who, until only recently, has been definitely lukewarm in his support to a large Fourth Plan (only a few short weeks ago he was reported to have pleaded for a Fourth Plan size of not larger than Rs. 18,000 crores!) has now been almost fulsome in his support to the Fourth Plan Memorandum which he was reported to have described as being "almost co-extensive with flexibility." On grounds of basic economic considerations there should not, normally, be any substantial objection to a large Plan. In fact, it must be conceded that a large Plan is inescapable if the national economy has to be carried forward to a self-sustaining level—the "take-off" stage, as it were, at which it will be able, of its own volition, to generate the

resources for a progressive rate of self-accelerating and spontaneous future development. That, obviously, is the only way in which the basic objectives of Planning could possibly be achieved. It is necessary, however, to take note at the same time of the paralyzing effects of infructuous investments which inevitably contributes to the inflationary pressures in the economy. That Second Plan outlays in some measure, and especially Third Plan outlays in a very much larger measure, have been demonstrably infructuous in the measure that they have failed to produce the estimated yields, is a fact which cannot be denied. In planning for the next five-year period it is not merely essential that investments envisaged are properly streamlined to yield the estimated returns within the time-period scheduled, it is equally necessary that the short-falls of the preceding periods are adequately covered so that the back-log of previous Plan periods may not create road-blocks in the way of the current Plan development.

Here the question of balanced priorities is of the utmost importance. Details, at this stage, are lacking so far as this is concerned, except that the appropriate emphasis which, unfortunately was lacking in the Third Plan, would now be laid upon agricultural priorities. In the industrial sector also large gaps in co-ordination between industry, power, transport, etc., and, especially as between basic heavy and producer and consumer industries, has been all too obvious to need underlining. Lack of adequate attention to these very important details inevitably contribute to a situation in which large blocks of investments are rendered infructuous and inoperative and the total effect is of a lack of balance in the developmental process which enables a large measure of the additional incomes generated

to be sieved up at the higher levels to add to the already heavy concentration of economic power at selected and microscopically small areas of the community. It is all too obvious that one of the principal objectives of planning, that of narrowing down the wide disparities in economic levels of the community has, so far, proved a disastrous failure.

Planning to be wholesome and realistic, must take note of these and a number of other factors too obvious to need mention here, if it has to achieve its declared objectives of levelling up the economy to a stage where levels of living would be commensurate with modern standards and at which present wide disparities would be very substantially narrowed down. It is this sense of realism which appeared to us to be absent in the discussions at the meeting of the National Development Council. The only realistic note on the basic purposes of Planning and the myriad problems that would be likely to derail or, at least, vitiate its processes, appears to have been struck by the Prime Minister in his speech which seemed not merely to have made a sustainable assessment of the problems and purposes of Planning but which, by implication at least, seemed to comprehend the basic need of balance in the developmental process and call for a readjustment of policies which would enable such a balance to be ensured. Certain very important decisions emerged, presumably as the result of his assessment of current needs, not the least of which was the need to associate specialists in various fields of learning and endeavour in the counsels of the Planning Commission to enable both immediate and long-term policies in planning to be enunciated that would ensure progress in an unbroken chain. The Prime Minister's insistence that at the same time it has become essential for the public sector to enter into certain fields of essential consumer production to enable the "common man" to have his supplies in reasonably requisite quantities and at prices conforming to the levels of purchasing power is an important deviation from previously spelled policies in this behalf and must be regarded as a very welcome trend of thinking.

In contrast, the attitudes and stances of many States' Chief Ministers must be regarded as both reactionary and fissiparous. Their

principal preoccupation at the meeting seemed to have centred around two matters; first, to persuade the Centre to increase their respective Plan allocations from the Centre and, secondly, to demand a measure of autonomy in both formulating, as well as implementing, the plans for their respective states without interference or even intervention from the Centre. It is tragic that these States should have been burdened with Chief Ministers, in whom wide powers of discretion and unilateral action already vests in rather large measures at a crucial time like this, who do not seem to have even a rudimentary comprehension of the essential bases and requisites of development planning. Planning, they do not seem to realise, is indivisible and must comprehend within its scope the entire nation in all its various fields of economic activity. The basic technique of planning is the optimum and the most economical exploitation of resources for cohesive and balanced development. The process must necessarily be concentric and authority, both for formulating and implementing the plan must, consequently, be centralized. Even as it is, there is not enough centralization informing development-planning with the obvious consequence that the results of planning has, so far, remained largely eccentric and ill-balanced. To enable planning to reach that level of effectiveness and balanced dynamics, the entire nation and its total economy must be treated as one and an indivisible whole. The States can and must play their part in the process, first in lending their counsel and support to the basic work of formulating an integrated and well-balanced Plan and, secondly, by honestly and effectively implementing the part allocated to them in the total effort. It is this sense of intergradation that seemed to have been woefully lacking at the N.D.C. meeting and which may auger ill for the success of the coming Plan in the same manner as the current Plan has been burdened with disastrous short-falls and failures.

No reasonable person, we would conclude, can have a serious quarrel with a large Fourth Plan. In fact, it must be conceded, that a large Plan is essential to the achievement of the declared objectives of planning. Past short-falls and failures in the process have admittedly, created a situation of crisis in the

economy and the planning process alike. The remedy, surely, is not to attenuate the size of the Plan, but to deal effectively and even ruthlessly with those factors which have been releasing forces inimical to planning and wholesome development. Some of the measures necessary to do so, at least over limited periods of time, would have to be administrative and political in nature. The Ordinance that is shortly to be promulgated to deal with anti-social speculators in and hoarders of essential commodities is a necessary measure in the right direction. Effective measures need also to be devised and applied to unearth "unaccounted money" and freeze it to the Exchequer. There should be no softness or even hesitation in doing so. And equally necessary is the need for stringent economy in Government expenditure. Without these measures,—all of them applied simultaneously and effectively and ruthlessly implemented without fear or favour—it will be impossible to bring down the preposterous very large demand to the level where it would balance with supply. Only then could the climate be generated in which the very large Fourth Plan (as envisaged) could be implemented without further confusing the present very confused and inimical situation. Vision in very large measure and courage will be required to do so. The Prime Minister has already given indications of a dynamic vision; one can only hope that his leadership will also be able to generate the courage which is now called for to make it realistic and effective.

Food Shortage & Rationing

The continuing crisis in food prices appears to have left the Government, both at the Centre and in the States in a state of considerable dither and uncertainty. Earlier in the year the Centre announced its decision to enter into the foodgrains trade and also to nationalise, at least partly, the food processing industries like rice mills. The States did not appear to have been over-disposed to participate and, shortly afterwards, a structural change in the earlier decisions was reported to have been contemplated. It was announced, for instance, that the proposed State Trading corporation in foodgrains would cover not the whole of the foodgrains trade in the country, but only a small part of it,—the proportion was tentatively fixed at about 25 per cent—as the Government had not the resources, it was

frankly admitted by the Union Food and Agriculture Minister, to do so. So far as the proposal to nationalize the rice mills was concerned, it was also announced that while the States would appropriate the entire production of some mills at a pre-determined price, they would not to be brought under public sector management as such, but that some large, new and highly mechanized rice mills would be started under public sector management and ownership in course of time. These latter measures, it was announced, together with statutory rationing in urban complexes, would be brought into operation with effect from the new year. It was tentatively assured that the Centre will assume the responsibility of covering the shortages of deficit States with a view to enabling the latter to successfully implement the proposal for statutory rationing in the urban areas.

Latest information in this connection, however, seems to indicate that the States are not over-enthusiastic about assuming the burdens of statutory rationing in their regions, especially in view of the fact that the Centre has, in the meanwhile, expressed its inability to cover deficits. What the whole thing now seems to boil down to is that within the recently announced ceiling and floor prices of foodgrains, the States would have to procure their own supplies within and without the States to cover the needs of rationing. Whether such procurement, especially from surplus States, would be on a Government to Government basis or will be through private trade account, does not seem to be very clear. West Bengal, for instance, has been obliged, over the past three years, to import some 300,000 tonnes of rice annually on an average from Orissa, but the whole of it has been routed through private trade accounts which, visibly, has been responsible for a considerable measure of confusion in respect of both supply and price. The price of Orissa rice in West Bengal has been high and it has been alleged that not the whole of the rice thus procured has been brought either to the open market or into Government godowns. It is not quite clear why Orissa rice is not being procured on a Government to Government basis, nor if the whole or any predetermined portion of it was intended for the free (?) market—to be handled by the private sector trade or how much of it was intended for

Government godowns. The fact, however, remains, that there has been a great deal of confusion in this matter. The wheat zones, which against insistent demands from deficit States, the Centre appear still to be reluctant to wholly abolish or even materially modify, has added a further element of confusion in the foodgrains supply crisis.

Statutory rationing, as tentatively decided to be launched in selected urban areas with specified minimum populations, while leaving the rest of the country uncovered, is another decision indexing the Government's lack of confidence in their own resources. But this dual system of dealing with the supply crisis may, it is apprehended, create additional elements of confusion and failures in the process. For one thing, it may not be entirely possible to effectively cordon off and seal the rationed areas. We have seen, during the later years of the last war, how this cordon around rationed areas has been broken through almost from the very beginning, where demand in the unofficial free market has always been aggressive, and thus reducing the regions on the perimeter and just outside the rationed zones to a state of abject helplessness, which eventually culminated a raging and devastating famine in which more than 3 million starvation deaths have been confirmed. There is hardly any guarantee that the experiences of 1943 may not again be repeated. The endless changes in Government's decisions and policies on food over the last few months would appear to index the confusion in their thinking on the basic character of the present crisis and their inability, in consequence, to arrive at firm decisions which they feel confident enough to be able to fully implement to obviate its rigours. The fixation of statutory price levels for rice and a number of articles of food in West Bengal over the last several months, is a clear indication of the utter state of confusion of the Government's thinking and their abject helplessness to effectively implement their own decision. Modified rationing has been introduced in Calcutta's metropolitan area and in the contiguous regions which have been officially notified as industrial areas where people have been sure of obtaining a minimum supply of rice, wheat and sugar at fixed prices. But in the

extensive suburban complex around the metropolitan city where concentrations of large urbanized populations have been very heavy, the Government evaded all responsibility for maintaining basic supplies at statutory prices by simply declaring these areas as agricultural areas although agriculture in these regions has been practically entirely defunct for many years. In these regions at the few modified rationing shops that have been opened not merely a reduced per capita norm of supply has been adopted, but also people beyond a certain minimum earning level are wholly denied any rice ration. The result is that within a few hundred yards of the rationed areas retail shops have been selling rice quite openly and without fear at prices approximately one hundred per cent higher than the statutory ceiling. There is neither any means, nor apparently any effort to curb this raging black market. No one is interested in that counsel of perfection sanctimoniously dispensed by the Government that people should refuse to buy at anything above the statutory price. Newspapers are daily reporting the prices at which rice and several other essential articles of food are being sold which are far above the statutory levels fixed by Government and the latter seem to be as helpless lookers-on as the buyers themselves.

The trouble seems to be that the Government, like most of our so-called expert economists who advise Government, do not seem to have any realistic appreciation of the basic nature of the problems that have occasioned the continuing food crisis. They have been endeavouring to delude the people and, perhaps, also themselves with the argument that the rate of increase in food production over the last four years, especially during the current Plan period, has fallen short of the rate of increase in the net population. Food shortage has, therefore, been an inescapable consequence. Factual assessment of the present gross food production in the country—as we endeavoured to demonstrate in these columns some time ago—would, however, disclose that if all kinds of foodgrains of both the finer and coarser varieties were pressed to the people's consumption, there should be no basic shortage even without the imports which would just cover our consump-

tion requirements and those of seed grains, although there would be no comfortable surplus. With the change in the economic climate, especially with the trends of increasing urbanization that have lately been in evidence, the pattern of consumption has also changed correspondingly and the demand for the finer grains like rice and wheat has been continuously on the increase. But, of our total production of food cereals, rice and wheat comprise less than 56 per cent and with the increasing pressure of demand for these particular grains, a climate of general food shortage has supervened with its inevitable impact on other articles of food as well. This has been especially so in the more urbanized areas. But the problem is not quite so simple as it would seem to be on the surface. With the trends of increasing urbanization that has been influencing the entire country, the use of finer foodgrains has acquired a prestige value even with those who have been habitually used to the consumption of the coarser varieties. It is the Government's responsibility to stem this increasing tide in the present crisis. Processing of the coarser grains may be one of the expedients towards this end.

Shortage, therefore, is materially confined to certain varieties of foodgrains. Its main facet is a crisis of price rather than one, basically, of supply. Various factors, other than merely the food supply situation, have contributed to and have been aggravating the crisis. The basic factor in this connection is one of exploding demand far beyond the capacity of the economy. The Government should know very well what has been causing this widening imbalance between demand and supply as much as they should have known that such a situation would be bound to unleash unscrupulous speculative forces which would exploit the situation of marginal supplies for profiteering gains. There are ample funds in the market in the "unaccounted" credit sector and about which the Union Finance Minister speaks so often (but to demobilize which he seems to be utterly helpless with all the fiscal and administrative weapons at his disposal) to finance these anti-social speculative activities. But they are apparently helpless to do anything to curb these. What the West Bengal Government has been trying to do with mustard oil prices—even apart from rice and wheat

prices—is a glaring illustration of how they have allowed themselves to be used by these speculators to the detriment of the people. Mustard oil was selling retail at Rs. 2.50 per kg. upto end of March this year. At the beginning of April the price shot up to Rs. 2.90 and on to Rs. 3.25 by the beginning of May. Government intervened to impose a statutory ceiling of Rs. 2.50, later raising it to Rs. 2.90. The trade was not willing to deal at this price and, in the meanwhile, raised the price unofficially to Rs. 3.90. Government revised the price again and raised it to Rs. 3.25, but supplies disappeared altogether, mills having suspended production. Today, in spite of the statutory ceiling, mustard oil is openly selling at anywhere between Rs. 4.50 and Rs. 6 per kg. Could there be any more glaring mockery of Government than this?

We should not, therefore, be blamed if we apprehend that the manner in which Government now seem to intend to introduce state trading and statutory rationing, the inevitable result would be to lead to a far worse muddle of an already deeply muddled situation. If the Government are unable to assume the responsibilities of wholesale take over of the foodgrains trade and blanket statutory rationing—which they are obviously unable to even contemplate—far better that they let well alone and allowed the present crisis to evolve its own solutions without intervention from them. They would do a far greater service to the nation and to the economy as a whole if they were to concentrate all their resources upon effectively demobilizing "unaccounted" money—freeze it to the Exchequer in fact—on the one hand and bring all their power and ingenuity, both fiscally and administratively to curb the exploding demand with a view to holding the price line within circumscribed limits. It may be a worse folly than even complete inaction to launch upon a half-hogging system of partial state trading in foodgrains and statutory rationing covering only a microscopic section of the community. The Union Finance Minister claims to be both an ingenious and a courageous person. It should not be beyond him to revise the entire taxation structure and, by a well conceived system of direct taxation, mop up the inflationary potentials of the economy to bring down the level of demand to reconcile it to the state of actual supply.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE : A DOYEN AMONG JOURNALISTS

By Late SURESH CHANDRA DEB

The following short biographical sketch of the founder editor of the *Modern Review* by a veteran old journalist who has since himself passed into the great Beyond, and first published fourteen years ago, should still be of interest to our readers in this, the birth centenary year of the late Ramananda Chatterjee.—Editor, *Modern Review*.

Today September 30, 1950 marks the 8th death Anniversary of the late Ramananda Chatterjee, Founder-Editor, *Modern Review*, the internationally reputed monthly of Calcutta. About 40 years back young St. Nihal Singh, then a young free-lance journalist in Britain, wrote in William Stead's *Review of Reviews*, an article describing the rise of a new figure in the public life of India. At this distance I can but recall that the writer confined himself to drawing up the picture of a journalist who had been developing into a statesman, a statesman in a subject country, who was more a constructive critic of men and matters in India than the destroyer of the values introduced by British missionaries and administrators. This man was Ramananda Chatterjee, founder-editor of the *Prabasi*, 'a Bengalee-Language monthly and of the *Modern Review*. It was in April-May, 1901, that the *Prabasi* made its appearance; it was in January, 1907 that the *Modern Review* saw the light of day. And during this brief period, the two papers became, in the hands of the editor, vehicles of the noblest thoughts and highest sentiments, instruments in his hands to smite the evil-doer, to lead by the hand an awakened people consciously reacting to the shame and ignominy of political subjection. The article in the *Review of Reviews* was a testimony to the development of Indian Nationalism of which Ramananda Chatterjee remained for about 40 years a moulder and interpreter. He left the field of his mundane activities on September 30, 1943. It is meet and proper, therefore, that his life and work should be commemorated so that the present generation may know and realize the value and worth of the

which they have acquired. Born in May/June 1865, Ramananda Chatterjee grew during times where Indians had been slowly recovering from the influence of Western ideals and practices, from the thralldom of cultural superiority accepted with uncritical enthusiasm by their predecessors who had been known in history as "Young Bengal" and "Young Bombay". In his biography of Ramananda written by his daughter, Mrs. Shanta Nag, we have a description of these early years of his life when they learnt to appreciate the lines of Rangalal Bandhopadhyaya—

"who likes to live bereft of freedom—
who likes to live ?
"who can willingly put on the fetters
of slavery—who can willingly ?

It was the time of Keshab Chandra Sen, the Brahmo leader who, by the inspiration of his conduct, of his eloquence, had been sowing seeds of a new consciousness of a better life amongst the modern educated Indians. Ramananda has said that Romesh Chandra Dutt's novels on the decline of Rajput Chivalry, on the rise of the Marattas, were formative influences on his generation, that in his youth they used to imbibe from the *Arya Darshan* of Jogendra Vidyabhusan the inspiration of the life of Mazzini, of Todds' "Rajasthan" and other patriotic themes serially being published in that monthly.

When he came to Calcutta in 1883 from his native town of Bankura to prosecute studies in College, he found Surendra Nath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Basu enthroned in the hearts of the rising generation. The inspiration of their life

flowed from the Nationalism of which Raja Ram Mohan Roy had been the prophet, reform in society, reform in the State were the objectives of our national endeavour, the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen and Shib Nath Sastri and the Indian Association under Surendra Nath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Basu became centres of all that was dynamic and forward looking in the country and province. This climate of thought nurtured in Ramananda Chatterjee a spirit of quiet devotion to the highest interests of his people which found expression in service to the disease-stricken, to the poor and the lowly.

And since those years till 1943 his life and thought were moved on the plane from which the thought of self had been eliminated by conscious effort made under the Great Task-master's eyes. An academic career promising the highest material rewards which human nature generally seeks after was left unexploited, he refused a Government scholarship that would have helped him equip himself with greater distinction in Britain. Instead he turned back on these and chose for his life's vocation the education of youth. But he was called to a wider field of instructing public opinion on the duties and responsibilities of citizens of a free country. This impulse was the dynamo of the journalistic enterprise with which he got connected. In 1888 he graduated from the City College standing first class first; he was immediately appointed lecturer in English in this College, and in 1889 we find him editor of *Dharmya-Bandhu*—a monthly which did not confine itself to spiritual and religious topics alone but also discussed social and politico economic matters such as leprosy, obscenity, the "coolie question" etc.

This gave a new direction to his life's work. He became a valued writer of the *Sanjeevani* (1890), of the *Indian Messenger*, organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, of the *Indian Mirror* started by Keshab Chandra Sen and edited by Narendra Nath Sen one of the founding-members of the Indian National Congress. The "Dassashram" a social service institution, started in 1891, something like a servant of the people society of which Ramananda Chatterjee was president, felt the need of a mouth-piece. The *Dassi* was the outcome organised under his editorship. When he left Calcutta for Allahabad as principal of the

Kayastha Pathshala in September 1895, he continued editing the paper. He resigned the charge in 1896. The next year in December 1897 the *Pradip* by Baikunta Nath Das started with Ramananda Chatterjee as editor. It was an illustrated Bengal. Rabindranath gave voice to this feeling when he said: "when Ramananda Babu edited the *Pradip* and later founded the *Prabasi* his courage and capacity created wonder. Fairly voluminous, beautifully illustrated, enlivened by the variety of topics discussed—it was hard to believe that such superb things could be produced and made popular in Bengal."

This compliment paid to Ramananda Chatterjee shall ever remain a memento of the work that he did as fashioner and guide of public opinion in India, as the upholder of India's human activity in science, in arts, in scholarship. Though not a graduate of science, Ramananda Chatterjee was a votary of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Basu and Prafulla Chandra Ray. And let Abanindra Nath Tagore speak of the debt that the modern school of Art in Bengal and India owed to the editor of the *Prabasi* and *Modern Review*: "Ramananda Babu created among the public the demand for Indian art products . . . We painted the pictures and left to him the succeeding steps for popularising these; he went about hinting out men who could help; how even the poor man's house in India and outside could be made beautiful by these, we could not do it, it was his hand that upheld our cause."

And of Ramananda Chatterjee's work as a journalist, as editor of *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* who can speak with more insight and brilliance than Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, the Irish woman dedicated to the service of Indian Renaissance! :

"The pain in India's heart, the agony of her soul needed an outlet. The man who could give it vent could not be immured in a Government office. This man could not be allowed to remain satisfied with expressing the feelings and sentiments of Bengal; he must speak for the whole of India; he cannot forget the world. He belonged to Bengal; he belonged to India; he belonged to universal humanity."

With these words I recall to the present generation the greatness of the work that Ramananda Chatterjee did for India.

GITANJALI (THE ENGLISH VERSION) : A STUDY

By Prof. VAJJHALA GOPALAM

The English version of Gitanjali consists of one hundred and three songs, while the original edition in Bengali has one hundred and fifty-nine songs. But the English version is not an abridged edition of the original poem. The hundred and three songs of the English version are culled by the poet from his Gitanjali and the great collections of songs that he produced before its composition. Only fifty-one songs of the original poem are included in the English version and the remaining fifty-two are picked from the other compositions, seventeen from Gitimalya, sixteen from Naivedya, eleven from Kheya, three from Sisū, and one from each of Chaitali, Smaran, Kalpana, Utsarga and Achalayatan. We should, however, beware of considering the English version of Gitanjali as an anthology. Songs from different compositions are put together, but a close study of the songs, as they are strung in their order, shows that they are not detached pieces. They stand as the component parts of one poem in which the stream of thought flows from one song into another till the end is reached. The poet has arranged them with such subtlety of design that they make the poem a piece of artistic workmanship. The poem is the story of a pilgrim's progress, developed by regular stages, till the pilgrim obtains his leave to quit this world.

All through the journey of his life the pilgrim sings songs in adoration of the Lord. He is a fervent devotee, but his songs are not merely devotional in their content. They indicate the path of deliverance by which the bhakta journeyed till he received his summons. They teach a noble philosophy of life. Much of it is the philosophy of the **Upanishads** and the **Gita**, but Tagore does not confine himself to Hindu philosophy. He evolved a philosophy of his own which is made up of the tenets of the world's great teachers like Buddha, Jesus Christ and Mohammed besides the Hindu teachers. The

English version of Gitanjali is the epitome of Tagore's philosophy.

But it is no philosophical treatise. The poet presents his philosophy in the story of the devotee who aspires for union with the Lord and who by gradual stages becomes worthy of the Lord's acceptance. He describes the long and arduous journey which the devotee has to make before he receives his summons. He shows how the man who, in the early stages, spent days and nights yearning to see the Lord, at last declares that he has caught sight of Him that is formless. Finally, he presents the picture of the devotee, deeply engaged in his speculations. Experience in the journey of his life has made the devotee ripe with wisdom. He is full of noble sentiment and descants on the proper way of life in this world and the Lord's ways to mortals. The essential interest of Gitanjali lies in the transformation of the bhakta into a **Jnanin** who perceives the Lord's immanence in all objects under creation.

In the introductory songs the poet touches upon the basic ideas of the philosophy which he expounds in the poem. The very first words which the devotee utters refer to the conception of the immortal life of the soul. He begins with expressing his supreme happiness that the Lord has made him endless. He touches upon the theory of the transmigration of the soul in the words that the frail vessel of his body has been emptied and filled again and again with fresh life. The idea of the Lord as the Maker is suggested in the devotee's expression of his conviction that he is made a singer and that he sings at the Lord's command. He next refers to the idea of the Lord as the creator of this glorious world. The Lord is described as the Master Singer, the light of whose music illumines the world, the life breath of whose music runs from sky to sky. The devotee is delighted to hear the music; his heart lies captive in the endless meshes of

that music. He enjoys the eternal harmony of the world.

The bhakta who seeks deliverance has to pass through a process of purification. Accordingly, he expresses his resolve to keep his body pure, to keep all untruths out from his thoughts and to drive all evils away from his heart. This is the starting point of the pilgrim's progress. He next expresses his cherished desire—a moment's indulgence to sit by the Lord's side. Away from the sight of the Lord's face his heart knows no rest nor respite. On a bright summer day when the bees are humming in the flowering grove he sits musing at his window, longing to sit face to face with the Lord. He has no other wish than to sing dedication of life in that silent and overflowing leisure. It is such moods that are propitious for visions, and the devotee often appears in such moods till he acquires knowledge of the Lord's immanence. He makes urgent appeals to the Lord that before the polluting effects of his earthly existence may debase him, before the little flower droops and drops into the dust, the flower may be plucked and used in His service.

The devotee knows that he has many failings, and to overcome them he lays down the code of conduct which should guide him in his life. He would cast aside all ornament and adopt a simple, unadorned style in his adoration of the Lord. Simple dress is the badge of humility. It is the dress proper for a bhakta. He would be simple in his expression, simple in his way of life. As princely robes are an impediment to a child in his play, all finery is an impediment to the person who would participate in the rough experiences of the common folk. The devotee would enter the great fair of common human life. Another principle which he lays down for his guidance is complete dependence on the Lord. He calls the man a fool who, in his self-conceit, believes that he can depend on his own strength. Self-surrender implies the banishment of desires. The devotee must be contented with what is offered by sacred love. He next holds up the ideals of unostentatiousness, humility and service to suffering

humanity by the example of the Lord who has planted his feet among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost. The idea that the Lord keeps company with the companionless leads to the teaching that ignorant men keep chanting and singing and telling beads, that God is found not in the dark corner of the temple but under the open sky where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. In the words of the devotee Tagore teaches that idolatrous worship of God is not the way that leads to deliverance. He looks with equal disapproval upon the **Sanyasin** and admonishes him, "Put off thy holy mantle.....Come out off thy meditations.....Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow."

The devotee is well aware of the trials that he must face before he can reach his goal. He has but begun his journey, and he knows that the pilgrim has to espouse many false ideas, he must enter into many mistaken ways before he will be able to know the truth about the Lord. All his past life the devotee has been endeavouring to meet with the Lord, but he has not been able to see His face nor hear His voice. He thinks that it is because the lamp in his house has not been lit, and that until it is lit he cannot ask the Lord to come into his house. Further, he knows that he has yet to learn the lesson of contentment. His desires are many, and in his ignorance he has cried pitifully that they may be granted. The Lord has ever saved him from the perils of his desires by hard refusals. The recognition of this fact indicates the beginnings of purification in the devotee. His desires are not yet quelled, and the hour is yet to come when he will be worthy of the Lord's great gifts—the sky and the light, the body and the life and the mind. He has, however, the satisfaction that, day by day, the Lord has been making him worthy of his full acceptance.

He knows that it is the mission of his life to sing songs in adoration of the Lord. He prays the Lord to issue His command to him to sing. He looks upon the world as a festival and considers that he has received his invitation to the festival. He takes it

as a blessing conferred upon him. His eyes and ears have had their full enjoyment of the festival. At this feast it is his part to sing and he has done all he could in his singing. But the purpose of his life is not the mere enjoyment of the earthly feast nor the singing of songs. He has been waiting for the hour when he may stand in the Lord's presence and offer his silent salutation to Him. For the achievement of his purpose he lives apart from worldly men. The crowd wish to draw him into their company, but he shuns the company. In the spirit of the devoted mistress who keeps waiting for her lover's arrival, the devotee sits all alone in his house on rainy days praying the Lord not to leave him wholly aside. And he sits gazing on the far-away gloom of the sky in the hope of seeing the Lord's face. He is certain that the morning will come when he can hear the Lord's voice pouring down in golden streams.

By slow and gradual stages the devotee progresses towards his goal. The Lord does not make himself visible to his bhakta, but there are several occasions when the bhakta receives indications of the Lord's coming in his direction. He sits in languor, constantly dreaming of the Lord's coming.

Once, as he is sitting sadly, he feels a sweet trace of a strange fragrance in the south wind. That vague sweetness makes his heart ache with longing, but the longing is not fulfilled. Then comes a day when he feels a thrill passing through the air with the notes of the Lord's far-away song floating from a distance. The bhakta is certain that in the deep shadows of the rainy July the Lord walks silently, eluding all watchers. One such morning when a thick veil has been drawn over the blue sky and the doors are all shut at every house, he believes that the Lord is the solitary wayfarer in the deserted street. Unlike his neighbours he has kept his doors open, and he prays Him to enter his house. He spends sleepless nights, longing for the Lord's coming. In this situation the devotee conceives himself as a Radha pining for her Krishna, the divine lover. On a dark and stormy night when the sky is groaning like one in despair, she thinks that the Lord is

on his journey of love. Ever and again she opens her door and looks out on the darkness in the hope that the Lover is threading his course to come to her. But the Lover does not make His appearance. The devotee complains that he is exhausted and prays that the veil of darkness may be drawn upon him and that his life may be renewed in another birth. When the day is done the Lord draws the veil of night upon it and renews the day in a fresher gladness of awakening. The devotee prays for a like favour to be conferred upon him.

A further stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached when he has a dream that the Lord came and sat silently by his side. In the dream he hears the Lord singing melodiously on his harp. Waking up, he grieves bitterly that he has missed the sight of the Lord and curses the sleep. He considers that death were better by far than such disappointment. He is lost in misery in the midst of which he feels a mysterious stir in him, but it is only as a flash of lightning which drags a deeper gloom on the sight. His heart is groping for the path to where the music of the night's dream calls him.

The devotee formulated a code of conduct for his guidance in life. But he finds that he has not adopted it in his practice. Self-examination is an important stage in the pilgrim's progress. Scrutinising his own conduct, he finds that he is under the grip of the trammels of life. He knows that they are mere vanities, and that they make a shroud of dust and death around him. But while he hates them he has not the heart to free himself of their hold. While he is ashamed of them he loves them secretly. He has been busy in building a great fortune. But it has proved to be a dungeon in which he is imprisoned. The imagery of the prisoner who has built his own dungeon is profoundly mystic in its meaning. It signifies that the wealth and power which a person strives hard to acquire make him blind to his true being. They draw his mind away from God. The Infinite in him tries in vain to escape from the debasing worldly influences. For at this stage of his life it is the finite in him

that is predominating in its influence. And he realises that the finite is a shameless creature. It makes him greedy for wealth and power. He has amassed treasures under the false notion that they will make him invincible. Night and day he worked hard and stored up treasures. Too late, he has found that they are an unbreakable chain from which he cannot free himself.

Another lesson which the devotee has learnt by experience is that his earthly friends try by all means to hold him fast in their company. The Lord leaves man free to act as he chooses. He stands unseen and waits for the man to offer his love of his own accord. So long as the man is in the company of his worldly associates he cannot see the Lord.

Examining himself, the devotee has also found that in the beginning his desires seemed to be under his control. But in an unwary moment he fell under their influence, and they drove his thoughts of the Lord out of his mind. He has become the thrall of the shows of life.

Having suffered the fatal results of yielding to the frivolities of life, the devotee sings a song of self-surrender to the Lord, and prays that he may be put under the fetters of his love. He prays that he may have only that much of self as to name him his all and to offer his love to him every moment. Looking at the debased life of his country men he prays the Father that they may be rejuvenated with the higher ideals of life. In this famous song, taken from Naivedya, it is the noble patriot in Rabindranath Tagore who expresses his grief to see his brethren crouching timidly in fear of the foreign ruler, broken into factions by narrow-minded communal differences, and lost in the dreary desert of dead habit. And he prays that his country may awake into that heaven of freedom where tireless striving stretches its arms to perfection and where the mind is led forward in an ever-widening thought and action.

At an earlier stage in the poem the devotee prayed that the veil of darkness might be drawn upon him. He then thought that his voyage had come to its end. He now admits that he had been mistaken in

the thought. The Lord wants him to continue his work as a singer, when old words died out on his tongue the Lord inspired him with new melodies. His one prayer is that his heart may repeat without end that he wants Him and only Him. The spirit of devotion in him has grown in its intensity.

He recollects situations in the past when his heart became hard and parched up, when tumultuous work shut thoughts of the Lord out of his mind, and when desires blinded his mind with delusion and dust. He prays that in such situations the Lord may send a shower of mercy upon his parched heart and give him light to dispel the blinding desires. He feels that he is now passing through one such period, that his heart is burning with dire despair and prays for the cloud of the Lord's grace to descend upon him.

The song of self-surrender proves fruitful. The bhakta receives the Lord's promise to come to him; and he has day-dreams in which he sees the Lord. From dreams he progresses into day-dreams. He imagines himself as a ragged beggar maid who is a worshipper of the Lord and who secretly aspires for union with her kingly lover. He gives a picturesque description of a day-dream in which the maid saw the sudden splendour of the Lord's coming,—all the lights ablaze, and golden pennons flying over his car. She dreams that the Lord comes down from his seat, raises her from the dust, and much to the wonder of the on-lookers, sets her at his side in the car. The devotee's ambition is realised, but only in a day-dream, and he bewails that he is wearing out his heart in vain longing. Time glides on and still there is no sound of the chariot wheels. The girl that the devotee conceives himself to be, has heard it whispered that the Lord would come and both of them would go sailing in a boat. She sits in expectation of the coming of the happy time. The Lord does not come, but the devotee waits hopefully. The hour of dire despair is gone.

In the present frame of his mind the devotee realises that the Lord had never left him alone. He discovers occasions in the past when, unknown to him, and unbidden,

the Lord had entered his heart and pressed the signet of eternity upon many a fleeting moment of his life. Surveying his past, he discovers that in those days when he had been spending his time in trivialities he had received the Lord's inspiring touch on many occasions. But such occasions were transitory and he failed to realise the divine influence in those moments. He is now confident that the happy moment will arrive when he will see the Lord. And he goes on singing that every moment and every age, every day and every night he comes, comes, ever comes. The Lord has not yet come to him, but the devotee is sure that He is ever coming nearer and nearer to meet him. Many a morning and evening he thinks as if he heard the Lord's footsteps. One day he experiences a tremulous joy passing through his heart and he feels in the air a faint smell of the Lord's sweet presence.

Once he spends a whole night waiting for the Lord's coming, but it proves to be in vain. The disappointment does not, however, make him dejected. He hopes that the Lord will come in the morning. He fears that he may be asleep at that time. But he does not want to be roused by his neighbours. He is certain that the Lord himself will touch him. His sleep waits for the Lord's touch to vanish. The devotee at this stage is a different man from what he had been when he cursed the sleep in which he dreamt that the Lord had come to him and left him sleeping. He now considers the sleep as a precious gift and observes that his closed eyes would open their lids only to the light of the Lord's smile.

A further stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached when, after eluding the bhakta for a long time, the Lord fulfils His promise, and the devotee is blessed with visions of the Lord. There are described six visions in which it is significant to note that the devotee comes more and more closely into contact with the Lord in vision after vision.

The first of the visions was on a day when the devotee parted company with his worldly associates after he travelled with them all the morning on the road. In the way nature lay spread out in all her gorge-

ousness, but the travellers paid no heed to the wealth that offered itself to them. Worldly-minded men have no eye for the beautiful sights of nature. The travellers were pre-occupied with their worldly thoughts. The devotee was tired when the sun rose to the mid-sky, gave up their company, and lay down on the mead where there was a sheet of water. The men laughed at him in scorn, but their mockery found no response in him. The repose of the sun-embroidered gloom slowly spread over his heart and he surrendered his mind to a maze of shadows and songs. The bhakta is presented in a situation proper for a vision. He fell into a slumber, and when he awoke and opened his eyes he saw the Lord standing by him, flooding his sleep with a smile.

The next vision was on a day when the bhakta was singing all alone in a corner of his cottage. The simple carol of this novice struck at the Lord's love. He came down from His throne, stood at his devotee's cottage door and received his humble offering of a flower. On another day as the poor bhakta was going a-begging from door to door in the village path, he was transported to delight to see the King of kings coming in his golden chariot. And he stood hoping to receive the king's gifts of boundless wealth. He was in utter confusion when the King held out his right hand and asked him for a gift. He gave the kingly beggar a little grain of corn that he had in his wallet. Returning home, he found in its place a little grain of gold and thus comes to learn how the Lord rewards his devotees for their humble offerings to him.

Each of the visions is full of mystic meaning. The fourth vision was on a dark night when the devotee and his friends lay down to sleep without paying any heed to the notice which they received that the King would come to them. When the sleepers were awakened by the sound of the King's drums they shuddered with fear for their past negligence. They were in a flutter, not knowing how to receive the King fittingly. A wise man among them allayed their fears by telling them that the King does not want pompous arrange-

ments for His reception, that they may receive Him with empty hands. The King came and they spread a tattered piece of mat in the courtyard for his seating. The man understand that the King wanders in the dark chambers of this world amidst scenes of squalor and misery, that he wanders while thunder is roaring and the dark night is shuddering with lightning.

The element of symbolism is more marked in the accounts of the next vision. The devotee represents himself as a maiden who is a fervent worshipper of the Lord and whom the Lord has graced by sleeping in her house one night. Next morning after the Lord had left in the hope of finding a stray petal out of his rose wreath to preserve it as a token of His love, she was surprised to find that what the Lord left to her was His mighty sword, flashing as a flame, heavy as a bolt of thunder. The devotee muses in wonder at the Lord's gift to his worshipper. Soon the meaning of the gift dawns upon his mind. The Lord offers a sword to his devotees to cut asunder their earthly sense with one fierce flash.

In the sixth and last vision the Lord appeared to his bhakta in the guise of a thirsty traveller. The bhakta was standing alone by a well, lost in the midst of vague musings. The seeming traveller implored for water, and the bhakta poured from his jar on the man's joined palms. It is but a little act of kindness and of love, but it is such conduct that pleases the Lord most. The bhakta is happy to find that the Lord is pleased with his insignificant act of service to a fellow being.

The devotee has journeyed far by the path of deliverance. The next stage in the pilgrim's progress shows him enlightened. He becomes a **Jnanin** and perceives the immanence of the Lord in all created objects. The man who used to sit all alone, gazing on the far-away gloom of the sky and praying for the lord's coming, now rebukes the person who sits in languor and exhorts him to awake and enjoy the sight of the flower reigning in splendour among thorns. He declares that the Lord is sitting all alone in the country of virgin solitude, that all the life with which the world is throbbing is a joy to the Lord. He realises that his joy to see the wealth of nature is the Lord's joy manifested in him, that in his heart is the endless play of the Lord's delight. The Lord appears in the form of the beauteous sights of nature to captivate His devotee's heart. He is immanent in them and in the devotee. The devotee has reached that higher stage of knowledge which enables him to see that in him is the perfect union of two, the finite and the Infinite. The Upanishadic teaching of **tat twam asi** has dawned upon his mind.

The knowledge of the Lord's immanence kindles fresh feelings of joy in the devotee's heart when he looks at the glorious aspects of nature. At an earlier stage in the pilgrim's progress he said that the hour was yet to come when he would be worthy of the Lord's great gifts, foremost among which are mentioned the sky and the light. He is now in raptures to see light, that prime gift of God. He exclaims in joy that it is world-filling, eye-kissing, and heart-sweetening. The song on light is pure poetry, surpassing Milton's famous invocation to light in the splendour of its imagery. Everywhere around him the devotee finds indications of the Lord's **lila**, and he declares that he would represent them all in his last song. In the devotee's words we hear Rabindranath expressing his ambition to compose a grand poem celebrating the Lord's joy as it appears in its manifold forms in the exuberance of nature, in the play of life and death which work as twin brothers, in the fury of the elemental forces in the world, and in the spirit of renunciation with which some persons throw everything they have upon the dust. The sweet aspects of nature are a special delight to the devotee and he considers them as the Lord's gifts to him. When the morning light comes flooding his eyes he takes it as the Lord's message to his heart, and he is filled with feelings of glad humility.

Dwelling upon the Lord's joy as it is manifested in all created beings, the devotee passes on to descriptions of joyous children. Tagore is noted for his love of children. He treats the child as a **Sat-**

Chidanandamurthi to whom life is the quintessence of undiluted delight. The first of the three songs describes the child, absolutely free from the travails of life, guileless and innocent in his actions. The contrast between men who are motivated by greed for wealth in their actions and children who, oblivious of all desires, enjoy their existence is indicated in the simple but highly expressive words,—pearl fishers dive for pearls, merchants sail in their ships, while children gather pebbles and scatter them again. The next song presents the picture of a sweet baby gently sleeping, a smile flickering on its lips. The third song offers an illustrative explanation of the Lord's gifts to mankind. The Lord is the Universal Father. With the same affection that prompts a man to give sweet and pleasant things to his children, the Lord has given us the delightful things of the world for our enjoyment.

The devotee, having seen the Formless, sings no more songs of prayer that the Lord may come to him. His knowledge of the immanence of the Lord makes him profoundly speculative. The rest of the poem comprises the Jnanin's speculations. They start with his reflections on the significance of the immanence. He considers that when a person acquires that knowledge he develops a feeling of universal brotherhood. The knowledge of the one in the many makes a brother of the stranger. Ignorant people believe that the Lord's grace is won by the performance of superstitious rites and have no thought of serving their fellow beings. The devotee saw a maiden carrying a lamp in her hand. He begged her to lend him her lamp. For his house was all dark and lonesome. But she would not oblige him. She floated her lamp on the stream in the evening and the timid flame drifted uselessly in the tide.

The bhakta wishes to know what work the Lord intends him to do. In the bhakta's surmise the poet expresses his own belief that he is intended to sing songs celebrating the eternal harmony of the world. It is the Lord who is producing the harmony, it is the Lord who is making him perceive the harmony, it is the Lord's joy that adds music

to his songs. He concludes that the Lord takes pleasure in hearing songs of his own eternal harmony sung by His bhakta. Tagore composed hundreds of such songs, and the world has been ravished by their melody. The poet had a higher ambition. It was to portray the picture of an enchanting female character. The conception had been working in his mind. But he could see it only in the twilight of gleams and glimpses. The vision was always dimly floating in his imagination, but could never be captured. All great poets are haunted by such visions and Tagore had his own dreams.

The devotee is sublimely poetic in his speculations on the nature of the Lord as **Sarvantaryamin**. He looks upon the Lord as the sky and the nest as well, the creator and also the created. The poetic soul that is rich with colours and sounds and odours owes its essence to the Lord's love. The morning that comes with a golden light derives her beauty from the Lord. The evening that brings peace and tranquillity in her golden pitcher owes her serene influence to the Lord. As the sunbeam stands at his door the livelong day it moves the devotee to tears and sighs and songs. He sees that it is the spirit of the Lord that is animating the whole world. It is the same spirit that is manifested in the devotee as well as in the numberless blades of grass and the tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers. It is the spirit of the Lord that is rocked in the ocean-cradle of birth and death. The devotee is thrilled to delight as he observes how things are tossed and lost and broken in the whirl of the Lord's fearful joy. He perceives the **Nataraja's Cosmic Dance** in the rhythm with which all things rush on, seasons come dancing and pass away, and colours, tunes and perfumes pour in endless cascades. He realises that it is the Lord who severs Himself and appears in the myriad shapes of the world and that it is the Lord's self-separation that has taken body in him. It is, therefore, his firm faith that his songs flow under the Lord's inspiration, that it is the Lord who puts His enchantment upon his eyes and joyfully plays on the chords of his heart

in varied cadence of pleasure and pain. He considers all the world as the web of the Lord's **maya** and observes that it is the illusory web that appears to him in evanescent hues of gold and silver, blue and green.

These speculations lead him to the conclusion that deliverance is not for him in renunciation. He feels the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. He is no **Sanyasin** who would shut the doors of his senses. He would drink the wine of various colours and fragrance which the Lord pours for him. He looks upon the delights of sight and hearing and touch as the expression of the Lord's delight. He admits that they are an illusion, but he would enjoy the illusion. All his illusions will burn into illumination of joy.

So long as the devotee has his abode in this world he would certainly enjoy the festival of this world, but he knows that this world is only a place of sojourn for him. He has now a feeling that the period of his sojourn is drawing to its close. He hears a sad music calling him out into the dusk. He would go to the river at whose fording in a little boat, he believes, there is an unknown man playing upon his lute, and waiting to receive him for his voyage.

He has grown ripe with wisdom and enunciates sage views of life in this world. He teaches that while the Lord's gifts fulfil the needs of mortals, men's enjoyment of the gifts does not diminish their worth. They answer men's needs and ultimately, they serve the purpose of the Lord's worship. The devotee sees men tumultuous with toil and with struggle. He would not join the hurrying crowds, but with folded hands and humble heart he would keep standing face to face before the Lord. When his allotted work will be done in this world he will readily quit this abode and stand in all humility before the **Rajadhiraja** (King of Kings). Yet he is dissatisfied with his way of life. For he treats the Lord as his Father and bows before his feet, but fails to note that the Lord is his Brother among his brothers. He has failed to note that there is the Lord in all the men around him,

that, consequently, **Manavaseva is Madhava-seva**. He holds that the true worshipper of the Lord is the person who plunges into the great waters of life.

He does not agree with people who speak of imperfection in this world. It is his view that unbroken perfection is over all.

Enlightenment has produced in the devotee utter contempt for life in the crowded markets of this world. He cares little for material gains. His one desire is to meet the Lord in his life, and if that desire is not fulfilled he would be steeped in sorrow in his dreams and in his wakeful hours. In his humility he feels that he is leading a useless life in this world. He is counting months and years, waiting for union with the Lord. But he would not be hasty to quit this world. What he desires is that he may not lead an empty life. If the Lord intends that he should continue his earthly existence for some time more, he prays that he may be made to do some work of noble note.

He has also to offer some great truths about the Lord's ways to mortals. In the past when he was idle, sometimes he grieved over lost time. But he has now understood that time is never lost. Man may spend his time in idleness, and he may leave his work incomplete. But it is brought to completion by the Lord. Hidden in the heart of things, the Lord is nourishing seeds into sprouts, buds into blossoms, and ripening flowers into fruitfulness. In the Lord's calendar time is endless. During the endless march of time, progress to perfection is slowly but surely achieved. Man may waste his time in frivolities, but it is never too late for him to follow the path of wisdom and surrender himself to the Lord.

These thoughts lead the devotee once again to reflections on the Lord's all-pervasiveness. He sees the Lord everywhere, around him. He realises that it is the Lord's self-separation that appears in all the world and gives birth to the countless shapes that appear in the infinite sky. It is the Lord's overspreading pain that produces the loves and desires, the sufferings and joys of human homes. In the words of the devotee, Tagore observes that it is this idea which lies at the core of all his poetry. Referring to the

great men who were born in this world, did their work and passed away, the devotee holds that their action was under the Lord's behest. They came from the Lord's hall, derived their strength from Him and after they did their work they returned to Him. The world reaps the fruits of their achievements.

The devotee has a foreboding that his pilgrim-age is shortly to end, that death is at his door. The thought of his approaching death leads him to express his philosophy of death. He looks upon death at his door as the Lord's messenger. He is full of elation that the Lord has sent His messenger to him and observes that he will welcome and worship the messenger. For death is welcome to the devotee. He feels as if he is standing on the brink of eternity and prays the Lord to dip him into the ocean of eternity. It is union with the Lord that gives him the dip into the ocean.

He thinks that he has done his work in this world and is now like a vessel that is emptied of its contents. In a great song, deeply mystic in its meaning, he describes himself as a ruined temple whose bells are silent and whose lamp is unlit. Changing metaphor, he represents himself as a **Vina** whose strings are broken and which can no more sing praises of the Lord. He has been longing for the favour of union with the Lord, but the favour has been still refused. He has spent the festival days in silence, for he has become a ruined temple, a broken **Vina**. His place as a singer has been taken by other masters of cunning art, but cunning art does not make great poetry. The devotee is certain that when those masters leave this earth their songs will be carried into the holy stream of oblivion. He has lost the power to sing aloud. If he tries to sing he does it only in whispers, in murmurings of songs. He had sung many a song in which he dwelt upon the conflict between good and evil in the world. But he is now an empty vessel, and he is happy that the Lord is pleased to draw his heart on to him. Thinkin of his approaching death, he has the satisfaction that he spent his life fruitfully. When the Lord's messenger comes to him, he will place before him all the sweet

vintage of all his autumn days and summer nights; he is confident that he can give a good account of his performance as a singer in the past of his life.

The devotee considers death as the crowning point of life on the earth. The thought that death is near at hand puts him in a jubilant mood and he apostrophises it in highly poetic terms as the last fulfilment of life. During all his past life he has been looking eagerly for that fulfilment. He conceives himself as a bride, holding in her hand a garland for her bridegroom, waiting for the hour of union with the Lord. Death marks the happy hour of the bride's union with the Lord.

The devotee knows that the day is soon to come when he will leave this earth in silence. He knows, at the same time, that the death of an individual is of little consequence to the world. Stars will watch at night and morning rise as before and hours heave like sea waves casting up pleasures and pains. As the hour of his death is drawing near he is more enlightened than before, and by the light of death he has a fuller understanding of the glory of the Lord's creation. He sees the world with all its careless treasures and is filled with a profound sense that rare is its meanest of lives.

The pilgrim's progress comes to a termination when the devotee gets his leave to depart from this world. He has received his summons, and it has put him in a serenely happy frame of mind. In all humility he bows to his brothers and begs them to bid him farewell. His enlightenment makes him feel as if he has emerged out of darkness. He finds the sky flushed with the dawn and his path lying beautiful before him. To him death marks the dawning of a bright day. In preparation for union with the Lord he proposes to put on his wedding garland. He is far different in his spirit from the **Sanyasin** who travels in a red-brown dress. He holds a delightful view of life in this world. And he is confident of a happier life in store for him. His mind is not clouded by doubts or fears about his future. He has a feeling of certainty that in the same way as the inscrutable without

name and form had tended him in the form into the deathless, to obtain union with the of his mother in this world, the Unknown Lord. The singer that he has been in this will appear to him in his death also. So as world, he aspires to tune his harp to the he loves life in this world, he will love death notes of forever when he will be granted as well. He considers that the change from admission into the Lord's audience hall. life to death is simply like the change which All his life-long it has been his endeavour the child gets from the mother's right as a singer to find the Lord. His songs breast to the left. His life in this world has guided him to the country of pleasure and been full of delight to him, and it is his part- pain; he studied the mystery of life in its ing word that what he has seen is unsurpass- bright and gloomy aspects. And at the end able. He conceives the world as a play of his journey, the devotee is happy that his house of infinite forms and is thoroughly poetic faculty has brought him to the Lord's satisfied that he has had his play in it. What palace gate.

gives him greater satisfaction is that in this play house, he caught sight of the Lord and was thrilled by his touch.

Taking a retrospective view of his past life, he looks upon it as a play with the Lord. He has happy recollections of the days when the Lord used to call him from his sleep in the early morning and lead him from glade to glade. At such times the Lord used to sing songs to him, and though he never cared to know their meaning they filled him with such delight that his voice took up the tunes and his heart danced in their cadence.

In the retrospect he humbly admits that he could never escape unconquered. His life was a failure. He met with defeat in all his efforts. Defeat has taught him the lesson of humility. He observes that his pride will go to the wall and he will receive utter death at the Lord's feet. He does not regret that he has not been able to complete his work in this world. He knows that the work left undone by him will be instantly done by the Lord. Accordingly, he considers that humanity is engaged in a vain struggle for achievement. The devotee would be contented with his lot in life. He would silently put up with defeat and sit perfectly still where he is placed. Experience in life has made him a sadder and a wiser man. Formerly, he thought that he could not ask the Lord to come into his house, because the lamp was not lit. But he now says that if his lamps are blown out he will wait patiently to receive the Lord in the darkness. He describes himself as a weather-beaten boat. He would have no more sailing from harbour to harbour, no more of life's voyage. He is eager to die

Remarking further on the nature of his work as a poet, he observes that his primary object in all his songs has been to present pictures of the Lord. People who could not understand their mystic meaning wanted him to explain his songs. But he expressed his inability to do so. His wistful reply to them was, "Ah! who knows what they mean!" He sang under the touch of inspiration. The secret gushed out from his heart. His songs are spontaneous poetry, not the product of cunning art. Such poetry has a vague suggestiveness and its meaning cannot be put into explicit terms. In the devotee's reply to his questioners we recognise the poet's hint to his readers that they are not to demand prosaic explanation of his songs.

Earlier in the poem, the devotee said that he was waiting for the hour when he might offer his silent salutation to the Lord. Now that he has seen the Formless, he closes the poem with a song of salutation in which he puts it that the adoration of the Lord is the alpha and the omega of his poetic compositions. He would spread out all his senses to appreciate the glory of the Lord's creation. His mind is laden with thoughts which crave for expression, and he would exert all the power of his mind in singing the glory of the Lord. His songs may be in diverse strains, but their ultimate purpose is the worship of the Lord. It is his final wish that his life may take its voyage to its eternal home where in all devoutness he may offer his salutation to the Lord.

The poem is profound philosophy presented in rich poetic garb. The devotee is the poet's mouth piece for the exposition of

his philosophy. He is conceived as a vessel observe the glorious scenes of nature. In of deep emotions. His heart gives birth to such moods of ecstasy his songs reach sub-utterance ineffable. In the various situations lime poetic heights. Tagore has firm faith in which he appears he bursts into soul- in the immanence of the Lord. To him far stirring songs. They are lyrical strains, the more than to Wordsworth the meanest spontaneous outbursts of poetic fervour. The flower that blows gives thoughts too deep songs are also full of vivid imagery. The for tears. What is merely poetic creed in devotee has the poet's love of colour. He the case of the western poet is the essential makes colourful scenes of the situations in element of the oriental poet's religion. which he finds himself during his life's jour- Religious conviction produces the effect of ney. The lyrical spirit in him glows more in- genuine feeling in his poetry. Gitanjali is tensely in the latter part of the poem where philosophy poetized. Tagore's main purpose he appears as a Jnanin. When he gets know- in the composition of the poem is the teach- ledge of the immanence of the Lord, he is ing of his noble philosophy, but the philo- able to look **into** the world of man and of sophy is transmuted by the poet's magical nature. He is filled with poetic rapture to touch into superb poetry.

NEED AND PROSPECTS OF FOREIGN AID

BY PROF. SUBHAS CHANDRA JAIN

THE aim of democratic planning cannot be rapid economic growth alone. The material welfare of the people should equally be the concern of the planning authority. A dictatorial communistic economy may neglect the welfare aspect in economic progress for decades together, but democracy can only neglect it at its own risk. Therefore, planning in a democratic set-up must be for growth and welfare. The pace of development should be rapid, but stability in the economy must not be forgotten. The social cost of economic progress must be kept to the possible minimum. It is a difficult task, more so, for an underdeveloped economy like ours. But if this is not done, there would be nothing particular to credit to democratic planning.

An underdeveloped economy suffers from immobility of its physical resources and scarcity of the financial means. To mobilise the physical resources for development purposes, an ever-increasing financial input becomes a necessity. Due to low per capita income and saving, capital formation is not adequate for investment. Successive higher rates of capital formation are preconditions for a quick economic advancement.

As the traditional sources are not sufficient to dynamise the capital formation, some extra sources of enhancing finance must be found out for this purpose.

Deficit financing has now been acknowledged as a peace time means for providing extra internal finances to dynamise an economy. There is however a serious flaw in this source of financing the capacity of an underdeveloped economy, for to absorb the effects of deficit financing is limited. Such an economy does not possess enough excess-capacity to facilitate a quick rise in consumer-goods, to meet the demand caused by extra purchasing power, generated by deficit financing. With the rise in investment through deficit financing, the multiple is likely to work more vigorously in monetary terms than in real terms. Money income will rise more than the real income of the people. Instability and inflationary forces will be let loose and the purpose of planning itself will be defeated. Moreover, deficit financing alone cannot meet all the financial requirements. The problem of foreign exchange remains ever there, to be tackled.

Foreign aid has been thought to be a safer

method of breaking the initial stagnation of an underdeveloped economy. This will provide extra source of finance for investment and much-needed foreign exchange for purchasing capital goods and technical know-how. This would also improve the capacity of the country to absorb the unstable effects of deficit financing. The assistance made available from foreign countries can very well be utilised in importing essential goods to increase the inelastic domestic supply. Thus, foreign aid may serve both the purposes of stability and growth without causing much strain on the people.

India has been placed in a bit comfortable position in terms of getting foreign co-operation, due to our policy of following a middle course, both in political and economic spheres. We are enjoying the sympathy of two competitive major blocks of the world. We are getting substantial economic aid from both the parties. The capitalist or democratic block has sympathy with us as we represent the largest democracy. They are keenly interested in us as they realise, that if we fail in our economic attempt, democracy will fail with us. The socialist block and particularly Russia is interested in helping us, as we adopted the system of planning to fulfil an avowed object of establishing a Socialistic Pattern of Society. So they have also felt some-sort of kinship with our programmes and policies, which have impelled them to provide us considerable amount of aid. This is something which due to a peculiar Indian characteristic based on a broad universal outlook of synthesis.

While, admitting the indispensability of foreign resources in the development of an expanding economy, there may be a few proud nationalists, who dislike the term aid, which connotes charity or begging. They may argue, why foreign aid? Why not foreign trade? No one, who has the slightest amount of self-respect, will disagree with this honourable proposition. But before jumping to any conclusion let us be clear about the proper meaning of the term foreign aid in this context. In fact, foreign aid is neither charity nor generous response to begging, but a major portion of it, is a kind of pure and simple loan, granted by economically developed nations to their underdeveloped counterparts, on the give and take basis. The terms are generally liberal depending on the capability of the indebted party to repay the amount. One should

call it a fair business transaction for long-term mutual benefit under the circumstances prevailing around the world. Besides the help received under the P.L. 480 and similar other programmes, out of the total amount of Rs. 2819.3 crores received till March 1963 only, Rs. 297.4 crores were, in terms grants and the rest, Rs. 2521.9 crores were of outright long-term loans.

To receive large doses of foreign aid for productive purposes in time of need is not at all a sign of weakness, on the contrary it speaks favourably of the credit-worthiness of the country getting it. We cannot agree that the self-respect of any nation is at stake in receiving foreign aid, as this has become a normal feature with the world economy. Even war-devasted Europe, could be rebuilt with generous American aid under the Marshall-Plan. With the only exception of the U.S.S.R., no nation could cross the boundary of backwardness without one or other kind of foreign aid. The U.S.S.R. could do without foreign assistance due to its helplessness. It had tried to get foreign co-operation, after the red revolution, but could not succeed in procuring it. Under the force of the circumstances it was compelled to undertake the work of economic development exclusively by itself and at such a heavy social cost which no democratic country can meet.

Foreign trade may be a dignified way for getting foreign exchange resources, and the developed countries may go in for co-operation with the underdeveloped nations. They may import liberally and extensively from the developing countries, so as to provide them that much of trade surpluses which will answer their development requirements. In the long run this would be the only course open for both the parties but in the initial stages of development, the underdeveloped countries are handicapped in this respect due to scarcity of exportable surpluses. Therefore, till a stage of self-sustaining economy is not reached, the much-required foreign exchange will have to be secured through foreign assistance in the form of loans, grants and foreign investments etc.

Before the second world war, movement of private capital on private account was the primary source of getting foreign finance for economic progress in a developing country. The sources and the ways of this sort of finance were

not always welcomed by importing countries. This was generally used to subserve the imperialistic ends of advanced nations and hence was looked upon as a source of foreign domination and exploitation of underdeveloped countries. Now, the situation has undergone a complete change. A large part of foreign aid is provided on inter-governmental basis and movement of private capital does not play a very significant role in providing foreign finance. Due to the political emancipation of a large number of undeveloped countries and the active participation of their governments in economic development, the role of private capital has become secondary. Moreover, the field of operation for foreign private capital has been restricted to an area where special skill is required and domestic resources are not forthcoming.

It should not be assumed that undeveloped economies are not recognising the role of private foreign capital in their economic struggle. Certainly, some of them are trying to evolve a definite policy to attract it. Though their prejudices and passions against foreign capitalists are hindering the process, and so, favourable terms and conditions, to persuade large number of foreign investors, are still awaited, nevertheless, the participation of foreign capital, so far, is not, at all disheartening. For example, in India, the private sector has entered into various agreements for foreign collaborations, for establishing new lines of production. The foreign collaborators have generally agreed to supply plant and machinery, to delegate their skilled staff for erecting, supervising and operating the plant for a time, and to train the Indian personnel for the successful operation of the factory in the end. Some private foreign establishments have also sprung up independently and are doing their business successfully. But, judging from the point of view of the development requirements, these investments fall short of our needs. The reasons for this state of affairs are not very difficult to cite. The taxation policy of the Government, the notorious bureaucratic delays in getting any scheme sanctioned by Government, inadequate port facilities for loading and unloading the goods, and the constant fear of nationalisations, are some of the important discouragements for potential foreign investors. On the

whole, it should frankly be admitted that the present political and economic climate in nearly all backward economies is not very conducive to the liberal expansion of the private sector and particularly, more sensitive foreign investors. Unless, some radical changes are brought out in the policies of these nations, much cannot be expected from this source of finance.

With the soaring urge for economic freedom in the undeveloped countries, fortunately the political and economic thinking all over the world has undergone a substantial change. Prosperity and poverty have begun to be considered as indivisible. The economic development of a country is primarily, not its own concern. The other countries are also keenly interested, not only in the actual development but also in the methods adopted therefor. The Government to Government basis foreign aid transactions have become the major source of foreign finance. The backward nations are generally favouring this sort of foreign co-operation, even though a good deal of precautions are taken from both the sides about the nature and forms of inter governmental aid transactions. Usually, they materialize after long and patient negotiations between two governments. The finance provided by the international institutions like I.M.F. and I.B.R.D. is also of similar nature generally, the recipient countries are very cautious that their political and economic policies are not influenced by these aids. Thus, theoretically, there remain little possibility of political domination and economic exploitation. In practice, one cannot help discerning a selfish motive behind various kinds of liberal aids. Their bounty is also intended to win them privileges and certain advantages over the less developed countries, in addition, to the security against the revolutionary and contra revolutionary consequences of abject poverty and want.

It is a well known fact, that foreign aid makes a meaningful contribution to national development, only in those countries which are willing and able to mobilize their own resources. The role of foreign help can only be complementary. No economic development can be lasting, which is not based on an active mobilization of national resources. The development of a country is, primarily, the responsibility of the people of that country. If the people are determined to

remodel suitably their existing economic and social institutions, the foreign co-operation and all other things become secondary in the process. In such cases the foreign aid may provide the decisive margin for success. When the necessary effort is lacking the effects of foreign aid may not be even positive. Much depends, no doubt, upon the initiative, intensive desire and vigorous efforts of the people of a country. If this is there, the secondary position of foreign assistance turns to be of prime importance at least, in the initial stages of development. As it is an era of rapid technological and scientific changes, with the heavy back log of backwardness, no primitive economy can make quick and substantial development possible without some sort of foreign help.

The amount of foreign aid made available to, and required by, a developing economy mainly depends upon two factors; first, the capacity of donor countries to part with their surplus capital funds for this purpose. The combined gross national income of the developed nations, now, comes to \$ 900 billion annually. If only two per cent of this amount were loaned for giving aid each year to the less developed nations, the gap between the rich and poor nations would be lessened in a manner, that profits both givers and receivers, adds to the self respect of each and turns this world to an infinitely safer and better place for all of us. When more than half of the world is suffering the pangs of hunger and degenerating poverty, the U.S.A. alone is spending nearly 4000 crores in the space race annually. During the year 1962 \$150 billions were spent on armaments. If the tensions created by cold war could be lessened, much of this expenditure could be utilised for economic development of backward nations. This is all about the capacity of the nations to supply foreign finance. Willingness of the donor countries may also affect the supply position. We cannot take it for granted, as in the year 1963. The American Senate has shown considerable reluctance in accepting the aid programme presented by the administration of that country. But, this aspect of the supply position depends upon some subjective consideration, which are unstable and very difficult to predict.

The other equally important factor is the potential demand for economic development. If we try to measure this need in absolute terms, there is no limit to it. To have a clearer perspective we should assess it in a relative term. Rela-

tively speaking, we must have before us, a given period of time, and targets of economic progress to be achieved within this period; for example, during the Third Five Year Plan for achieving envisaged targets, we may point out our foreign exchange need and say that out of our total foreign exchange need, this much would be required in terms of foreign aid and the rest may be managed through the surpluses of foreign trade. These estimates will naturally depend upon the capacity of an economy to utilize foreign resources. This, in turn, will depend upon the extent of availability of other internal resources. The country cannot absorb more foreign aid than permitted by its physical limitations. That is the reason, we in India have stipulated the demand for foreign assistance to a limited amount in our various five year Plans, but with the successive Plans our need is becoming much greater. This trend shows the rising level of economic development contributed by our planning, which has increased the availability of internal resources and has also improved to absorb more and more of foreign aid.

The First Five Year Plan was not a plan in the true sense of the term. It was merely a preparation for actual planning. The main attention was given to the achievement of economic stability by removing the shortage of foodgrains and raw materials. Due to the agricultural bias in this plan, large scale industries were deliberately neglected. Since we were not very much sincere towards the industrial targets, no explicit ideas about foreign aid requirements could be formed at the time of drafting. After assessing the internal availability of financial resources a gap of Rs. 521 crores was left and it was expected to be bridged by external assistance, additional borrowing and extra deficit financing, if required. It is to be noted that foreign aid made available during the plan period was Rs. 296 crores. Out of this only Rs. 188 crores could be utilised during the Plan and the rest was carried forward for the Second Plan.

The Second Plan was the first bold attempt in the economic field. It was an ambitious Plan. The industrial sector was allotted the place of pride in this Plan. More emphasis was placed on heavy and basic industries than consumer goods industries. The heavy and basic industries require a huge capital outlay, a substantial part of which is financed through foreign exchange resources.

This is the reason, why a larger amount of Rs. 800 crores in the Second Plan was envisaged as the foreign assistance target, to fulfil its obligations. During the execution of the Plan foreign exchange need was found to be under-estimated; and so, hectic attempts were put-in to make these resources larger than envisaged, so that the hard core of the Plan could be completed.

Thanks to the generous help rendered by friendly nations, the stress and strain caused by the foreign exchange crisis could be relieved to a greater extent and the Plan could be saved from a major failure. The total amount of foreign aid received for the Plan purposes, during the period was Rs. 1090 crores, and Rs. 290 crores were received more than the amount fixed in the Plan. Besides, this very valuable assistance under P.L. 480 agreement was also received from the U.S.A., which had assisted us not only in saving our scarce foreign exchange but also helped the Government in stabilizing the economy.

The Third Plan is nearly equal in size to both the proceeding plans taken together. Besides, agriculture, heavy and basic industries have also been accorded top priority in this Plan. Therefore, foreign exchange need has been estimated at Rs. 3200 crores. Out of this amount Rs. 2200 crores have been sought to be received through foreign assistance and the rest will be made available by export surpluses and balance utilization. At the time of drafting the Plan, some moderates had doubted the realisation of such a high target of foreign aid, and perhaps now, in their view, the greater need caused by the emergency would render it impossible. But, the way in which friendly countries are showing their interest in helping us would show this to be a needless apprehension.

During the three years of the Third Five Year Plan, very heartening response has come in this respect. More and more countries are showing their readiness to assist us. To remove the uncertainty factor from foreign aid programme to some extent, democratic countries have formed the Aid India Club for this country. Now our planners are more assured of some sort of consistency and certainty about the flow of foreign assistance. This will certainly improve our planning as we shall be able to use this aid properly and fully by chalking out utilization plans before hand. The aid made available by various countries of Aid

India Club during the three years of the Plan is shown as follows in million dollars.

Name of the Countries	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
Austria	—	5	7.00
Belgium	—	10	10.00
Canada	28	33	30.50
France	15	45	20.00
Germany	225	139	99.50
Italy	—	53	45.00
Japan	50	55	65.00
Holland	—	11	11.10
The U.K.	182	84	84.00
The U.S.A.	545	435	435.00
World Bank & I.D.A.	250	200	245.00
Total :	1295	1070	1052.10
Plus extra consortium	—	—	Plus 60.00
			1112.10

The total aid from Aid India Club during the Three Years of the Third Plan comes to Rs. 1576.9 crores. Though, at the first sight, it appears that the aid is subjected to law of diminishing returns as, it is lowest in the third year of the plan, yet, if we add 60 millions extra consortium aid to it, the figure will turn out to be greater than in the previous year. Still, it is lower than the amount of 1250 million sought by us. Besides the democratic nations, we are also getting very valuable aid from communist countries particularly from the U.S.S.R. The total contribution of Russia in the First and Second Five Year Plans was Rs. 64.7 and 320.2 crores respectively. The major portion of aid promised in the Second Plan will be utilized in the Third. Besides this, Russia and other East European Countries are collaborating with the Public Sector in establishing heavy and basic industries in the Third Plan.

The biggest contributor of foreign aid has been the U.S.A., if we include the Plan and non-plan foreign aids together. The U.S.A. had contributed Rs. 214.6 and Rs. 1927.1 crore respectively to the First and Second Five Year Plans. Even for the Third Five Year Plan she has assured us of her contribution, equal to the rest of the nations of Aid India Club. Russia is the foremost nation in the communist

block. It is providing various type of precious aid in spite of our strained relations with China. The membership of World Bank and of its constituents has also been very rewarding to us. The bank called the meetings of Aid India Club and has managed to induce the members to provide us their liberal assistance.

It has been our constant endeavour to get soft and untied loans besides the assurance of continuity. Those loans are generally considered soft for which, nil or insignificant rate of interest is to be paid and they are to be repaid, after a considerable period of time and in terms of the currency of the borrower country. It means the lender country would have to buy the goods and services of the debtor country and this leads to increase in the export trade of such a country. It appears that, our efforts in getting these loans are bearing some fruit. The most remarkable aspect of this year's loans from Aid India Club is that, they are offered on more liberal terms and conditions. More than fifty per cent of them are not tied to a specific project. This will improve our position in utilizing them in a better way and lighten our future burden in terms of repayments. Now, lesser amounts of aid will remain unused and assets already created will not starve of essential raw materials and components. It appears now that the position in respect of availability of foreign resources is not so gloomy, as was depicted by some at the beginning of the Plan. The picture is also not rosy to the extent, that we may assume complacency about it. As increasing numbers of newly independent countries are entering into the foreign aid market, the demand for foreign aid will naturally increase. Unless the sources of supply also increased, the imbalance between them might create a problem.

At present also, all is not well with the ways in which foreign aid is offered and received. The greatest single drawback of foreign aid, is still lingering with it. The recipient countries are still not sure of its continuity for a required period of time. Not only volume but the nature

of foreign aid is also an uncertain factor. Consequently, the optimum out-comes could not be achieved through it. Though donor countries are slowly realising these difficulties of recipients, yet so far they have been unable to help effectively in the direction. Substantial parts of the foreign assistance is still in the form of tied loans. Directly or indirectly political motives also play their part in its fluctuations. This is one of the important reasons that foreign assistance in some cases failed to deliver goods. If all these aid programmes are canalised or co-ordinated through some international agency, these defects can easily be done away with, and better and effective utilization of foreign aid will be possible. This sort of arrangement will be beneficial for both the parties and then the recipient country will not be unnecessarily suspicious about the motives of donor countries and the creditor countries will also be fully assured against the risk of its repayment.

The average rate of foreign aid which India is getting has gone up from Rs. 75 crores per annum in the first to Rs. 600 crores, in the Third Five Year Plan. There is a point, beyond which it will never be advisable to increase this rate. After all, foreign aid should not only be considered as an asset in the process of economic development. It is also an ever-increasing liability. We will have to repay it after a time. We must try our best to reduce our dependence on foreign aid to the minimum, so that, we may be really free to chalk out economic schemes as they are best suited to our need. It must also be seen that whatever, we are getting in terms of foreign aid, should be utilized in such a way, that the maximum result is achieved out of it, so that at the time of repayment we shall improve our economic position to such an extent that we may easily be able to discharge our obligations. We shall not be out of the wood until we reached a position where our country could do without all sorts of these aids and increase our exportable surplus to that level, where we can meet all the repayment obligations and development demand out of it.

EAST INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO AMERICA

Beginnings of Indian Revolutionary Activity

BY PROF. KALYAN KUMAR BANERJEE

It is only in recent years that some attention has been paid to the organized activity of Indians resident in foreign countries for the cause of India's self-government and freedom. People interested in the story of the gradual evolution of India's freedom movement, have, of course, been familiar with the efforts of individuals like Dadabhai Naoroji, Madame Cama, Shyamaji Krishnavarma, V. D. Savarkar, Madanlal Dhingra and others. Later, India's cause abroad was furthered by Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal and a host of other patriots. After the emergence of Gandhi's leadership Indian nationalists became more vocal, eloquent and persuasive in Great Britain and the United States of America. As the Gandhian movement grew in intensity and volume, public opinion abroad became more and more sympathetic to our national aspirations. Groups and individuals working for the Indian cause succeeded in creating a better understanding of the Indian issues.

The task of the Indian patriots working abroad in pre-Gandhi era was comparatively difficult. For one thing, no broadbased political struggle on a national scale had been organized at home. For another, Indian patriots working in England would meet with hostility, and, others working in a country like the United States would most likely, meet with indifference and apathy—initially at least. The political relationship between India and England was not conducive to work of this nature. Besides, there was in the dependency, in the first decade of the current century, a wave of extremist views accompanied by the cult of violence. Indian nationalists in England were political suspects. In January 1905, Shyamaji Krishnavarma¹ “—started in London the India Home Rule Society—and issued the first number of the *Indian Sociologist*, a penny monthly, as the organ of his Society. In that paper he describes the Society as having the object of securing Home Rule for India, and carrying on a genuine Indian propaganda in England by all practicable means.”² The India House, an adjunct

to the Society, became in 1906 and 1907, “notorious as a centre of sedition, and in July 1907, a question was put in the House of Commons inquiring whether the Government proposed to take any action against Krishnavarma. Soon after, and probably in consequence of this enquiry he left for Paris and took up his residence there.”³

The situation was different in the United States. The people there were not directly involved in India's struggle for emancipation. By and large, they were uninformed and uninterested. The few that knew about it were, by virtue of their historical traditions and democratic instinct, favourable to the Indian aspirations. There was, however, an animosity bred not by ideology but by racial issues. It was the result of a rise in the volume of East Indian immigration at the turn of the century. Most of these Indians came by way of the Pacific Ocean and spread out in the states of California, Oregon and Washington. A good number crossed into the United States from Canada.

The great majority of the Indians coming to Canada in the early years of this century belonged to the Punjab. This is also true of the west coast of the United States. A few came from Gujrat, Oudh and Bengal and some other parts.⁴ The first to arrive in British Columbia in Canada came in response to an appeal made for agricultural immigrants.⁵ Immigration received an impetus because of the readiness with which some steamship companies sold tickets in their own interests, the propaganda of certain Canadian business concerns with a view to getting cheap labour, the activities of some Indians who wanted their own countrymen for exploitative purposes, and the persuasion of other Indians in Canada who highlighted the industrial opportunities of the new land for the benefit of their friends and relations. Some of these Indians had travelled through Canada after the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign in 1897, and were impressed by the economic opportunities there. Although the majority of the

immigrants to the Pacific were directly from India, some arrived from Burma, Shanghai, Hongkong and also from China where they had been either in the police or the army, or, had worked as watchmen or contractors. It has been suggested that some of the immigrants from the Punjab were encouraged to come to the Pacific coast by the stories of freedom, prosperity and a congenial climate, particularly in California."

To the Indian immigrants western Canada, being a part of the British Empire, made an easy appeal, and the province of British Columbia was chosen by them. The initial reaction of the local people to these small groups of strange foreigners was one of contemptuous indifference. With the increase in the number of the Indian settlers, however, anti-Indian feelings came up on the surface. Indifference gave way to resistance. Some Indians escaped to the United States. There were riots and the "immigrants were forced by the mob to re-enter Canada."⁷ This hostility was born out of a conviction that the Indians were being imported into the new Continent by the capitalists to lower the scale of wages and sap the strength of white labour. The conviction though untenable in many cases in view of the size of the countries involved, and the scarcity of labour there, persisted. It led to many reactions. Behind all this lay the annoyance of the white man with the colour of the immigrant's skin, his incomprehensible habits and the policies of the concerned Governments. ". . . The policy of exclusion of Indians (called Hindus in America) originated through British initiative as early as 1907-08 when the Canadian authorities shamefully ill-treated the Indian immigrants and advocated exclusion of Indians from Canada. The present Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, was the first to put forward this idea. The Canadian authorities, with the approval of the British Government in England and possibly with the full sanction of the India Office, made the proposal to the American authorities that they should exclude Indians as they had excluded the Chinese. This proposition was presented demi-officially, as I was told on excellent authority, by Lord Bryce, the then English ambassador in Washington. This proposition was made after a riot occurred in the city of Bellingham (Washington State) when several Hindu labourers, working in the saw mills were mobbed by Americans. These Hindu labourers once

belonged to the Indian army, and they sought assistance from the British Consul at Seattle which was flatly refused."⁸

The following extracts culled from the columns of an American newspaper may give us some idea of the situation. Incidentally, the reporter or contributor is an Englishman who investigated the Asiatic problem on the Pacific coast. "I watched the Dominion Immigration Officer at Vancouver examine 183 Indians on morning. He is a kindly man, and the struggle between his humane impulses and the orders he had received from his superiors made his work painful to him." The reporter then describes how veteran Sikh soldiers with war medals and distinguished military service record were barred entry into Canada because they were short of the dollar requirement (which was \$25 for each person) by a narrow margin. These and other Indians, "were herded together in quarters not fit for animals . . . Later, they were allowed to land, but they were not welcomed in barbershops and other places. The report contains stories of other Indians who were subjected to mob violence in Canada and the United States and with reference to the particularly sad plight of a Mota Singh, the reporter observes, "that he and other Indians were easy subjects for the agitators is obvious."⁹ The reporter also narrates the plight of an Indian scholar who in the course of his visit to America to study the educational systems of Canada and the United States, was pelted by some hoodlums.

Not that all Canadians were hostile to the Indian immigrant. Even the Immigration Office for Vancouver, Dr. Alexander S. Munro remarked in a leading newspaper of the city, "It is a shame these 'Hindoos' are treated as they have been." Groups of men and women stood by the side of the Indians.¹⁰ But racial prejudice was deep-rooted.

Hindustani immigration into Canada was on the increase till 1908. The figures for the fiscal years 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1908 were 45, 387, 2124, and 2623 respectively, making a total of 5179. The figures for 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915 were 6, 10, 5, 3, 5, 88 and 1 respectively.¹¹ From 1909 to 1920 only 11 Indians came to Canada. The contrast between the figures of 1908 and 1909 is revealing. A Royal Commission in 1907 recommended the exclusion or restriction of oriental labour includ-

ing the Indians. Next year, the question of Indian immigration was particularly discussed by Canada's Deputy Minister of Labour with the British Government. As a result, certain measures were adopted whereby Indian labour was practically excluded from Canada, although the Hindus were not specifically mentioned in the Canadian Immigration Act or even in the Orders of the Governor-General in Council. Section 38 of the Immigration Act provided for the exclusion of any immigrants "who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country." For an Indian it was almost impossible to satisfy this condition. By an order-in-Council dated June 3, 1908, "the amount of money in possession required in the case of East Indian labourers upon landing was increased from \$ 25 to \$ 200."¹² No wonder that immigration figures after 1908 registered such a sharp decline.

The immigration restrictions in Canada had their natural reactions in India. Strong exception was taken to the 'continuous journey clause,' and the 28th session of the Indian National Congress held at Karachi in 1913 urged the Imperial Government for its repeal. The Congress said, "the order in question has practically the effect of preventing any Indian not already settled there (in Canada), from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct steamship service between the two countries and the steamship companies refuse through booking, and further subject the present Indian settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children."¹³ In 1913 again, three Sikh delegates from Canada visited the Punjab and addressed meetings on the subject of Indians in Canada.¹⁴

One important sequel to the Canadian Immigration Act was the episode which though tragic, is symptomatic of the misunderstanding, suspicion and hostility that characterized Indo-British relations for the major part of the first half of this century. This was the famous Komagata Maru incident. One Gurdit Singhi, in deference to the Continuous Journey Clause chartered a ship, the Komagata Maru, through a German agent at Hongkong, issued tickets and took passengers there and at Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama for Vancouver. The vessel sailed out of Hongkong on April 4, 1914, and arrived at

Vancouver on May 23. The immigrants¹⁵ were refused admission into Canada and the vessel was ordered out of the port. Tempers were frayed. The passengers insisted on their right to land since they were British subjects. Meanwhile a balance of 22,000 dollars still due for the hire of the ship was paid by the Vancouver Indians. Representations to the Canadian and the British Governments were of no avail. There were scuffles with the police. Finally, in the face of armed resistance the ship withdrew on July 23. The whole affair had cost the immigrants about \$ 70,000 and had put them to great hardship and sufferings.¹⁶

As the ship sailed back the First World War broke out. The Komagata Maru, under official instructions, had to proceed directly to Calcutta despite the reluctance of many passengers to return to India. The ship was moored at Budge Budge near Calcutta at 11 A.M. on September 29. The Government took its stand on a recently enacted Ordinance which empowered it to restrict the liberty of any person coming to India after September 5, 1914. The passengers were ordered to entrain a special train to the Punjab. The restrictive order led to a riot and violence in which firearms were used by both parties and there was loss of lives on both sides. According to official records less than 80 people could be got off in the train that evening. Many, including Gurdit Singh, disappeared. Others were arrested then, or, later. This account which follows the official version¹⁷ has been challenged by Gurdit Singh.¹⁸

The Komagata Maru incident caused a deep resentment amongst the Indians of the west coast of the U.S.A. and Canada and also their countrymen at home. It strengthened the hands of the revolutionaries. "who were urging Sikhs abroad to return to India and join the mutiny, which they asserted, was about to begin."¹⁹ The Canadian Immigration Laws were, of themselves, considered humiliating. Now an incident had been touched off in Canada followed by more humiliation for the Indians on their way back till the climax had been reached at Budge Budge. A few years before this incident, an Indian administrator is reported to have told the Vancouver newspaper reporters. "Both races (Canadians and Indians) revere the same flag. Do not aid the cause of the disloyal agitator in India."²⁰ This is exactly what had been done.

It has been seen that the problem of Indian immigration to Canada and of that to the United States were interlinked. It is quite likely that some Indians crossed into the U.S. from Canada. Long before this, the entry of Indians in the United States is for the first time registered in the official records of 1859. The number is 2, followed by 5 and 6 in 1860 and 1861 respectively.²¹ From 1820 to June 30, 1910, 27,918,992 immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of this number 92.3 per cent came from the European countries (including Turkey in Asia).²² During the same period immigrants coming from India numbered 5,409.²³ The total number of Asian immigrants was 613,236 as against 25,421,929 coming from Europe. The rest of the grand total came from other parts of the world. For various reasons into which it is not necessary to go, the U.S. Immigration Commission made in 1910, the recommendation that "an understanding should be reached with the British Government whereby East Indian labourers would be effectively prevented from coming to the United States In asking for an agreement of this kind, our Government would merely request the British Government to do for United States what it has done for one of its dependencies."²⁴ This was followed by a bill in 1914 for the exclusion of the Indians from America²⁵ and had its logical climax in the "Barred Zone Immigration Act" of 1917 which stopped labour immigration from India.²⁶

The total number of Indians living in Canada and the United States could hardly have exceeded about 10,000 on the eve of the war. Since many had left some time after arrival, the number was likely to be less.²⁷ Quite a few of the Pacific Coast Indians had become rich by taking to farming and business. The Indians lived as a fairly compact group. Many were politically conscious because of the stirrings back at home and also because of the environment in America. A few years of stay in the United States exposed them to the ideas of freedom and democracy. They could analyse the reasons for the differential treatment between them and the Japanese or the Chinese by the American Government. The humiliation and resentment were deeper in Canada. But the climate of the United States was more congenial to the organization of an anti-British agitation. Thus San Francisco became a centre,

first of agitational and subsequently of conspiratorial activity.

San Francisco was not, however, the first centre of pro-Indian political agitation. In America the cause of India seems to have been first advocated by Taraknath Das of Bengal and the sympathizers with his cause. They published as early as 1908, the *Free Hindustan* which seems to have been the "first regular South Asian propaganda sheet" in that country. It is interesting to note that the *Gaelic American* in its issue of December 25, 1909, had a leaderette on 'Indian Revolutionary Papers.' After referring to the *Indian Sociologist* of London, the *Gaelic American* said; "The next paper to appear was the *Free Hindustan*, which was first published at Seattle, Washington, and latterly at New York. The last number had on its first page the reproduction from a photograph of a number famine victims, piled for cremation under the heading, 'British Rule in India'"²⁸ Das had this monthly magazine printed and distributed from New York, "with the collaboration of a leading Irish American publisher who worked for the independence of Ireland and sympathized with the Indian cause. For nearly three years Das' publication flourished. Tolstoy and Hyndman, the British socialist, took an interest in his writings." Later, as the instance of the British the American authorities stopped *Free Hindustan*.²⁹

Das was a political suspect in India. A few more like him took refuge in America. A very distinguished of these was Har Dayal, a native of Delhi, who was educated at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, and in Lahore. Har Dayal proceeded to England after obtaining his Master's degree in Lahore in 1905. He was awarded a State Scholarship for three years and joined St. John's College, Oxford. He surrendered his scholarship after some time because, "he disapproved of the English system of education in India,"³⁰ came back to Lahore in 1908 where he preached "passive resistance and boycott, thus anticipating Gandhi by ten years."³¹ He returned to London and at the invitation of Krishnavarma went to Paris about September, 1909, to become editor of the *Banda Mataram*, a monthly organ of Indian independence, published nominally from Geneva.³² The two had their differences and within a year Har Dayal left Paris. He had failed to persuade Krishnavarma "to adopt violent methods in the furtherance of political ends" and, "determined

to transfer the centre of his activities to America."³³ It is difficult to say how far his belief in passive resistance was genuine. It may be interesting to recall, however, that Har Dayal died a pacifist in 1939. And by then many of his views had undergone striking changes.

Har Dayal may have returned to India for a while³⁴ but in 1911 we find him in California after having travelled through Honolulu, Martinique and the Philippines. He received an appointment at Stanford University as Lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy—a position which he held for a year only—for he was dismissed in the spring of 1912 for "overplaying his relationship to the University."³⁵ The reason is rather vague. It is likely that he had to quit for his radical views. It may be noted that Har Dayal became Secretary of the San Francisco Radical Club and founded the Bakunin Institute of California.³⁶

The records of the San Francisco and the Lahore Conspiracy trials and the Indian Sedition Committee Report (1918) devote considerable attention to Har Dayal as the arch organizer and preacher of sedition in America till March 1914 and then during the war in Berlin. He undoubtedly played a major role and mentally prepared the Pacific Coast Indians for a major conflict between England and Germany. More than six months before the outbreak of the war, Har Dayal at a meeting at Sacramento told the audience of a coming war between the Powers and asked the audience to be ready to go to India for the coming revolution.³⁷ Many such meetings were held before and after this particular one, and in one of these, perhaps in the spring of 1913, in Oregon, was organized the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association. Its objects were primarily political, the most important being the expulsion of the British from India. The meeting decided to have a press and a weekly newspaper. The newspaper was called '*Gadar*' which in Arabic means revolution or mutiny. The Seventh Report on Un-American Activities in California published in 1953 most curiously says that the word means traitor!³⁸ The first issue of the *Gadr* was published in Urdu on November 1, 1913 with Har Dayal as editor, and contained the following paragraph :

"A new epoch in the history of India opens today, the 1st November, 1913, because today there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's language, a war against the English Raj . . .

What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will mutiny break out? In India. When? In a few years. Why? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practiced under British rule, and are ready to fight and die for freedom . . . The whole world is waiting to see when these brave men will rise and destroy the English. Serve your country with body, mind and wealth. Give this advice to all, and follow it yourselves. The time is soon to come when rifle and blood will take the place of pen and ink . . . Brave men and worthy sons of India, be ready with bullets and swords. Soon the fate of the tyrant will be decided on the battlefield."³⁹ Exciting developments were to follow.

1. Krishnavarma, a native of Kathiawar near Bombay was educated at Oxford. After being called to the Bar he returned to India, worked in responsible positions in several Indian feudal states and then went back to England. See Indulal Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnavarma*, Bombay, 1950.

2. *Indian Sedition Committee Report* (1918), p. 5.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

4. Rajani Kanta Das, *Hindustan Workers on the Pacific Coast* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1923), p. 3. This study was undertaken by Das as the special agent of the Bureau of Labour Statistics of the Department of Labour, U.S. Government in 1921-22.

5. M. W. Smith and H. W. Boulter, "Sikh Settlers in Canada,"—*Asia and the Americans*, August, 1944.

6. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; Gurdial Singh, "East Indians in the United States,"—*Sociology and Social Research*—30 (Jan.-Feb., 1946); Theodore Fieldbrave, "East Indians in the United States,"—*Missionary Review*, June, 1934.

"The investigation by the Deputy Minister of Labour (W. L. Mackenzie King) showed that most of the immigration had been induced by the activity of certain steamship companies and their agents, by the distribution of literature throughout some of the rural districts of India from which most of the labourers came, exaggerating the opportunities of fortune making in the province of British Columbia, and by the representatives of a few individuals in British Columbia who had induced a number to work for hire."—Harry A. Mills, *East Indian Immigration to British Columbia and the Pacific Coast States*,—*American Economic Review* 1. (March 1911).

The Bombay Consul reported that these North American Companies placed their advertise-

ments as far South as Bombay. E. R. Schmidt, *American relations with South Asia, 1900-1940* (doctoral dissertation for the University of Pennsylvania, 1955), p. 278.

7. For an assessment of the situation, see St. Nihal Singh, "Indians in America," *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1908.

8. Article by Elizabeth S. Kite, *The Modern Review*, February 1927, p. 169.

9. *The New York Times*, December 19, 1915, sec. 6, 1:1.

10. St. Nihal Singh, *op. cit.*

11. Quoted by Das from official Canadian records, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6.

12. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 2, Washington, 1911, p. 629. Harry A. Mills, *op. cit.*

In the previous years (1901 to 1905) the British Columbia Immigration Act and similar legislation had been disallowed by Canada's Governor-General, Earl Minto.

13. Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. 1, p. 49.

14. *Indian Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, p. 146.

15. The number of passengers varies in the different accounts. The accounts are conflicting also. According to the Sedition Committee Report there were 351 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Muhammadans on board the ship when it reached Vancouver (p. 147). O'Dwyer in his—*India As I Knew It*—puts the number at 'some four hundred Sikhs and sixty Muhammadans.' When the ship came back to Hooghly. (p. 192). Sitaramayya puts the number at 600. (pp. 49-50). According to R. K. Das Singh brought 375 Hindustanees to Vancouver. (*op. cit.*, p. 112).

16. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

17. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 146-48.

18. R. C. Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. 2, pp. 463-67. Majumdar refers to a book by Baba Gurdit Singh (which the former does not name) and a subsequent memorandum in which Singh refutes the contention of the Government. According to Singh, he and the party complied with every provision of the Immigration Law and it was because of British instruction that the passengers were not allowed to disembark in Canada. Singh challenges the accusation that the passengers used firearms at Budge Budge, since as he maintains, they were searched several times and their luggage was taken away by the police. It is inconceivable how after so much of vigilance the passengers had 'American revolvers' with them. Singh calls the Budge Budge incident a cruel massacre.

Gurdit sing was a fugitive for 7 or 8 years

after this incident wandering through various parts of India. In 1918, he went to Bombay and became manager of a Ship Building Co., somewhere outside the city under the name Valdaraja. In his exile, he saw Gandhiji in November 1921, and surrendered to the Government under his advice. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

19. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 148-49.

20. *The New York Times*, *op. cit.*

21. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 79.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

24. Harry A. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

25. For a statement of the Indian case, see the *Modern Review* for June 1914, pp. 624-28.

26. The 'barred zone' consisted of India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, most of the islands of the Malaya Archipelago, Afghanistan and Arabia with an estimated population of five hundred million people. An exception was made in favour of travellers, officials and students.

27. Majumdar, exaggerates the number when he says, "By 1910 there were about thirty thousand Indian workers between Vancouver and San Francisco . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 389. John W. Preston U.S. District Attorney in the San Francisco trial refers to ". . . the 8,000 population of Hindus that live up and down this coast." United States of America vs. Franz Bopp et al. Reporter's transcript. (hereafter to be called Trial records), pp. 6874-75.

The author is indebted to Prof. Robert C. North of Stanford University and the Asian Studies Centre, University of California, Berkeley, for permission to use the microfilmed copies of selected pages of the Trial records.

28. Quoted in Yajnik, *op. cit.* p. 279.

29. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 298; G. B. Lal, "Dr. Taraknath Das in Free India," *Modern Review*, July, 1952; P. C. Mukerji, "Demise of a Great Patriot," *Modern Review*, January, 1959.

Taraknath Das left India to evade imprisonment in 1905 and eventually reached Tokyo to study at the University there. His pro-Indian activity in Japan was objected to by the British Ambassador and fearing extradition, Das crossed over to Seattle, Washington in 1906. He had literally to work his way up till as the result of a competitive examination, Das was appointed an interpreter at the Vancouver U.S. Immigration station. Das got his B.A. in Political Science and Economics from the University of Washington, Seattle in 1910 and his M.A. next year. He then secured a fellowship at the University of California for his Ph.D. Dangerous politics interrupted his

studies, and he had to wait for his Ph.D. till 1924. Meanwhile, however, Das was admitted to U.S. citizenship on January 5, 1914.

30. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 143-44.

31. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It*, p. 185. The author ignores Gandhi's experiments in South Africa.

32. Yajnik, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

33. Har Dayal, *Fortyfour months in Germany and Turkey*, p. 19, quoted in Majumdar, p. 392.

34. O'Dwyer, p. 185.

35. Giles T. Brown, "The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914-1917," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XVII 1948, p. 300.

36. John W. Spellman, "The International Extension of Political Conspiracy as illustrated by the Gadar Party," *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 37, 1959.

37. *Sedition Committee Report*, pp. 145-46.

In reply to a question from Mr. McGowan, a defence lawyer, Mr. Preston, the U.S. District Attorney said, "We have six or eight of these papers that make similar references to the forthcoming trouble between England and Germany." Trial records, p. 15.

38. Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities. To the 1953 Regular California Legislature, Sacramento, 1953, p. 213.

This state document is full of factual errors, and the narration of many incidents of the Gadar movement in America, or, of other events with some bearing on the Indian Independence struggle is historically inaccurate.

39. Trial records, p. 13.

CULTURAL CHANGES IN TRIBAL SUNDERBAN

By MANIS KUMAR RAHA

Introduction

The famous forest of Sunderban which, once, covered the whole of southern part of Bengal, is, at present, restricted to only the southernmost parts of the Bengal facing the sea. In West Bengal the southern, south-eastern and south-western portions of 24 Parganas district, including the parts of Jaynagar and Canning police stations in Sadar Sub-division, Sandeshkhali, Gosaba and Hasnabad police stations in Basirhat Sub-division and Mathurapur and Sagar police stations of Diamond Harbour Sub-division, may popularly be called Sunderban though the Sunderban forest which has been reclaimed almost from this whole area, is found in the extreme southern region. The earlier record shows that "the Sunderban is the name commonly given to all the southern portion of the delta of the Ganges; but in its stricter sense it means so much of that portion of the delta as was excluded from the Permanent Settlement." (District Hand Book—24-Parganas, Census 1951, pp. CXXXIV).

The reclamation of the Sunderban forest was started on the later phase of eighteenth century, and for this purpose a number of people were brought from different parts of Bengal and of Bihar, and were employed as labourers for the reclamation work. Many of these people, at last, were given patches of land or they cleared the forest for settlement, and there they started settling their life permanently as agriculturists.

Among those people who came from Bihar were mostly tribals, and of them Oraon, Munda, Santal, Bhumij and others are worth mentioning.

In this paper attempts have been made to reveal the changes in the socio-cultural life of these groups of migrant tribal people who came here from Chota Nagpur plateau and other parts of Bihar as labourers to clear the virgin forest of Deltaic Bengal about a century ago, and the causes thereof. The data of this paper were collected from different villages of Sandeshkhali police station of 24-Parganas district in a number of field-trips during 1960-63.

From the dawn of their settlement here, these tribal people came in contact with the culture of different ethnic groups of which different Hindu scheduled and low castes such as Poundra Kshatriya (Pod), Bagdi, Mahishya, Bhuiya, Rajbansi and others, different higher castes (Bengalee) and Muhammadan are dominant. Gradually their connection with their homeland in Ranchi area became weaker and weaker, and ultimately ceased to continue. These two factors led them to renovate their traditional culture into a newer shape by taking the fresher ideologies from the neighbouring castes and communities. In this connection we shall deal with the changes that have taken place in different aspects of tribal society and culture in the Sunderban area.

Population of Sandeshkhali P.S.

According to 1961 Census (Das & Raha : 1963 : 7) in Sandeshkhali police station, the total population is 1,24,209 (all rural) of which 31,830 are of scheduled tribes. Of the total population, 20,221 are Muslims, 285 Christian and rest are all Hindus. Here it may be stated that the tribals of Sunderban profess Hindu religion and do not declare themselves to profess any tribal religion.

The table below gives the population of various scheduled tribes living at Sandeshkhali police station as per Census 1961 (Das & Raha : 1963 : 8).

Table—I
Scheduled Tribe Population in Sandeshkhali Police Station

Serial No.	Community	Total Population	Percentage Distribution
1	Munda	15,216	47.8
2	Oraon	8,024	25.2
3	Bhumij	5,000	15.7
4	Santal	2,458	7.7
5	Kora	312	1.0
6	Mahali	253	0.8
7	Others	567	1.8
		31,830	100.0

The above table clearly depicts that of the tribals living in the aforesaid police

station, Munda, Oraon and Bhumij are the most important tribes, and they together form 88.7% of the total tribal population of this police station.

Material Culture: As the material culture of a group of people mainly depends on the local geography and environment, all the tribals living in the Sunderban area are forced to coincide their material life with those of their present habitat. Instead of using the implements of agriculture which are used in Ranchi district by their brethren, they are using the Bengal type of implements to turn the soil. Runting including the ceremonial hunts which are practised by these people in Bihar, are absent here, and as a result of this, different hunting implements which their brethren use in Chota Nagpur forests are also lacking.

A marked change may be noticed in the materials used in house type. Instead of **Khapra** i.e., country tiles, straw is used to thatch the roof of the house. The framework and also the poles are made of bamboo (*Bambusa stricta*) and not bamboo and **Sal** (*Shorea robusta*) as used in Ranchi. The covered veranda which is frequently found here is almost absent in Ranchi district. Plinth is high here unlike that found in the tribal settlements of Ranchi area. It is for preventing the intrusion of flood water. The ceremonies connected with the building of the new hut or with the first entrance in new hut are also different. The first entrance into the newly constructed hut is known as **Grihaprabesh**, sometimes, enlightened tribals of Sunderban worship Narayan, one of the Hindu Trinities during this festivity.

Both in cases of dress and ornament and household utensils and furniture a clear local Bengalee (Hindu) influence may be noticed. In the same way, they follow the local Bengalee (Hindu) method of cooking in the preparation of their food.

In their music and dance, these tribal people are not much advanced. The music and dance that make almost every Chota Nagpur evening sonorous, are absent here. These Oraons Mundas, Bhuiyas and the other tribal people of Sunderban sing and dance only during some special socio-

religious occasions, and methodically these are much inferior in nature. The traditional musical instruments are also absent among these people of estuarine Bengal.

In other aspects of material culture, in the same way, some changes may be noticed which are definitely due to the influence of the local Hindu inhabitants.

Language

All the tribals of the Sunderban area speak among themselves in **Sadri** language which may be a mixed form of Bengali, Hindi and their own language. And with the neighbouring castes and communities, they speak in fluent Bengali. Except a few elderly persons, most of them have forgotten their traditional languages. The Oraons here cannot speak in Kurukh dialect, nor the Mundas in **Mundari**. Most of their incantations, prayers, songs etc., are either in **Sadri** or in Bengali language.

Social Structure

1. **Sib Organisation:** The Sib organisation of these tribals (Oraon, Munda, Bhumij and others) bear the same characteristics as found among their kinsmen in Bihar i.e., these sibs which are known to them as **Gotro** or **Gotor**, are exogamous and totemistic in nature. But like their congenials in different districts of Bihar, they do not use the sib name as their surname. But mostly they use **Sardar** as their surname. A large number of members of younger generations do not remember their sib name; moreover they have forgotten the origin of the sib and the relationship of the sib with the totemic object. Further, in addition to their original sibs (though many of them are not found here), they have adopted some new sib name in Bengali. A few of them are given below :

TABLE—II

Showing Newly adopted sibs and their original forms

Serial No.	Newly adopted Sibs	Original sibs	English meaning	Used by
1	Kachcham or Kachchap	Ekka, Kachua	Tortoise	O
2	Kak	Kauya	Crow	O, M, B.
3	Kaloharin	Kiss, Suar	Pig	O
4	Sial	Barha		M
		Siar		M
		Chigah	Jackal	O
		Chiglo		O
5	Sap	Nag	Cobra	O, M, B.
		Nagbans		O
		Khetta		O
6	Laban, Nun	Bekh	Salt	M
7	Has	Hasara, Hans	Wild goose	O
		Hasda		B

* O — Oraons, M — Mundas, B — Bhumijas

There is a general rule in connection with totemistic sib that a member of a tribe bearing a totemistic clan "must abstain from killing destroying, maiming, hurting or injuring the animal or plant or other objects that form the totem; nor must he use any- thing made of it or obtain from it" (Roy : 1915). But at present these tribals of the Sunderban area follow a little of this rule. Generally they do not kill or hurt the totemic object except if it be a dangerous animal like snake. The Mundas belonging

to a particular clan sometimes not only kill here, and thus formed a compact group. the totemic objects but also take the meat During the earlier phases these kinsmen of the totems. Sometimes the members of who came here, lived jointly within the tortoise sib take the meat of tortoise and extended families. But gradually when those of Nag sib kill the snake (Shasmal: they got their own land and security of life 1363: 165-166). When the totemic object from the production of these lands, they is an indispensable article of diet or house-dispersed] forming newer smaller units. hold use, they rationalise the same and The war, urbanisation, industrialisation etc., modify the totemic taboo. The Oraons, also helped them, along with quarrels among belonging to **Dhanwar gotro** "instead of the family members, death of father etc., to abstaining from eating rice or using paddy, break up the compactness of the family say that **Dhanwar** does not mean all kinds structure. In spite of all these factors, or paddy, but a particular, variety (which joint family structure is still the predomi- is not common in this area), and use all nant family type among them. A represen- other types of paddy available in the tative example showing the change in locality". (Das and Raha: 1963: 92). family structure of an Oraon village in

(ii) **Family Structure:** After their Sunderban area in three successive periods settlement in this area these tribal people during the last sixty years, is given in the invited their kinsmen to come and settle table below:

TABLE—III

Years	Type—I Simple Family		Type—II Intermediate Family		Type—III Joint Family		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1899 + to 1919	4	21.05	—	—	15	78.95	19	100
1919 + to 1939	3	11.11	4	14.82	20	74.07	27	100
1939 + to 1959	15	19.48	8	10.39	54	70.13	77	100
Total:	22	17.89	12	9.76	89	72.35	123	100

From the above table it is evident that types of families have slightly decreased in the Joint family is the predominant type. frequency which is balanced by the formation of simple family type. Next to it comes the simple type. During the first phase of our period (i.e. 1899+to 1919), the Joint family was the most prevailing family type which occupied about 78.95% of the total families of this village. Next comes the simple type (21.05%). It is remarkable to mention that during this phase the Intermediate type of family was conspicuously absent. This type of family came into existence during the second phase of our time (i.e., during 1919+to 1939) area of Sunderban bear the same characters probably due to the break up of Joint family as are present among their cognates in Bihar type (11.11%). The Joint type of family area i.e., the presence of classificatory and has slightly decreased in percentage during descriptive terminologies, but the terms as this period as some of these broke up into used by these people of Sunderban are al-

other two forms. In the last period (1939+ to 1959), both the Intermediate and Joint clature. These terms are of composite in

So, as a whole, it is evident from the table that the Joint family type though still predominant among the inhabitants of this village, has been slowly yielding place to the intermediate and simple type families over the last sixty years.

(iii) **Kinship system:** Though the kinship terminologies among the tribals of this area of Sunderban bear the same characters as are present among their cognates in Bihar type (11.11%). The Joint type of family area i.e., the presence of classificatory and descriptive terminologies, but the terms as used by these people of Sunderban are al-

nature. In the kinship terminologies of the tribal people of this deltaic region of Bengal, the existence of both their original nomenclatures is clearly visible. Coming to this area and getting stability and security of life, they began to adopt along with many other things, the kinship terminologies from their neighbours who are mostly of Hindu castes. So the kin-

ship terminology of the tribal populace of Sunderban clearly depicts the Hindu influence resulting in the dominance of the (Bengalee) terminologies over their traditional terms. For illustration, a list of a few terms as used by the tribals of Sunderban with their original form and also the local Hindu Bengali terms has been given in Table—IV

Table IV

Showing the kinship terms used by the Tribals of Sunderban with their original forms and the Bengali (local) terms.

Sl.	Terms in English	Terms used by the Tribals of Sunderban	Terms used by the Oraons of Chhotonagpur	Terms used by Mundas of Chota Nagpur	Terms used by the Bhumijas of Bihar	Terms used by Bengali Terms (Sunderban area)
1.	Fa Fa	Thakurdada	Eng. ajjas	Aja	Aji, Burhaga	Thakurdada
2.	Ma Mo	Thakur baba				
		Thakur dadi	Eng. Ajji	Aji	Nani	Thakurma
3.	Fa	Baba	Embas	Aba	Aba, Abaga	Baba
4.	Mo	Mai	Ingio	Eyang	Ma, Maga,	Mai, Ma
5.	Fa Si	Phuphu	Eng. tachi	Hatom	Hatom	Pishima/pishi
6.	FaSi, Hu	Phupha	Eng. Mamus	Mamu	Mamu	Pishamosai/Pi
7.	Mo Br	Mama	Eng. tachi	Mamu	Mamu	Mama
8.	Mo Br Wi	Mami	Eng. Mamus	Hatom	Hatom	Mamima/Mam
9.	Fa El Br	Bara/Jetha	Eng. baras/Koha	Kuku, Bara	Kuku, Gunguaba	Jethamosai/Jetha
10.	FaElBrWi	Bari/Jethi	Eng. bari	Kuku-Eyang	Kuku, Gungumai	Jethima/Jethi
11.	FaYoBr	Kaka	Eng. Kakas/Sanniembas	Kaka	Kaka	Kaka
12.	FaYoBrWi	Kaki	Eng. Kakki	Kaki	Kaki	Kakima/Kaki
13.	MoYoSi	Musi	Eng. tachi	Kaki	Masi, Kaki	Masima/Masi
14.	MoYoSiHu	Musa	Eng. Mosa	Kaka	Mosa, kaka	Meshomosai/M
15.	HuElBr	Bhasur	Eng. bainalas	Honjar	Babu honjaring, Bao, honiar	Bhasur
16.	HuMoBr	Mamasasur	Eng. Mamu Sasrus	—	—	Mamasasur
17.	ElBrWi	Boujhi/Boudi	Nasgo	Hili	Bahu, Bau, Marang Kimin	Boudi
18.	SoWi	Bouma/Bou	Eng. Khero	Kimin	Kimin	Bouma/Bou
19.	SoSo	Nati	Eng. Nattis	Jaikora	Nati, Dada	Nati
20.	SoDa	Natini	Eng. Nattis	Jaikuri	Natuni, Natina	Natni

Abbreviation in English : Fa=father ; Mo=mother ; Si=sister ; HU=husband ; Br=brother ; Wi=wife ; El=elder ; Yo=younger ; So=son ; Da=daughter. Thus "Fa Yo Br Wi"—Father's younger brother's wife.

The above table reveals that the kinship terms of different tribes of Sunderban are composite in nature in which the assemblage of two different sources, the Bengalee Hindu (local) and the traditional tribal traits, has taken place. But it may be said that the Hindu influence on the kinship terminology is more prominent than their original terms which are sometimes shaped with Hindu ideas. These terminologies are least affected by the Muslim neighbourhood.

Dormitory system:

Many of the tribal communities of Chota Nagpur like those of Assam and Madhyapradesh, have a remarkable institution—the bachelor's dormitory. Though among these people of Chota Nagpur area this institution has lost its fame and function to a great extent, even in many villages it has been extinct due to different external and/or internal forces, the imprints of it are still in vogue among many of them. In many Munda villages of Chhota Nagpur the **Gitora** and in Oraon villages the **Dhumkuria** or **Jonkherpa** which are still considered as the training centres of the traditional morale and culture, are present even these days. The young unmarried boys sleep there at night, and youth of both sexes sing and dance in the evening on the adjacent courtyard or dancing ground.

But this peculiar institution is totally absent among these people of the Sunderban area. Except a few elderly persons, most of them have forgotten the functions and activities of their respective institutions. Even the most elderly persons do not remember the existence of this institution in the dawn of their settlements here. It may be that the Hindu influence may be at the root of the extinction of this institution. Many of the people of these tribal groups have given the reason of the disappearance of this dormitory system from this area owing to the disliking of the Hindus as the Hindus, according to their version, do not favour the free mixing of young boys and girls. But there is also the reason that when they came over here as labourers a century ago, they could not find the milestone of this

trait probably due to the new environment, shortage of space, want of trainers, poverty, isolation and above all the discouragement of their landlords and neighbours.

Village Organisation:

The village council or **Gram Panchayat** is present in most of the tribal villages of Sunderban as it is present in tribal areas of Bihar. The basic pattern of this council is similar to the traditional form still persisting in tribal Bihar. Here the **Rajmorol** (headman) is assisted by the **Mantri** (assistant to the headman), the **Chowkidar** (messenger) and other members of the **Panchayet**.

The **Parha** organisation which deals with all inter-village or inter-parha disputes among these tribals of Bihar, is at present almost absent here. But this type of political organisation was present among them at least in the rudimentary form, during the earlier part of their settlement in estuarine Bengal.

Regarding the function of the village **Panchayet**, it may be stated that this political institution has lost much of its rigidity at present. In these days the defiant, instead of obeying the verdict of the **Gram Panchayet**, sometimes goes to the law-courts. Again the traditional way of hereditary feature of succession to the office of the headman has in many villages, been replaced by the personal efficacy, influence and popularity. Sometimes political tricks of the influential persons (belonging to different communities including Hindus and Muslims) hamper the activities of the **Panchayet** and also overturn the functionaries from their posts.

It may also be expected that with the formation of new **Panchayet Raj** system in this area as in other parts of West Bengal, the traditional **Panchayet** system (which is at present in operation) will be abolished from the life of these people.

Individual Life Cycle:

The different **Rites-of-passages** suffer from many remarkable changes. The rites

observed during pregnancy and child-birth bear a few traits as found among the local Hindus, though upto this date they have preserved a few of their traditional traits. The method of giving name to the baby in the name-giving ceremony of these people of the Sunderban area is almost the same as is found among these people of Ranchi and other areas, but traditional ideas of giving the names of the ancestors or after different festivals or days of the week etc., to the new-born babies is not favoured. It is also an important point to notice here the change in the naming pattern among the tribal populace of Sunderban. Instead of **Sukra, Gendru, Bidhu, Jhalo, Mahli**, etc., they favour to name their children after Bengali names such as **Asoke, Anil, Kamal, Sephali, Arati, Durga** etc.

The outstanding feature which has been introduced in the name-giving ceremony in many tribal families, is the worship of the Goddess **Sasti**, the Hindu Goddess whom the Hindus worship after child-birth.

In case of marriage also some changes may be noticed. Cousin marriage is not practiced here as is done in Ranchi district. In most of the cases negotiation is practiced. Though monogamy is the prevailing rule, but some instances of polygyny may also be seen. The age of first marriage has come down probably due to Hindu influence. The bride-price is almost fixed among different communities in different villages.

In marriage ceremony proper some changes may be noticed. Some new traits have been developed, some old ones have been discarded. Some Hindu rites also have shaped these with new patterns. Here an important point should be mentioned that the highly Hinduised tribes (though they are not large in number) now-a-days like to follow the absolute Hindu (local) ways of marriage ceremony.

In case of funeral ceremony same words can be put. This custom, though persists in some original tribal traits, has also been enlightened with the Hindu ideas. The use of **Gangajal** (water of holy Ganges), **Tulsijal** (water sanctified with sacred Basil leaves), utterance of **Haribol** (ie., the name of Lord Hari), practice of

Sadhuali Gurumukh etc., are Hindu traits. The bone-drowning ceremony or the erection of memorial stone which is an important original tribal trait found in Bihar and other areas, is not practised here as also **Magico-religious beliefs and practices**.

The outstanding change in the tribal culture of Sunderban is reflected in their magic-religious life. This aspect of their culture has been keenly influenced by the Hindu ideology. Most of their deities and spirits (both benevolent and malevolent) in this deltaic area are borrowed from Hindu deities and spirits (**bhuts**). They worship **Kali, Sitala, Manasa, Mahadev, Laksmi, Daksin Roy, Banbibbi** and others. The few of their traditional deities and spirits which still survive, have no significant influence on them. The mother goddess is **Kali** here. Most of the tribals belonging to different communities in this area, have forgotten the names of their original deities, even that of the Supreme Deity.

Most of the festivals are of household type except a few. The traditional community festivals (such as **Sarhul, Karam, Sohara** etc.) have lost their communal entity at present and turned into household types. Their method of observing festivities has also been changed to a great extent. Most of the community festivals present here, such as **Gram-bandha, Kalipuja, Tusu** etc., are absent in Bihar. Unlike their kinsmen in their cradle land, the idea of morphism (ie., the worship of the effigy of the deity) has also been introduced. They also have adopted some Hindu ideas regarding these idols of the deities. At present they have started favouring the Hindu festivals like **Durgapuja, Chadak, Rathjatra** etc.

The above discussion depicts in a nutshell, the changes which have taken place in the life and culture of those tribal people of Sunderban who came, mainly from the undulated plateau of Chota Nagpur and also from other areas of Bihar a century ago, to clear the virgin forest of estuarine Bengal. Due to the century long contact with the superior and dominating Hindu culture of the neighbourhood and the break of ethno-cultural link with their mother land, they

are forced to adopt the local Hindu cultural traits. But these Hindu cultural traits have not yet been able to replace the replica of their tradition and originality in toto, and as a result of this, the present state of culture of these tribal people of the flood-ridden Sunderban may be called a mixed type of Hindu and tribal culture. This culture-change is also due to their keen desire for up-grading their own social status by the process of Hinduisation.

Note

1. The author is indebted to Miss Salatun Nessa M.Sc., kindly permitting him to use her unpublished table on Family types which she collected during her study in 1960.

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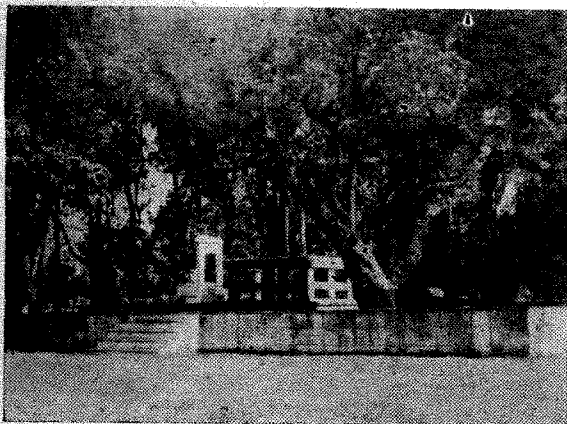
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SANTINIKETAN, AN EPITOME OF TAGORE'S GENIUS

By SUDHANSU BIMAL BARUA

Then I was a mere boy. The name wards I came to Calcutta. At that time I Santiniketan was known to me, but till then was reading at Vidyasagar College. Prof. it was out of my sight. But my childish Srikrishna Goswami of our Bengali Department happened to be an ex-student of Santiniketan. He used to tell us how Santiniketan beautiful hills and dales, singing birds and was established by Rabindranath on the murmuring rivers, I drew a picture of Santiniketan. Then once I came in touch with ideals of the hermitage (Tapovana) of ancient Aryan sages where they realised the Rabindranath's poems. Still I remember summum bonum of human life. By this time I came into close contact with Prof. Somen Bandopadhyay, an ex-student of



"Chhatimtala"—Maharshi Devendra Nath's place of meditation

Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

poem, but I felt myself one in mind with the poet. I saw in him a real manifestation of eternal India. Thus during my boyhood days the name Rabindranath became so dear to me.

After finishing school career I entered the college. At that time I became all the more acquainted with the writings of Rabindranath. But even then I felt the vibration of that line of my boyhood days,— 'aei bharater mahamanaber sagartire'. After-



The famous "Amra-Kunja" of Santiniketan

Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

Santiniketan. Sometimes I used to go to his residence at Chetla where I gathered more impressions about Santiniketan. After finishing my study at Calcutta I conveyed my desire to him for further studies at Santiniketan. He gladly supported me. At last my long cherished desire was fulfilled and one day I started for Santiniketan.

Even now I remember my first journey to Santiniketan. I set out for an unknown land away from the din and bustle of the city. A new world was in front of me. Whenever I got a chance to go outside my wayward mind was overflowed with joy, an

emotion which might be compared to that of one free from the jail of brick and mortar and finding himself under the boundless sky. I wished that the birds and the trees of Santiniketan would be their educators".

—Visva-Bharati, p. 77.

On my arrival at Santiniketan I first went to Sujit-da's house. There I was acquainted with Mira and Abu. After breakfast I went round Santiniketan with Abu. At that time I felt that somewhere there was a difference between the boys and girls of Santiniketan and their counterparts in Calcutta. Abu was coming with me bare-footed. Being asked he replied, 'It is our tradition in the Ashrama'. Later on I realised that really bare foot looked more harmonious within the precincts of Santiniketan. But the girls of Santiniketan explained it differently. They said jokingly, "Well gentleman, whenever strangers come here their eyes fall on our feet".

At last I was admitted into the Visva-Bharati. A new chapter of my life began.

Our classes were generally held under the shades of the trees—sometimes in Amrakunja, or in Bakulbithi or Gourprangan. We took our lessons under the open sky close to mother nature. There were round altars under the trees where we used to sit. Sometimes we sat under the shades of the trees where there was no altar at all; we did never think of the dust. The Ashrama area was always neat and clean and the atmosphere was calm and serene. Rabindranath wanted that, "The twilight of this place, the green meadows and the trees touch the hearts of the children, because it is essential that the young minds should feel the joy that is in nature. The life of the children bloom automatically by the touch of nature. Let not the splendour of the sunrise and sunset be shut out of their life. It was my desire that they would be able to realise that the earth nourishes them just as a nurse keeps the baby on her lap with great care. They should be set free from mechanical bondage of the city of walls, bricks and mortars. For this purpose I established this institution under the open

Each class generally consisted of a small number of boys and girls. For this reason a homely atmosphere was there. We were allowed to take part in the discussion of our lessons. There were no obstructions between the teachers and the taught. We used to address our teachers as 'dada' or 'didi'. Our teachers were our friends and philosophers at the same time. We did never think of a teacher as a ruler with the rod. Rabindranath wanted that the relation between the teacher and the student should be earnest and real. Otherwise it would not be fruitful. He said, "The communication between the teacher and the student should be based on affection and devotion. If there existed only the persistence of duty and business instead of such cordiality both the teachers and the student remain unfortunate". —Visva-Bharati, P. 89.

Now-a-days it is a common complaint that the students show very little respect to their teachers. It cannot be denied altogether. Mechanical tendencies of the age is mainly responsible for this. In many respects schools and colleges become business organisations. There is hardly any scope to develop a cordial relationship between the teacher and the student. In a big class most of the students remain unknown to their teacher. In this way our schools and colleges become more or less mechanical in their nature. But Rabindranath did not want to make his Santiniketan a mere manufacturing machine. Even he did not care for good pass marks for his boys. He wanted that the boys and the girls would grow in experience in close contact with nature as with their teachers. What is the highest education? Rabindranath observes,—

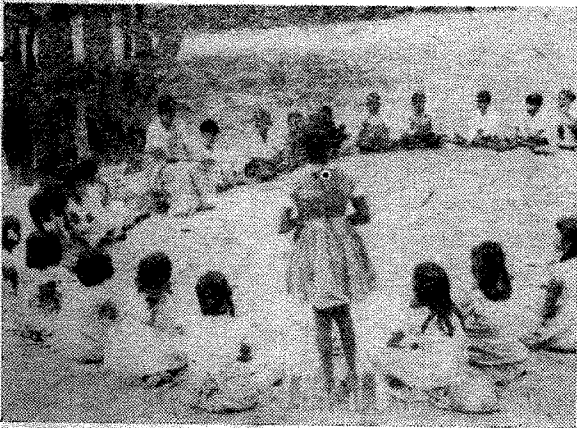
"The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence. But we find that this education of sympathy is not only systematically ignored in schools, but it is severely repressed. From our very childhood habits are formed and knowledge is imparted in such a manner that our life is weaned away from nature and our mind and the world are set in oppo-

sition from the beginning of our days. Thus the greatest of educations for which we came prepared is neglected, and we are made to lose our world to find a bagful of information instead. We rob the child of his earth to teach him geography, of language to teach him grammar. His hunger is for the Epic, but he is supplied with chronicles of facts and dates.....child-nature protests against such calamity with all its power of suffering, subdued at last into silence by punishment”.

—My School, Personality, P. 116.

At an early age I travelled in different places of pilgrimage like Gaya and Kashi, Mathura and Vrindaban, Sarnath and Sravasthi. In connection with my pilgrimage I want to mention the name of Santiniketan, the abode of Peace. About his travel in

Another characteristic of Santiniketan lies in her cosmopolitan life. A happy home it is for men of all countries and nationalities. Mutual hatred, national greed and conflict of political ideologies retard the growth of cordial understanding between man and man and between nation and nation. Santiniketan is a meeting ground of humanity where man can find scope to know his fellow



Open-air class at Santiniketan

Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar



“Bakul-Bithi”

Photo : Miss Navanita Majumdar

Russia Rabindranath said, “My pilgrimage of this life would remain unfulfilled had I not been to Russia”. I should like to say that had I not been to Santiniketan my pilgrimage of this life would remain unfulfilled. Today I remember with all humility that I got real teachers at Santiniketan—those who were friends and philosophers at the same time. I left our dear Santiniketan years ago, but even now I cannot forget my friends and teachers. They will be shining forever in my memory.

men by overcoming the barriers of race, colour and nationality. Rabindranath says, “Santiniketan school should be the connecting link between India and the World. The age of narrow nationalism is almost over. The establishment of a world-nation is ahead and its first preparedness would be on this ground of Bolpur (Santiniketan). I have an intention to free this place from the geographical boundary of national distinction. The first banner of victory of all men would be installed here”. —Letters, 2.

We had a feeling in our mind that all of us belonged to a great family. Still I remember those lines of our Santiniketan song :

In the shadows of her trees we meet,
in the freedom of her open sky,
her mornings come and her evenings
bringing down heaven's kisses,
making us feel anew that she is our own,
the darling of our hearts.

The stillness of her shades is stirred by
the woodland whisper;
her 'amlaki' groves are aquiver with the
rapture of leaves,
She dwells in us and around us however
far we may wander;
she weaves our heart in a song making
us one in music,
tuning our strings of love with her own
fingers,
and we ever remember that she is our
own, the darling of our hearts.

The spiritual side of life in Santiniketan is worth mentioning. It is needless to say that it is not a blind imitation of rituals and incantations. After the breakfast we used to assemble peacefully in front of the Central Library. Our Vaitalik of morning prayer began with the Vedic hymns and Rabindrasangeet. We met together on the

same ground, under the same sky and our prayer went up in complete harmony. Idol-worship or any form of dogmatic rituals is strictly prohibited within the precincts of Santiniketan. Santiniketan is free from the curse of 'ism' and sectarian attitude which has desecrated the world so many times with bloodshed.

The main ideal of Santiniketan is to make a total-man arousing in him wisdom, love and sacrifice. And the voice of Santiniketan is the eternal voice of India where she accepts all men as kins. To express my sincere emotions about our Santiniketan I should rather say in the words of the poet :

Whatever I have seen
Whatever I have gained
Remain unparalleled.*

* Translation is mine.



DIMENSIONS OF PHILOSOPHY OF BONUS

By BHASKAR

Annual bonus is one of the sore points in the relations between employers and employees in our Country. It almost took forty years to evolve a clear concept and principles governing payment of bonus. These principles, in turn, have been based, largely, on the theory that :

—The gap between living wages and actual wages should be filled in by payment of bonus, and

—The labour contributes to the prosperity of the concern ; hence they should share the profits under certain circumstances.

In the following paragraphs, we will examine the soundness of these principles both from theoretical and practical points of view.

First Tenet

Practical Considerations

The first postulation is that the gap between living wages and actual wages is to be filled in, at least, partly, by payment of bonus. This implies that, first of all, the level of living wages is capable of being measured and ascertained in terms of money. The living wage is understood, generally, to cover the following items :

- Food
- Shelter
- Clothing
- Provision for old age, etc.
- Education of Children
- Provision for marriage of children
- Frugal comforts

Of course, there is no unanimity on this list. To measure the monetary content of

the living wage, we should know the family unit of the worker. Besides his own family, parents and unmarried sisters and unearning brothers may also be depending on the wages of the worker. In these matters we should go by social customs and family patterns of the workers. In our society social and economic habits greatly depend on the 'caste' from which the worker hails.

Even if the problem of family unit is solved, ascertainment of 'quantity' required by each member of the family depends on the age group of the family members and their consumption patterns. Again, food requirement of workers themselves vary. For example, manual workers require higher caloric food than office workers.

In this connection it is felt that it is not the mere subsistence level, that should be provided for. Article 47 of our Constitution (one of the Directive Principles of State Policy) prescribes that "The State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties, and —"

It is also recognised in these discussions, that the concept of living wage is not static. Requirements, of workers continue to change with the general economic uplift. For example, cycle might not have been an essential requirement sometime ago, but it can now safely be regarded as essential. Consumption of butter and ghee might be a luxury, under slave economy but no longer in a democratic, free economy.

Payment of living wages, naturally creates new demands and new desires and ambitions. May be most of them are genuine and should be satisfied when considered from humane points of view. Since all these demands and ambitions could not be met within the living wages paid to the workers, basing on the things prevailing at that time, the gap between living wages and actual wages will continue to exist. It is something like the one that follows the other in a cyclical fashion.

The choice of rate is again another problem in assessing the monetary content of the living wages.

In some of the families, female members and children do earn something by doing certain things. Should we take into account their earnings also while determining the monetary content of the living wages of the workers?

It is evident from the above exposition that it is very difficult to measure living wages in terms of money. Of course, attempts have been made to measure the living wages, but all of them have been based rather on arbitrary assumptions.

Theoretical Considerations

Assuming for the moment that we can measure the 'living wage' in terms of money, let us examine the argument that the gap between living wages and actual wages should be bridged by payment of bonus. This argument implies that the employer has an obligation to pay the living wages to his employees, and the employers and tribunals should strive towards this end. In this connection one of the Directive Principles of State Policy as incorporated in Article 43 of our Constitution is often quoted, which reads as :

The State shall endeavour to secure,

by suitable legislation, or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, at living wage, conditions of work assuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities—"

This Article authorises the State to enact legislation or do any other equitable thing to achieve the objectives mentioned in the Article. However, so far, there is no legislation enacted by Central or State Governments enabling or directing that payment of bonus should be used as an instrument to achieve the objective of 'securing a living wage' to the workers. However, the Central Government, made the subject of bonus a matter of industrial dispute that could be referred to an industrial tribunal under Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (section 7A read with Schedule 2 of the Act). But it is not clear whether the Central Government meant to make payment of annual bonus an instrument to achieve the objective of securing a living wage. The tribunals have seized this opportunity and have tried to achieve the objective which was set out for the State under the Constitution by themselves (unless tribunals come under the classification of "or authorities within the territory of India" to come under the definition of 'State' as defined by Article 12) by way of payment of bonus.

This position was upheld by the Supreme Court in its various decisions. It further, held in its various decisions, that industrial tribunals are not bound to adjudicate an industrial dispute according to strict law of master and servant and their awards may contain provisions for the settlement of disputes which a law court could not do. They may also create new obligations on the

employers in the interests of social justice and with the objective of securing peace and harmony between employer and his workmen.

In fact one of the aims of enacting Industrial Disputes Act and creating industrial tribunals and courts was to minimise prolonged strikes and lockouts, and to settle the dispute between employers and employees on a more equitable basis irrespective of economic and bargaining strength of the parties. It is also to some extent an expression of the desire on the part of the Government and ruling party that in a socialistic pattern of society the weaker sections should be protected by suitable legislation and should not be left to the fate of free *laissez faire*. To the same end, the Government has given protection to the workers through compulsory arbitration and adjudication, to entrepreneurs against foreign competition through tariffs, to scheduled castes and tribes through reservations.

In one case, which involved payment of layoff compensation, one High Court has gone to the extent of declaring that in view of Article 43 of the Constitution, the workmen's right to a decent wage must prevail over the employer's right to make a profit. In case of conflict between these two rights, no employer has a right to run an industry if he could not pay his workmen a decent wage.

Apart from the constitutional and legal position, let us see whether it is equitable to utilise 'bonus' to bridge the gap between living and actual wages.

Bonus, as the second tenet denotes, depends on the availability of profits. Making or losing of profits is not in the hands of the worker. It is clearly a function and responsibility of management. Hence it is not equitable to make workers share the fortunes of

business. Whatever happens to the profits the workers should be paid for their work. The dispute, however, is, should that payment be a living wage or should it be governed solely by contract between employer and employee which, in turn, will be determined by demand and supply of labour and bargaining strength of the two parties.

Employers argue that they should have more or less a free hand to 'hire and fire' and the concept of *laissez faire* should be allowed to play its full role and that wages should be determined only by supply and demand of labour.

Labour on the other hand argue that they should be paid a living wage and it would be for the employer to ensure that their work brings proper returns to the company. Remuneration to the labour upto the level of living wages should be a prior charge on profits. Unless and until actual wages are brought to the level of living wages, annual bonus should be a prior charge on profits. This amounts to recognition of the concept 'that bonus is a deferred wage'. This is the argument that employees have extended to the questions like admissibility of 'return or reserves used as working capital,' etc.

As a compromise tribunals have felt that when the industry has got capacity to pay and is so established that its capacity to continuously pay the living wages may be counted upon, payment of living wages is desirable. But where the industry has not got the capacity or its capacity varies or is expected to vary from year to year, annual bonus may be looked upon as the temporary satisfaction wholly or in part of the needs of the employees.

This implies partial recognition of labour's contention that 'bonus is a deferred wage' though not with its full implications.

Second Tenet

Theoretical Considerations

The second ground on which payment of annual bonus is upheld is that the workers should share in the prosperity of the concern for the creation of which they are partly responsible. This implies, firstly that the labour is to some extent responsible for the prosperity of the concern. Of course, there is no dispute about this. But is it possible or practicable to measure labour's contribution to the prosperity of the concern as it naturally follows that the quantum of bonus payable to them should have some relation to their contribution. It also, naturally, follows that if labour should share in the prosperity they should be prepared to share the misfortunes of the concern. Are we prepared to recognise this argument?

Secondly, this argument implies recognition of the fact that labour is a partner in the industry, probably, on the ground that labour is contributing their services in the same way entrepreneurs are contributing their finances. This partnership is to share advantages without assuming consequential responsibilities. In economic terms, production includes not only physical production but everything that adds to the value of the product and every service which has a demand.

Then labour is not the only party contributing to the prosperity. Apart from others is the consumer who is the real contributor to the prosperity but who is never even considered or taken into account in these discussions. In our economy consumer plays a vital role. One labour organisation remarked that if, in legal terms, 'Capital' is the employer of labour, in economic terms, 'Consumer' is the real employer of both capital and labour. Why not also give him a share in the prosperity of

the concern, say, by way of reduction of the prices in the succeeding periods. We are not doing this because there are no direct pressures from his side. Since management, shareholders, and employees are in a position to exercise pressures on the concern they are getting a share in the prosperity and other interests have been ignored.

Employers resisted the idea of sharing of profits with the workers on the ground that residual surplus belongs to them as they are the owners of residual surplus of losses, by virtue of their position as entrepreneurs and employers. Whatever surplus is left out it is required by industry for expansion and they should not be and cannot be expected or compelled to share the surplus with the workers.

Counter argument to this is that surplus profits, if any, are the result of two factors—high prices and low costs. When surplus profits are made possible with a lower wage level prevailing in the country, why should there be any hesitation on the part of the employers to share a part of the surplus with the workers? Alternatively, it is argued, they should be prepared to share the surplus with the consumers by way of reduced prices. If this second alternative is followed, the general price level may come down and the monetary content of living wage may be reduced. Though this alternative is ideal from the point of view of society as a whole, this will not be a workable proposition as the consumers will not be in a position to effectively exercise pressures. In these days nothing can be achieved without pressure and business houses have not become charitable institutes as yet.

This raises another question whether expansion or even modernisation and industrial development be undertaken by denying the labour a living wage. What is the social

justice in requiring the workers only to make sacrifice? Is it not also reasonable to expect the managerial class and employers to make sacrifices for the sake of industrial development? Is it not more equitable to put a ceiling on the dividends and on the remuneration to the managerial class and require the employers to utilize this money specifically for expansion and modernisation along with the share denied to the labour.

Practical Considerations

Finally, is it possible or practicable to measure the prosperity of a concern in monetary terms? One most common way of measuring prosperity is level of profits. It is a fact that some of the very prosperous concerns are not able to show good profits during certain periods. No malice is attributable. For example, this may be due to the fact that when the concern makes good profits it will start expanding its operations which means heavier depreciation charges in the initial stages, before the new investment starts earning.

From the economist's point of view, profits of a concern is the net additions made by the concern in 'real' terms during the period for which the profits are attempted to be measured. This means all the assets and liabilities are to be valued at market rates at the beginning and end of the period. The difference between the net values arrived at the beginning and at the end of the periods, is the profit and to convert this figure into 'real' terms, the amount is to be adjusted to the price index. Perhaps this way of measuring is the most correct way of measuring prosperity of the concern. Since it is not possible to value the assets and liabilities of the concern at the end of each period, and because of practical difficulties in selecting a

suitable price index, accountants have evolved (perhaps this process is still not complete and has not reached perfection) a method of matching expenses against revenues, on the assumption that additional assets and liabilities or proprietorship are offset. As long as this matching process is followed strictly this method of arriving at profits yields approximately the same results.

However, commercial accounting has not reached perfection. There are lots of spheres where manipulation could be made without ever being detected for playing fraud. Perhaps for this reason labour argue that the accounts should be audited by their auditors or by an independent auditor specifically for this purpose and they should give a certificate that they have kept in their view the principles governing payment of profit sharing bonus.

If it is agreed that the method of arriving at profits is not perfect would it be equitable to ask the labour to feel contented with the payment of bonus paid out of profits arrived at by a defective system to fill up the gap between living and actual wages?

To ascertain prosperity for the purpose of bonus formulae, the gross profits as shown by the accounts of the concern have to be freed from profits or losses which are not related to the working of the present year. Also profits which have not been earned with the efforts of the workmen have also to be excluded. Expenses like donations to political parties which have not been incurred in connection with the business have also to be excluded. The gross profits thus arrived at should be subjected to the following prior charges;

—Depreciation at the rates provided in the income tax rules. Only normal and shift depreciation is to be allowed. Additional and initial depreciation and development rebate are not allowable.

—Rehabilitation, of block capital : This includes replacement, renewal and modernisation. This item is one of the major issues of controversy in bonus disputes. Though the principles governing admissibility of this item have been well defined, quite a few practical problems have come to fore which have complicated the bonus formulae, which is otherwise working more or less satisfactorily. Employers have started claiming more and more moneys on this account and labour on the other-hand retorted to this provision by saying that it amounts of allowing 'dearness allowance' to machines while denying the same to human beings, meaning, thereby, workers.

—Return on working capital actually used in business : The rate generally agreed upon is between two to four per cent.

—Return on fixed or block capital : The rate agreed upon is six per cent depending on capital structure of the company, etc.

—Income tax : This is to be calculated on the profits of the current year, even if the income tax is not payable by the company in that particular year due to carry-forward of previous year's losses, etc.

After providing for the above prior charges, the surplus is to be divided between employers and workers, in the ratio of one is to one, though this ratio is subject to variation depending on other circumstances. This is how under the present formulae the prosperity of the concern is to be ascertained and shared with the workers. Though the above principles of applying gross profits towards prior charges, and apportioning of available

surplus between employer and employees are very clear, application and interpretation of these principles have rather become subjects of controversy.

As can be seen from the above discussion the present formulae for the payment of bonus is largely a compromise between different interests,—workers, shareholders and management. Though the State is an interested party, as bonus is a deductible item for assessment of income tax, they have not put forward any claim, so far. The consumer is also an interested party but he has also not exercised pressure in this connection. Hence, the interests of these two parties have not been taken into account in evolving or applying this formulae.

Far-Reaching Effects

Before closing the discussion, it is interesting to note that the implications of these two principles have far-reaching consequences.

It appears that worker's claim for bonus is not limited till the time their actual wages reach the level of living wages. They will continue to have a legal claim for profit sharing bonus on the ground that they are contributing to the prosperity of the concern.

It is doubtful whether at any time, actual wages may reach the level of living wages. Payment of higher wages or bonus increases general demand, which in turn pushes the prices up, till the supply position improves. Improving supply position requires time and it also means more circulation of money. That is why in a developing economy price inflation to some extent is inevitable. Also increase in general standard of living creates new demands and new desires. The cumulative result is that there always exists a gap between living wages and actual wages and

bonus is to be used indefinitely to fill up this gap.

Also increase in price level brings in more and more employees to the category of those employees whose actual wages are short of living wages. Thus the claimants for bonus will increase endlessly.

Finally, by virtue of the second tenet even highly paid employees will have a legal claim for bonus though their actual wages are more than the living wages. However, it is doubtful how in actual practice such a claim can be enforced. They have no union and no approach to labour court or tribunals and law courts can decide the issues only on the basis of contract between the parties.

While concluding it is suggested, that solution to the problem of securing a living wage should be attempted from two sides. The fair wages or Central Wage Boards Committees under Minimum Wages Act and Industrial tribunals should work with some common understanding. The fair wages committees should take up the task of providing a living wage when the industry has capacity. If they feel the industry's capacity is doubtful, they should use annual bonus as a means of filling up the gap between living wage and actual wages to the extent warranted by the circumstances and within the principles defined under the law.

THE KING-COMPOSER SWATI TIRUNAL

By T. MADHAVA RAO

ONE hundred and fifty years ago, on the fifth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Mesha (16th April, 1812) was born Swati Tirunal, one of the rulers of the erstwhile Travancore State during the 19th century. Though his span of life was short, the services he rendered to the cause of Carnatic music are so great that his memory is always green in the musical world.

As per the custom of the Travancore royal house the King is popularly known by the name of the star under which he is born. Thus Swati Tirunal came to be known by this name as he was born under the star *swaati*. Since this sovereign was really the King of Travancore from the very day of his birth, for from the very day of conception, he was looked forward to as the future King and hence won the title of 'Gatbhashriman'.

Lakshmi Bai, the mother of Swati Tirunal, passed away even while he was a child. So Parvati Bai, the sister of his mother, looked after him as her own child and gave him all

the royal comforts. Even from his boyhood days Swati Tirunal possessed great intelligence and sagacity and had an excellent training under his distinguished father Raja Varma Koil Tampuran. Taking note of this Parvati Bai made perfect arrangements to give this young boy good education. She also wanted that Swati Tirunal should be a linguist and hence appointed learned pandits for teaching him different languages, viz. Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Hindi, Sanskrit and Persian. T. Subba Rao, a scholar in English from Tanjore, was appointed to teach English to the boy-king. Later in 1830 Sri Subba Rao became the Dewan of Travancore. When Swati Tirunal was only 12 years he became proficient in English. His knowledge of English, a rare accomplishment in those days, received the warm eulogy of the Englishmen. Very soon the Maharaja became a master of all these languages.

His genius and innate aptitude for music



Swati Tirunal

and literature ripened by his education, raised him to the position of a great scholar and poet.

During his regime the British kept a huge army in Travancore State, in the guise of protecting the State. All the expenses of maintaining this army was borne by the Travancore State Govt. Swati Tirunal dispensed with this army and thus saved the State from a huge expenditure. At the same time he organised an indigenous army called 'nayar sena'. This to some extent solved the problem of unemployment also. In the capital city of Trivandrum he established a public Library which even today stands as a noble memorial to him.

He was a great lover of Carnatic music. He was a contemporary of the famous musical trinity of the South, viz., Thyagaraja, Muthu-

swami Dikshitar and Shyama Shastri. Swati Tirunal was himself a good singer. He learnt to play on the veena and the flute and attained mastery over these two instruments. Thanks to Saint Thyagaraja, Carnatic music had taken a deep root in the minds of the people and was spreading in the far south. People began to enjoy music more than literature. Hence Swati Tirunal instead of writing literary works composed songs, even from the very early age of 16.

To compose songs in Sanskrit is no easy task. But to Swati Tirunal it was 'mere child's play'. His songs in this language are full of devotional fervour. From his compositions we find that he was a devotee of Lord Krishna. He was remarkable for expression and sweetness of language. The style employed, the figures of speech that we come across throughout are quite in keeping with the sense of devotion with which he had composed his works.

In those days in Maharashtra *Harikeertan* was much in vogue. In the palace of Tanjore ruled by Marathas there was one Meruswami a great exponent of *Harikeertan*. Swati Tirunal invited Meruswami to his court and under his guidance composed his two famous works *Kuchelopakhyanam* and *Ajamilopakhyanam* in harikatha style. In the year 1838 Meruswami performed *Harikeertan* on 'Kuchelopakhyanam' under the presidency of the Maharaja himself. Another work of Swati Tirunal 'Navaratuamalika' is also a piece which demonstrates the nine ways of devotion. The 'Navaratri-Kirtan' has become very famous and is sung even today during Dasara celebration in the mandap of Sri Padmanabhaswami temple at Trivandrum. The book 'Utsava Varnana Prabandha' is in *Manipravalam* style (a

mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam). An accomplished composer his compositions show great knowledge of the art of native dance such as Bharata Natya and Kathakali. He has also composed *Varnams* and *Kirtanams* with profuse introduction of *Swaraksharas*. His compositions are sung to this day by Vidwans of Carnatic music in the south.

Swati Tirunal composed songs in all the languages he knew. In Hindi he has composed nearly 40 songs and in these we find an admixture of *Khadiboti* and *Vrajabhasha*.

Swati Tirunal had great admiration for Hindustani music. We find among his works a few compositions set in Hindustani ragas like *Bringavasaraṅga*, *Hamsanandi* and *Sindhuhairavi* and a few songs in *dhruṇpad*, *Khayal* and *thumri* styles. we have also references to Hindustani musicians from Gwalior, Lakshman Das and a few others who gave concerts in the palace of the Maharaja.

During his reign Swati Tirunal patronised other cultural activities like Bharata Natya and Kathakali. He invited to his court the most outstanding artists of Bharata Natya from Tanjore and Tiruchendur and gave them valuable gifts.

In the year 1832 the first Munisiff Court was established by the Maharaja for the disposal of petty cases both civil and police. The first English school was opened at Trivandrum in the year 1834. This was the foundation of English education in Travancore State. The Maharaja had a good knowledge

of the science of astronomy. In 1836 with Mr. Caldecott's advice an observatory was opened at Trivandrum and Mr. Caldecott was appointed the first Govt. Astronomer. Mr. J. A. Brown, who succeeded Mr. Caldecott, writes in a report of the observatory thus :

His Highness was celebrated throughout India for his love of learning, his cultivated mind, great practical powers and a thorough knowledge of many languages. He is well-known also for his decision of character and took the whole subject at once under his special protection.

The Maharaja was a staunch Hindu and performed all the religious ceremonies prescribed for a Hindu King with scrupulous regard and attention. He possessed a cultured mind and a strong will. His subjects called him as Shaktan Raja (powerfull king). The Maharaja had a great admiration for the Chinese nation. There were in his court two Chinese jugglers and their mode of eating gave him special amusemēt. In his court there were representatives of all nationalities—Arabs, Negroes, Turks, Malayas, Japanese and Nepalis.

After rendering such unique service to Indian music, Swati Tirunal passed away on the 15th December 1847 at the early age of 34. As a mark of respect to his memory an institution by name 'Swati Tirunal Academy' has been founded in Trivandrum to propagate his songs. This Academy has published his works and it conducts classes to teach both vocal and instrumental music.

A GLIMPSE ON THE ORIGINAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETIES OF BENGAL

By SATYENDRA NATH GANGULY

THE Battle of Plassy in 1757 heralded the dawn of British Rule in India. But as Netaji said—"It was only by stages that the British Rule could take over the entire administration of Bengal.....It should be noted that in the occupation of India, the British used not only arms—but more than arms, the weapons of bribery, treachery and every form of corruption."1 As a result though a portion of the people of Bengal became blind advocates of the foreign rule, the greater part of the common folk of the land could never bow down to such a calamity. At this stage the personalities of calibre like Raja Rammohun gradually appeared and contributed to the development of national consciousness by every possible means social, political or otherwise. On the other hand the Sannyassy Rebellion, the Santal Insurrection, the Sepoy Mutiny, etc., were the natural outcome of the said displeasure. Among all these risings, the Biplabi Mahanayak, Rash Behari Bose termed the Sepoy Mutiny as the First War of Independence in India and stated in his presidential speech in Bankok Conference of 1942 that—"During and since 1857 when we first revolted against the British Imperialism in India....." Similarly Netaji Subash Chandra wrote "...they realised that the British had come to conquer and plunderAs soon as this was gradually understooda mighty revolution broke out in 1857.....incorrectly called by the British historians 'the Sepoy Mutiny', but which is regarded by the Indian people as the First War of Independence"2 Though these upheavals were somehow suppressed all through by the

bureaucratic Government, the revolutionary zeal specially of the educated middle class of Bengal could never be dammed, and the same gradually found its course in various secret ways and means. The contribution in this regard of Rajnarayan Basu, Pyaricharan Sarkar, Nabagopal Mitra, Bankimchandra, Jogendra Bidya Bhusan, Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Ganendra Nath Tagore, Satyendra Nath Tagore, Surendra Nath Banerjee and others were admirable. Lastly the advent of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda gave a final touch to the endeavour which influence was, however, actually felt at the beginning of the 20th century.

On the other hand from 1885, the date when the Indian National Congress came into existence, to the end of the 19th century there broke out as many as 18 famines in India as a result of which 2 crores of people died. In the midst of such a disaster, a large amount of money was understood to have been spent for the two Durbars of Delhi, one in 1877 and the other in 1903. (In this connection a reference may be made to 'India in Bondage' of J. T. Sunderland specially page 131.) But the Congress moves in this connection never proved satisfactory and the youths of the day could not tolerate that. A good portion of the younger generation of the time remained outside the Congress who soon began to realise that—"Secret associations are the weapons of lawful warfare when Liberty and Country do not exist....."(Duties of Man by Joseph Mazzini, page 93). The political atmosphere of the country at that time became so grave that even—"Vidyasagar Mahasaya told his friends, 'You have no other alternatives. Go to the forest and train paltan.'" (Dicitia Swadhinata)

1. *The Indian Struggle*, 1935-42, page 1.
2 *do* 1935-42, page 2

Sangram by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutt, Foot Note 2 of page 8). It may be that such expressions were temporary outbursts of the inner mind to his revolutionary friend Jnanendra Nath Basu of Midnapore, but this will surely signify the actual feeling which was fast growing in every mind of the time. In and around such atmosphere "Sanjivani Sabha" came into being as the first Secret Society of Bengal sometimes in 1876 under the leadership of Jyotirindra Nath Tagore with a veiled name as 'Hanchu Pamu Half.' So far as is known this Sabha was organised under the impulse of some of the young members of the Tagore family.

Sibnath Sastry was, during those days, the Headmaster in the South Suburban School from 1874-76 and then in Hare School and Bipin Ch. Pal and others were the leaders of the students' community. As the information goes Sibnath with the help of Bipin Chandra and others organised another similar Secret Society in the same year, i. e. in 1876. In pages 122 and 123 of 'Naba Juger Bangla' Bipin Chandra described Sibnath Sastry as the first initiator of the cult of revolutionary movements of the land. The lectures of Surendra Nath on Mazzini during those days also contributed a great deal to organising secret societies and it is said that he was also the guide of many such secret societies. Jogendra Bidya Bhusan's translation 'Mazzini and Garibaldi' in Bengali also contributed a lot towards the formation of such Secret Societies. As far as is known this translation was first published in 1890. Bidya Bhusan also was said to have initiated youths of his time to revolutionary creeds and started some clubs of Lathi play, Wrestling, etc, with inner secret political plans in the District of Hoogli. Thus from the available extract information presented above it would

not be too much to conclude that Secret Societies in Bengal actually took their shapes before the advent of the 20th century. The force of appeal of Bidya Bhusan to the youths of the land as contained in the concluding portion of the above named translation may be interesting to follow: "Therefore come up Brothers, we twenty-five crores of Indians let us forget national, religious and class differences and be absorbed in the worship of the Creative Bishnu Sakti and the destructive Shiva Sakti."

In and around the then political atmosphere of the country, the silent contributions of school teachers and gradually that of some college professors towards the building of national consciousness were exemplary. It is for this reason that the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rowlatt in his Sedition Committee 1918 Report stated that—"Abundant evidence has compelled us to the conclusion that Secondary English schools and in less degree the colleges of Bengal have been regarded by the revolutionaries as their most fruitful recruiting centres" (Page-75, Para-100). Yes, it was correct, but the Hon'ble Mr. Justice was late in surmising the facts. The work was actually started as far back as in 1894-95 or before that date by Headmasters like Jogendra Nath Laha of Khelat Chandra Institution, Minor Branch. Prof. Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., B. Sc., stated about his Headmaster Jogendranath as follows: "After coming to Calcutta, I got admission in the Khelat Chandra Institution, Minor Br., which was then situated at the Bowbazar and Amherst Street Junction. Here I came in touch with a very good teacher namely the Headmaster Jogendra Nath Laha who used to instil nationalism in student's minds and extended

his deep influence upon them..." (*Romdhanu*, Agrahayan, 1355). As it appears from the available date, this took place before 1896 because Nibaran Chandra passed his minor examination at the beginning of 1896 and got admission in the Khelat Ch. Inst., Main, during that year in the then 3rd. Class, presently called Class VIII. Here he found a debating class taking place in successions under the presidentship of Biresh Babu, a teacher of this Inst. and Nibaran Chandra wrote that—"As a result of these discussions our devotion to country was under regular growth." (*Ramdhanu*, Paus, 1355). Then came another teacher of this Institution named Lalit Ghosal, who was a former student of Surendra Nath. In this way Atmannyoti Samiti was born as a secret revolutionary organisation in 1897, a year subsequently becoming memorable with the birth of Netaji Subhas Chandra. "By reading the life of Mazzini of Jogendra Bidya Bhusan" wrote Prof. Nibaran, we were "inspired to organise such a society in the model of 'Young Italy.'" (*Ibid*, page 182). During this time, as is heard from Sri Indra Nath Nandi of revolutionary fame, there was a higher class student who used to reside at 13, Wellington Lane, and Khelat Chandra Inst., Main, was situated in a house in the North-East corner of Wellington Sq. With the ardent endeavour of this energetic Raghunath combined with that of Harish Ch. Sikdar a study circle was started in the house of Raghunath under the leadership of Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharyya (lately Prof.), Satish Ch. Mukherjee (about whom Prof. Nibaran wrote—"He accepted my proposal of starting a Secret Society for the liberation of India... In subsequent days he went to Maharastra with an introductory letter from Aurobindo and saw people like Tilak and others... He became at first a Professor of Presidency

College, next Chittagonj College and at last retired as Principal, Hooghli College.") (*Ramdhanu*—Jaista, 1356). Suresh Ch. Mukherjee, Harish Ch. Sikdar ("He had an admirable power of revolutionary leadership" wrote Prof. Nibaran, "He hailed from Jessore and had a residence near Bowbazar & Amherst St. Junction), Bhubaneswar Sen (lately a business magnate), Radha Raman Das (who hailed from Orissa and had a house near Lady Duffarin Hospital—"He was sincere and faithful and a devotee to country's cause" wrote Prof. Nibaran about him), Nityananda Chatterjee (a maternal-uncle of the late Hon'ble Minister Kalipada Mukherjee), Krishna Ch. Mukherjee (elder brother of the said Hon'ble Minister) and others.

Gradually joined Provash Ch. De (lately Prof.), Kalidas Bose, Bepin Behari, Ganguly, Indra Nath Nandy, Anukul Mukherjee, Girindra Nath Banerjee, Ranendra Nath Ganguly and others. Sri Ashutosh Lahiri, one of the living revolutionaries of old, who was also attached to Atmannyoti Samity for a long time says that people like Radhakumud Mukherjee, Benoy Sarkar, Rabindra Narayan Ghose were also attached to this Samiti. Pandit Dharanath Bhattacharyya, another veteran member of this Samiti, says, late Doctor Ashu Das, Satish Sen and others of Serampore also came in touch with this Samiti. Subsequently Bepin Behari Ganguli, the great revolutionary of fame, wrote about them—"He was a companion of our boyhood and a fellow worker of subsequent days. It now comes to remembrance how we discussed day and night about our hard duties; how we practised Lathi, Sword and Boxing together... Sympathetic friend, where are you now? And where is that learned leader Satish Chandra? Can't we be able to keep burning the flames of your encouragements, your do or die vows?" (*Patra*—Ashutosh Number, Page 17, a Serampore periodical).

YOUNG DELINQUENTS OF INDIA

GORACHAND KUNDU (Calcutta)

Introduction

SINCE independence India is taking deeper interest in the treatment of juvenile delinquency. New special legislative measures are being considered in the States where there is no children's act in regard to juvenile delinquents. The States where existing special children's laws are already in force are contemplating further amendment for improvement in scope and application.

A survey was, however, carried out by the author amongst the delinquents of Eastern India. The offenders were the inmates of the Reformatory School, Hazaribagh, Borstal, including Industrial School Berhampore.

Method and procedure

To eliminate the problem-boy of the society and to get real delinquents, according to conventional definition, the schools mentioned above were selected. The inmates of those schools were all convicted by *lex terra* for crime committed. With the active co-operation and kind permission of the school authorities, the young criminals were interviewed individually and secretly in solitary place either in a room or in an open place, where no third person was allowed to be present. All precaution was taken to persuade the child offenders to speak freely without any fear.

N.B :—The author is indebted to Shri H. Nag, for his active co-operation for statistical reduction. He is also grateful to Professor S. K. Bose, Head of the Deptt. of Psychology ; Anthropological Survey of India : I.G. Prison ; Superintendents and Dy. Superintendents of different schools.

Prior to that, with the consent of the school authorities different articles were presented to the juvenile delinquents as gifts and without any prejudice the author mixed freely with them within the school enclosure either in a body or individually to establish rapport. They were also made to believe that the author neither belonged to Jail or Home Departments of the State or of the Centre, nor had any intention to investigate the offence committed by them.

The school records, registers, personal files, if any, of the convicts, were very kindly supplied for perusal and examination by the author. Further as far as the situation permitted, the parents, relatives, friends, etc., of the delinquents in question, were also contacted outside the school premises.

There were no schedules, questionnaire, etc., except a few points pressed induring interview. The spontaneous verbal statements of the young offenders were taken down. In some cases, where juveniles objected to record their statement only a few points of their narration were noted. Great attention was given that the subjects were not bullied.

Result

The Survey commenced in July 1958 and lasted upto the beginning of September of the year. During the period all available juvenile delinquents were examined. The number of the cases examined were 217.

These delinquents were convicted during May 1952 to July 1958. The distribution has been shown in table I.

TABLE—1

Number of Juvenile Convicts during May 1952 to July 1958.

Year	Reformatory	Borstal	Industrial	Total
1952	6 (100.0)	—	—	6
1953	5 (83.3)	—	1 (16.7)	6
1954	14 (77.8)	2 (11.1)	2 (11.1)	18
1955	30 (71.4)	2 (14.8)	10 (23.8)	42
1956	26 (68.4)	6 (15.8)	6 (15.8)	38
1957	26 (86.1)	34 (47.2)	12 (16.7)	72
1958	15 (42.9)	16 (45.7)	4 (11.4)	35
Total	122 (56.2)	60 (27.6)	35 (16.1)	217

N. B :—Figures in brackets indicate the percentages.

The percentages of the inmates of the School Reformatory, Borstal, and Industrial were 56.2%, 27.6% and 16.1% respectively. The number of convicts shown against the year prior to 1957 were naturally less as many of them were released after their terms of conviction. The number 35 for the year 1958 shows an abrupt fall in comparison to 72 for the year 1957. This was not for the reason that lesser numbers could be brought to book.

This was due to the fact that the survey was completed before the close of the year. Only Seven months, that is upto July of 1958, were covered. Also it should not in any case be presumed that delinquency shows any decline according to records. The figures shown in the table are only those which were subjected to our investigation. Nor should it be taken as definitely assuring rather the number shows the sampling alone.

TABLE—II

Delinquent boys convicted in different months in different years.

Months	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	Total
January		...	...	...	4	4	9	17(7.8)
February		1	1	2	7	6	5	22(10.1)
March		...	...	3	2	1	8	14(6.5)
April		...	...	6	1	3	4	14(6.5)
May	1	1	...	7	1	4	3	17(7.8)
June	...	...	...	2	5	3	5	15(6.9)
July	...	...	1	3	1	4	1	10(4.6)
August	1	2	4	6	...	7		20(9.2)
September	2	2	5	6	6	8		29(13.4)
October	...	...	...	3	1	4		8(3.7)
November	2	...	2	2	5	19		30(13.8)
December	...	...	5	2	5	9		21(9.7)
Total	6	6	18	42	38	72	35	217

N. B. :—Figures in brackets indicate the percentages.

In the monthly variation in table II, (P386) the redeeming feature is that there are two maxima and one minimum. The highest percentage of boys were convicted in the month of September and November, 13.4 & 13.8. respectively. Next higher percentage of boys were convicted in the month of february (10.1). The percentage of boys convicted in the month of December (9.7) was nearly similar to that of February. The lowest number (10) of children were convicted in the month of July, i.e., 4.6% of the total.

TABLE—III

District of Conviction	West Bengal	Bihar	Orissa	Assam	U.P.	Madras	East Pakistan	Home-less	Not known	Total
West Bengal :										
Calcutta	70	8	1	...	3	1	3	8	1	95
Howrah	35	4	...	...	6	...	1	9	1	56
24 Parganas	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2
Hooghly	7	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	8
Burdwan	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2
Bankura	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3
Midnapur	4	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	6
Nadia	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Murshidabad	5	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	7
West Dinajpur	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Darjeeling	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
Jalpaiguri	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	4
Cooch Bihar	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
Purulia	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Not Known	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Total	145	15	2	1	10	3	9	17	3	205
Bihar :										
Ranchi	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Durbhanga	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Gaya	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Chapra(Saran)	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Monghyr	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Manbhum	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Not Known	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	1	7	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	10
Assam :										
Tejapore	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Orissa :										
Ballassore	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Grand Total	146	22	3	2	10	4	9	18	3	217

Table III (P.387) shows the distribution of young offenders convicted from the districts of different states and the states from which they hail. were not known. Remaining convicts 15, 2, 1, 10, 3 & 9 were inhabitants of Bihar, Orissa, Assam, U.P., Madras and East Pakistan respectively.

It is envisaged from the table that out of 217 convicts 94.5% boys were convicted from West Bengal. But only 67.3% of the total were the inhabitants of West Bengal, others were either from different States, or from East Pakistan, or homeless. There are 3 convicts whose natural home States could not be determined.

70.0% of the convicted from Bihar were dwellers of Bihar. One offender was homeless, One belonged to Madras, another one to West Bengal. Assam and Orissa convicted cent per cent child criminals of their respective dwellers.

Out of 205 young criminals convicted from West Bengal only 145 were recorded to be naturally belonging to West Bengal, 17 were homeless, and home States of 3 children The table shows 67.3% of the total convicts to belong to West Bengal as Home province but in reality only 49.8% child offenders out of 67.3% had Bengali as their mother-tongue. The remaining had dialects Hindi, Urdu, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu and Nepali work-

TABLE—IV

Dialects and States they hail from.

State to which belongs	Dialects							Not known	Total
	Bengali	Hindi	Urdu	Oriya	Tamil	Telugu	Nepali		
West Bengal	87 (59.6)	36 (24.7)	16 (11.0)	...	1 (0.7)	...	5 (3.4)	1 (0.7)	146
Bihar	2 (9.1)	13 (59.1)	6 (27.3)	...	1 (4.5)	...	...	...	22
Orissa	...	...	...	2 (66.7)	...	1 (33.3)	...	...	3
Assam	2 (100.0)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
U.P.	1 (10.0)	7 (70.0)	1 (10.0)	...	...	...	...	1 (10.0)	10
Madras	...	1 (25.0)	...	...	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	...	...	4
E. Pakistan	8 (88.9)	...	1 (11.1)	...	...	...	...	...	9
Homeless	8 (44.4)	9 (50.0)	1 (5.6)	...	...	...	...	...	18
Not known	...	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	...	...	...	...	...	3
Total	108 (49.8)	68 (31.3)	26 (12.0)	2 (0.9)	4 (1.8)	2 (0.9)	5 (2.3)	2 (0.9)	217

N. B :—Figures in brackets indicate the percentages.

ing at 31.3%, 12.0%, 0.9%, 1.8%, 0.9% and 2.3% respectively. The mother-tongue of the 2 convicts, who were convicted from West Bengal and U.P. were not known.

The highest percentage, 59.6 of the Bengali speaking boys belonged to West Bengal. Similarly highest percentage, 59.1 of the Hindi speaking boys were inhabitants of Bihar. Also the highest percentage, 66.7 of the Oriya speaking boys' home State was Orissa. But the mother-tongue of 2 boys, belonging to Assam was recorded as Bengali. Table IV (P. 388) shows the detail of the distribution of dialects and the States to which they belong.

In table V (P.390) the delinquents are shown as they are distributed according to the district of conviction and the incidence per thousand with respect to the male population (according to Census 1951) of the respective districts. It should be noted that the district Purulia was detached from the State of Bihar and attached to the State of West Bengal prior to this survey. Hence the incidence per thousand in Purulia district has been calculated on the basis of the Census 1961. Also the population of Manbhum could not be traced out from 1961 census. Hence the district has been considered as not known.

The discussion on smaller numbers as from Assam and Orissa being superficial was not included.

From the table it is clear that per thousand highest incidence (10.063) occurred in the district of Howrah, next to Calcutta (0.059). Third place is for Darjeeling (0.042). Hooghly and West Dinajpore jointly occupy the fourth place. Next come Murshidabad and Jalpaiguri taken jointly (each 0.008). The figures for Coochbehar, Bankura, Purulia and Ranchi and Midnapore, Burdwan and Nadia jointly are 0.006, 0.005, 0.004, 0.002, and 0.003 res-

pectively. The remaining districts are jointly shown in the bottom of table V.

It is clear from table VI (P. 391) that the common offence of the young delinquents is the offence against property (67.4%). Out of which 52.6% boys were convicted for theft. 9.3% of the boys were convicted for offences against the human body, where it is seen that the maximum (2.8%) boys were convicted for kidnapping. Most of the boys convicted for kidnapping were the inmates of the Borstal School. Not a single inmate of the Industrial School was convicted for the offences against the human body.

The inmates of the Reformatory School were mostly convicted for offences against property. All the convicts for the offence in relation to excise were the inmates of the Reformatory School. For the offence in relation to railway the equal number of convicts were the inmates of Reformatory and Borstal. For this offence only 7 boys were the inmates of the Industrial school. The offence of 3 boys of Borstal and 2 boys of Industrial School were not known.

Discussion

In 1860 and 1861 British Rule in India enacted the Indian Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860) and Criminal Procedure Code (Act XXV of 1861) respectively as *lex terra*.

"The first special law directly related to the treatment of juvenile delinquents in Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan was the Reformatory Schools Act of 1870, revised later in accordance with the recommendations of the Prison conference held in 1892, and known at the present time as the Reformatory School Act (Indian Act VIII of 1897). In these four countries, which have closely followed British precedents, the Penal Code, the

TABLE —V

District of conviction and incidence per thousand.

State	District of Conviction	Data Obtained	Male population According to Census 1951	Per thousand
WEST BENGAL	Calcutta	95	1,623,211	0.059
	Howrah	56	890,204	0.063
	24 Parganas	2	2,499,660	0.001
	Hooghly	8	823,923	0.010
	Burdwan	2	1,160,761	0.002
	Bankura	3	665,853	0.005
	Midnapore	6	1,718,459	0.003
	Nadia	1	590,936	0.002
	Murshidabad	7	869,458	0.008
	West Dinajpore	4	383,853	0.010
	Darjeeling	10	239,018	0.042
	Jalpaiguri	4	501,090	0.008
	Cooch Bihar	2	361,860	0.006
	Purulia	3	689,351*	0.004
	Not Known	2		
Total		205		
BIHAR	Ranchi	4	938,255	0.004
	Durbhanga	1	1,844,201	0.001
	Gaya	1	1,535,362	0.001
	(Saran) Chapra	1	1,501,253	0.001
	Monghyr	1	1,434,824	0.001
	Manbhum	1**		
	Not known	1		
Total		10		
ASSAM	Tejpore	1		
ORISSA	Ballassore	1		
Grand Total		217		

* According to census 1961.

** Treated as not known.

TABLE—VI

Types of crime and inmates of the Schools.

Type of Crime	Reformatory	Borstal	Industrial	Total
(1) Offences against property				
(i) Theft	74	18	21	113 (52.6)
(ii) House breaking and theft	4	2	—	6 (2.8)
(iii) House breaking and criminal trespass	2	2	1	5 (2.3)
(iv) Dacoity	1	3	—	4 (1.9)
(v) Criminal breach of trust	—	1	1	2 (0.9)
(vi) Possession of stolen property	10	3	2	15 (7.0)
Total	91	29	25	145
(2) Offence against human body				
(i) Murder	2	3	—	5 (2.3)
(ii) Grievous hurt	2	—	—	2 (0.9)
(iii) Kidnapping	2	4	—	6 (2.8)
(iv) Rape	1	4	—	5 (2.3)
(v) Unnatural offence	1	1	—	2 (0.9)
Total	8	12	—	20
(3) Abetment of any offence	1	6	1	8 (3.7)
(4) Begging	1	—	—	1 (0.5)
(5) Disorderly and riotious behaviour	1	—	—	1 (0.5)
(6) Forging currency notes	—	1	—	1 (0.5)
(7) Offences in relation to excise	10	—	—	10 (4.7)
(8) Offences in relation to Railway	11	11	7	29 (13.5)
(9) Offences not known	—	3	2	5
Grand Total	123	62	35	220*

N. B :—Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

*Three boys were convicted for two different offences simultaneously.

Criminal Procedure Code, the Reformatory Schools Act have played an important role in the shaping of the evolution of special legislation for juvenile offenders" (14).

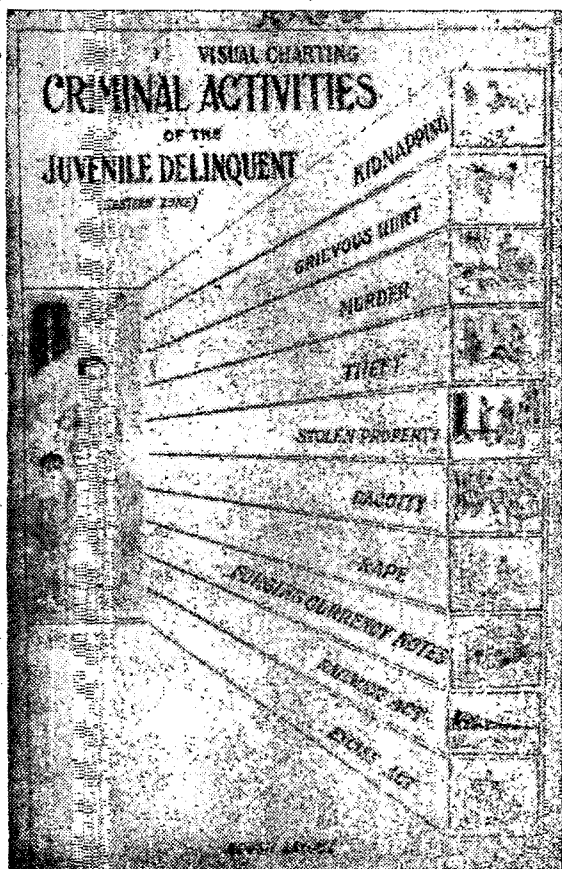
All boys, committing crime may not be called delinquents, rather they are problem children due to *ut infra* conventional definition.

"Criminal behaviour is behaviour in violation of the criminal law. No matter what the degree of immorality, reprehensibility, or indecency of an act, it is not a crime unless it is prohibited by the criminal law" (11).

Young offenders who are not manifestly brought under the purview of the law, cannot be said to be juvenile delinquents till they are detected, punished and are sent for reform (5).

A problem child does not necessarily become young offender or juvenile delinquent. "Juvenile delinquents (delinquencies ?) are in fact defined as acts which would be crime if committed by the adult (12)". On the other hand "the problem child is a child with problems" (13), which problems affect the society.

In Eastern India the young offenders are



generally convicted by the Reformatory Schools, Act and Children's Act passed by the respective province, where Whipping Act or Special Children's Act (1909) are in operation.

According to the former Act young offender means, "any boy who has been convicted of any offence punishable with transportation or imprisonment and who, at the time of such conviction, was under fifteen years" (10).

The upper age limit has been described by the Bengal Children's Act (2) and the Whipping Act (15) as sixteen.

From the definition it is clear that the age of the juvenile will be considered at the time of conviction, when the order has been passed and not at the time of commission of the offence.

Another indispensable point, in Eastern

India, to be noted that under fifteen years old girl offenders will neither be convicted, nor be sent to any reformatory, in an area where the Reformatory Schools Act is in action. Very rarely the young girl offenders are sent to the ordinary prison, if the offence is not very serious. On the other hand the same girl offenders may receive special treatment if the offence is committed in the area, where the Children's Act is in force.

It is also observed that the girl is acquitted *ulgo*. Even in *grande passion* the girl is found not guilty and the boy is charged with offences, either kidnapping or rape, etc., though the girl initiated the offence, either due to sex superstitions or for fulfilment of some other wishes (8).

Conclusion

The States, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Manipore, Tripura and Sikkim *le tout ensemble*, is Eastern India. The total male juveniles, ranging from age 7 to 21 years, in Eastern India is 14,707,000 (according to census 1951), and the incidence of juvenile delinquent per thousand is 0.015.

The most cosmopolitan State in Eastern India is West Bengal. The people of Bihar, Orissa, Madras, U. P., Nepal, Assam, East Pakistan, etc., are living here side by side and in very much congested dwellings.

The reason for greatest incidence per thousand in the district of Howrah may be expressed in the language of Dr. Biswas, "this is possible because Howrah is a mill section where a large number of coolies live and most of the parents or guardians of the delinquents of the Howrah area work in one or the other of the Mills (3)".

Besides, another reason, *in posse*, is that both Calcutta and Howrah are thickly populated as well as people of different culture, customs, manners, etc., are living in the

discomfort of living in a cultural *melee*, pomp of *le beau monde*, etc. breed jealousy, greed, and many other longings and lusts in the minds of the inhabitants. Parents, guardians, as a matter of fact, find little time to control, amend and direct their scions to lead a decent life, because they, generally, keep themselves busy in their affairs of bread earning. Certain parents or guardians *nolens volens* persuade their children to commit offences occasionally due to the unconscious influence of *ut supra* shortcomings sometimes due to poverty. In the United States, males have higher crime rate in the city residents than rural residents (15). The overcrowding and housing problem in Calcutta and Howrah are also the reasons for the greatest incidence per thousand. Majority of the juvenile offenders in New Jersey came from slums with insufficient light, poor ventilation, overcrowded room and land space (5). Also there has been definite relation between sex delinquency and overcrowding in the home (4). Model A Elliot mentioned in the book *Correctional Education and the Delinquent Girl* that in crowded quarters from homes with five or more children two-thirds of the girls were sent to prison at Sleighton Farms PA. The rates of crime delinquency etc., was reduced in English cities after rehousing (5).

Besides, the scarcity of the playground or space for the children in the cities and towns is also one of the cause for juvenile delinquency. The children used to play in the street violating the traffic rules, and opposing the town regulation. In the language of Smith, "Juvenile delinquency often begins with the attempt to play in the streets contrary to town regulation.

"This play may be a nuisance to the community, but it is nothing less than the very life of the child" (17). It is observed here, that most of the delinquent's first lesson of crime is viola-

ting the traffic rules during the play on the street. Gradually they are infused with courage to be insubordinate at home. Ultimately they consciously or unconsciously venture to rebel and renounce to obey the *lex-terra*. Howrah is not only overcrowded and housing is a big problem but the playground for the children is in great want also there.

The monthly distribution of the juvenile delinquents, apparently, is incoherent. But when the said distribution has been considered in relation to the appreciably isolated seasons of India, mainly in Eastern India, it has been perceived that the variation is neither pell-mell nor the distribution is at 'sixes and sevens'. Rather it is due to the seasonal influence on juvenile delinquents (8), that has been explained separately.

Other factors, e.g., social grouping (9), age (11), etc., relating to the juvenile delinquents, as well as some determinants of juvenile delinquency (10) have been distinctly discussed.

The parental influence and the educational influence on the juvenile delinquents, under reference are being elaborately considered separately.

In conclusion the author acknowledges that the study mentioned here is neither complete, nor can be taken for a precise generalisation for two reasons; firstly the survey was preliminary; secondly, in Eastern India the trial of the young offenders in the juvenile court was, even where juvenile courts exist, not compulsory. Many juvenile offenders were convicted by the adult court and had been sent even to the ordinary prisons. Also a good number of juvenile delinquents, under trial were in the ordinary prisons in place of remand homes. These delinquents were not taken into consideration, neither they were examined due to want of requisite permission for scientific study from the authority concerned.

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Indian Periodicals

Problems of Population Control

Writing in the *Khadi Gramodyog*, U. N. Dhebar discusses one of the most burning questions of the day.

One of the most important issues that India has to face is the problem of population. We are growing too fast for our land to support us and our development schemes to catch up with our growth. Population is not a phenomenon that can be checked overnight. Immediate steps have nevertheless to be taken to prevent the population explosion which threatens to destroy our economic fabric.

A vast propaganda machine, adjunct to the bureaucratic edifice of the Health Ministry of the Government of India, is being built up to propagate the need and means of population control. Like everything else it seeks to copy the approach of the sophisticated west, in conditions hundred per cent different in terms of background, education, standards of sanitation and health, and man-woman relationship.

The processes of reproduction, whether human or otherwise, form the base on which the whole edifice of creation rests, so far as the living beings are concerned. The instinct of survival is a basic instinct ; none would like to take a risk on the side of ending with himself or his children or grand-children ; there is also the question of self-fulfilment as a social being in the cultural sense ; there is the aspect of sex too. One cannot isolate birth from all these human urges so easily as it is sought to be done.

Economic Happiness

The governmental propaganda operates upon the superficial layers of human motivation. It

approaches the problem from a limited angle of economic prosperity of the people. The bulk of our people, especially the womenfolk, looks at the problem of child birth from a traditional angle based on the religious concept of family obligation ; a good many have a feeling that birth of life is not just an accident ; it is not just a couple that brings forth children ; life is God's gift which should not be interfered with. A person with a crowd of children had never been considered as an unthinking person in our society.

The central point in population control in the circumstances cannot be an appeal to self-interest ; but should be an appeal to duty. When people were few in number and space relatively unlimited, it was understandable that society in this country emphasised the obligation of populating it, as the Soviet Union does today. Childlessness in the circumstances naturally came to be regarded as something strange and in course of time began to be looked upon as the greatest affliction that could befall a married couple. The blessed ~~one~~ thought in terms of hundred sons and so on. But in the changed situation when the country is bursting at the seams with an ever-growing population which has already created a problem of space the duty lies the other way. No person who is conscious of his obligation to society, can throw even the slightest, undue strain on the already strained resources of the society. Any further straining of the resources would naturally be harmful to the society. But then the individuals cannot escape harm either. Second, it is necessary for everyone to look to the health chart of the nation. With

meagre nourishment it must become a problem unless physical and moral reserves are built up. Financial and technical resources can only then be utilised fully to the best advantage of the nation to carry the heavy burden that awaits it.

Rousing People's Consciousness

But this consciousness of responsibility can only follow proper education of the citizenry on the subject. The problem therefore is a positive problem of imparting education on the subject of health and the proper method for it is one of creating consciousness about one's responsibility to society and to oneself. The question of education on the subject of health of the nation on physical, moral and mental side has, however, been relegated to the background. Jugglery with statistics, love for shortcuts and slipshod thinking are vitiating the climate, where an appeal to the sense of national purpose, and duty could have provided the right appeal.

In its handling of the problem, the government is guided more by methods which have sometimes nothing to do with education in health. Family planning as practised in the west is more out of a desire to get the utmost out of one's life in the physical sense. Greater and greater comfort is its aim. The whole object is to reduce the sharers in the comfort.

Mankind has to study the law of life as it works in the book of nature among living beings, if this activity has to stand the test of time. A healthy person is a person whose functions are in tune with nature. Nature is no respecter of person. Those who transgress her laws must be prepared to pay the price. Eroticism is becoming a problem in the west as frightful as is the problem of numbers in the east. Anyone who studies the serious literature of the west will realise the extent of anxiety it is causing. The Profumo scandal and the public discussions in the nature of

national introspection that followed, reveal the state of public health of England more than the figures of deaths and births issued by the Public Health Department. In U.S.A. the problem is presented in a different form. We have only to see the toll in terms of divorces, suicides, homicidal tendencies and lunacy American society is paying.

India of the past made a mistake by running a hazard with the health of the society by imposing spiritual disciplines without educating the mind of the individual. The result was a split personality and all that it involved. West may be making a similar mistake. Its experiments may result in waste in the name of comfort and licence in the name of liberty. There is no shortcut in relation to problems affecting the very basis of human existence—the problems relating to life which begins with birth. Whoever tampers with the natural flow of that life has the responsibility to see that it does not perpetrate harm in the long run.

Gandhian View

Gandhiji approached this problem from three different angles according to the level of consciousness of the people. He thought in terms of total *brahmacharya* or celibacy for the seeker, a partnership for social service for the understanding, and an environment of simple, pure and healthy social system for the rest. He prescribed what in his terminology he used to call self-control. His view was based on a rational view of enlightened human existence. It would guard against physical wastage, mental degeneration and spiritual bankruptcy. It would take away the edge of suspicion in different social groups in India that it would result in reducing their strength; reduction in numbers would be more than compensated by the improvement in quality of the human material. This view would also remove

the apprehension in the mind of the thinking people that curbs on family would bring down the intellectual level of the community.

The healthy approach to the problem of population should begin by fixing a desirable age for marriage. Social health and not social expediency should be a guide in determining that age. Resources of educative propaganda can be concentrated on two aspects. Parents should be awakened to their responsibility towards their children with an emphasis on the quality of human material and their obligation to the nation.

Simultaneously efforts should be made to generate a healthy climate which could help people in observing those restraints which are essential in order to enable them to fulfil this obligation. Here also an attitude that this is utopia is only another name for irresponsible thinking. Climate and environment play a decisive role in influencing people's activities. Vinobaji attributes the low rate of increase in population in Madras to the climate of austerity that prevails in Madras. There is no justification for millions that we spend on propaganda if we do not believe in the dynamics of climate and environment. The whole apparatus of communication, however, is operating against the basic need to educate people in a healthy marital existence. Cinema is the worst sinner in this respect. This exposes the utilitarian

character of our approach. At the base the objective of family planning must be education in physical, mental and moral health.

But I know I am arguing for the end of the earth for those who have laid their stores by the standards and values of life of the west. Their ignorance of the conditions in the west, however, is equalled by their ignorance of the Indian thought. India evolved its pattern of life not because a few Brahmans wanted it. Before it took to it, however, it went through the whole experience through which the west has yet to pass. It would be absurd to think of our forefathers as dry, long-faced monks. They knew that cheer of life was absolutely essential for the happiness and growth of the individual. But they had also the wisdom to foresee its pitfalls and more than that to think how this happiness could be assured over the longest possible period. They were obliged for this reason to think in terms of an integrated approach to the problem of life. Physical pleasure alone cannot be the summum bonum of life for the intelligent and the enlightened just as the negative approach to it cannot be the summum bonum of life. Fuller life cannot avoid satisfaction of the physical hunger of the body as it cannot avoid the satisfaction of the moral and spiritual hunger of the human soul.



Foreign Periodicals

Japan : Of Dynamo and Destiny

The following editorial from the *Saturday Review* presents a picture of Japan today, which is as dynamic as it is interesting :

Nowhere in the world—not in New York, Los Angeles, West Berlin, Sydney—is there anything to compare with the raw energy and explosive thrust of Tokyo. The entire city is being torn apart and remade. Huge gashes are being cut into the heart of Tokyo to accommodate a network of elevated super-highways and monorail high-speed public transports. Crisscrossing the construction maze at many points is the underground steel ungle that is rapidly resolving itself into what is expected to be the finest subway in the world. The city has become the habitat of bulldozers, steamshovels, cranes, drilling and riveting machines. Literally hundreds of new structures are going up—office buildings, lepartment stores, hotels, theaters, etc. Through the night and with only the briefest of pauses for changes of shift, the work continues. Tokyo is racing against a deadline. The Olympics.

Obviously, the building boom cannot be attributed solely to the Olympics, with its expectation of perhaps 100,000 visitors. Much of what is being built would probably be built in due course anyway; what the Olympics are doing is to provide incentive, acceleration, hurrury. Basically, however, what is happening in Tokyo today is actually a magnification of what is going on all over Japan. It appears almost as though the entire populace has been entered in the four-minute mile.

The boom goes far beyond building. In

the space of little more than a dozen years Japan has made itself into a highly skilled and diversified forcing-house of industrial production. Its annual rate of industrial growth for the past decade is the highest in the world. At one time it had a reputation for producing inexpensive, low-quality merchandise. Today, it can hold its own with any industrial nation in the manufacture of precision equipment and sophisticated products. It manufactures a wide variety of electronic computers, automation devices, vacuum tubes, transistorized television sets, and stereophonic units. Its automobiles go in for high styling and engineering innovations. Its taxicabs have features for the convenience of passengers and drivers that put European and American models to shame.

Meanwhile, farmers are growing more food on less land. It has not been necessary, as in prewar years, to import large quantities of rice. Rice production has been increasing year by year.

Economic levels being relative, the Japanese standard of living is still substantially below that of the United States. But the average Japanese income of \$ 400 per capita towers Mt. Fuji-like above the rest of Asia. The significant comparison, of course, is with Japanese history until now. Never before have the Japanese people been as well-fed, well-housed, well-educated, and well-entertained as now. More than 90 per cent of the families in cities own television sets. Eighty per cent of all families have TV. Family ownership of radios is in excess of 98 per cent throughout the

country. The average housewife has a battery of modern drudgery-savers at her command—rice cookers, air conditioners, washing machines, refrigerators, sewing machines.

One of the characteristics of Japan not so long ago—not just in its manufactured goods but in many of its values—was its apparent imitativeness. This is no longer true. Japan today aims not just to compete but to lead. Its scientific laboratories and research facilities, like industry itself, are going full blast. Products are being invented every day. Design, whether in architecture, fabrics, or machines, has become as important as mass production.

The change in the economic condition and physical appearance in Japan is visible and dramatic. Less apparent but just as real are the changes within the people themselves. Psychologically and philosophically, the Japanese today seem like transients in their own country. They seem not quite connected with their past, somewhat befuddled by their present, and almost indifferent to the future.

Some European observers discern in these disconnections all the makings of an existentialist society. That may well be; but the quality of sustained introspection that would have to serve as the base for such a development is not readily discernible. Neither is it easily invoked. Indeed, it is the very absence of philosophical or spiritual foundations that defines the problem and in many ways the ordeal of contemporary Japan. Traditionalism, which used to be the vital ingredient in holding the nation together and in fixing the national purpose, has come unstuck. The mystic chords of memory, in Lincoln's celebrated phrase, have lost the power to evoke or impel.

Whatever the virtues of the old traditions, they were at least interrelated and cohesive.

The Emperor was more than a monarch; he was the binding force for the spiritual, philosophical, and political values of the nation. The individual saw his importance in collective terms; he justified his existence only as he served and was responsive to the larger entity of group and nation, the supreme manifestation of which was the Emperor.

In the old days, because of the Emperor, any war which Japan fought was a holy war. And, because of the Emperor, victory was certain. How could a godhead lose a war? It was perhaps inevitable, therefore, that Japan's crushing defeat by the United States should be regarded by the Japanese in more than national or military terms. It was a defeat for tradition, for their total mystique, and for any sense of national origin or destiny.

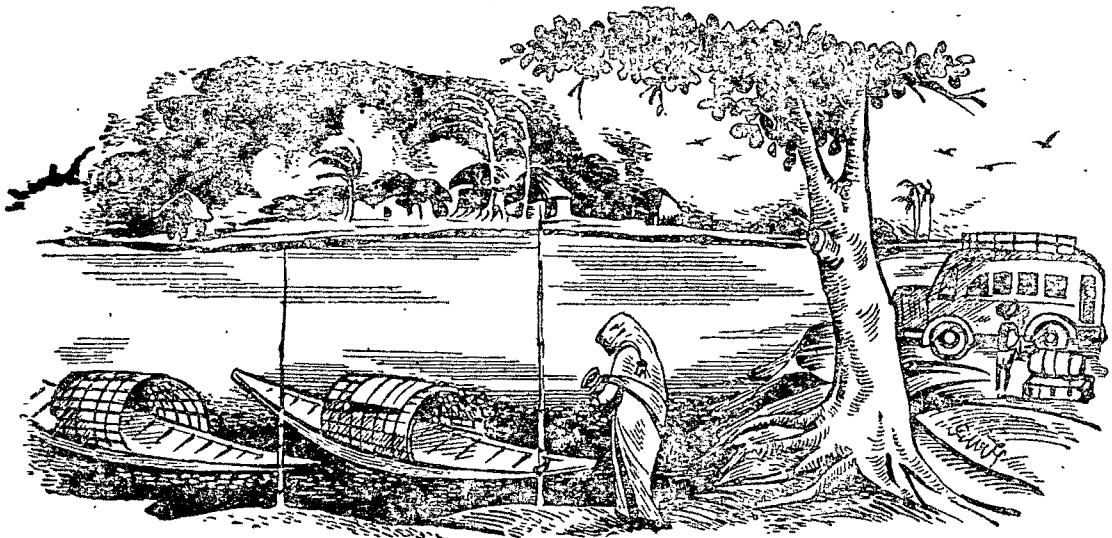
For the victor, the spoils of war were not so much the resources of the nation as the souls of the people. Spiritually and psychologically, the Japanese gave themselves to the United States. This was not what we wanted or were prepared to receive. We wanted them to abandon the ideas and the institutions that led them to Pearl Harbor. And we had our own image and institutions as the only readily available alternative. What we were not prepared to receive was the totality of the moral surrender. The Japanese eagerly took in what we were saying but they couldn't metabolize it. They knew that what we wanted them to do and believe was right because we had demonstrated that rightness in the fact of our being there. But they couldn't seem to find a place in themselves where the new ideas would take hold. It was like trying to grow corn where only rice had grown before.

Democracy, we told the Japanese, meant

the supremacy of the individual. The state or society existed for the purpose of serving the individual. Because of the traditional subordination in Japan of the individual to society and its needs, this was and still is a difficult concept for the individual to comprehend. He had been conditioned to duty and we steered him in the direction of freedom and responsibility. The result is that many Japanese have confused individualism with self-assertiveness or anti-social behavior. They don't easily make the essential distinction between vital initiative and predatory opportunism.

Even without the war and the Occupation, Japan tended to be caught in a straddle between East and West. These two events have compounded the disequilibrium, with the result that Japan in many ways today is a nation in search of its soul and even its name.

In this sense, there is something heartbreaking about the place, despite the glitter of rising steel and neon signs. One wonders whether people are becoming so preoccupied with making things that there is no time for the contemplation of individual or national destiny. Turmoil and friction may create the raw electricity for generating ideas but some degree of serenity or spaciousness of spirit is required to bring them to full size. But the picture is not entirely bleak. There are signs that a new generation, neither molded originally by tradition nor scarred by the bombs, is coming of age. It has vast energy, intelligence, skill. And it is asking good questions. It is beginning to rediscover aspects of freedom from which it can derive creative growth and personal dignity. Most important of all, it is learning that there is no essential inconsistency between the two.



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ON THE WAY TO MARKET

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Artist—Shri Tarak Dey

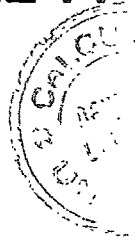
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NOTES

The World

The eyes of the Afro-Asian world were focussed on the Congo during the latter half of November. And as the main concern was about the "hostages," who were mostly Belgian and American men, women and children held by the Congolese rebels, there was a good deal of active interest evinced by the West in this matter. The rebels, who were mostly tribal warriors who were alleged to have been roughly trained and armed by the Chinese by the Western press, held a considerable part of the Congo inclusive of Stanleyville, the third largest city and the key to the north-eastern part of the country.

A column of Government troops, led by white mercenaries were slowly fighting their way north, when the rebels declared that they would execute one of the hostages, an American surgeon, who had organized a medical mission in the Congolese North-East at a place called Wasolo. The rebels had accused Dr. Paul Carlson, the surgeon, of being a Major in the U.S. armed forces and of being engaged in espionage. The Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, who had been engaged in an attempt to mediate between the Congolese Government and the rebels and who had tried to negotiate on the doctor's behalf, had said that he could only carry on with the negotiations if all fight-

ing were to cease—which would mean delaying the attack on Stanleyville by the Government troops.

Soon, after all that, Belgium, the former ruler of Congo and the country with the largest number of nationals amongst the hostages, initiated a strong move. It announced that a battalion of Belgian paratroopers had been moved in U.S. Air-force planes to Ascension island off the West Coast of Africa "to undertake, if needed, a rescue operation for purely humanitarian reasons." After a protest by Premier Tshombe of the Congo, the Belgians said that they would not move in without permission from the Congolese Government.

The Congolese Government was informed, indeed the news was broadcast all over the World. What followed was narrated in a **New York Times** editorial as follows:

Premier Tshombe consented. At the same time the U.S. agreed to meet with a Congolese rebel emissary in Nairobi, Kenya, to negotiate for the safety of the white hostages. The stage was set for the events of last week.

On Sunday, the rebel "Foreign Minister" arrived in Nairobi—but the talks with the American Embassy collapsed as soon as they began over his insistence that the Government's spearhead column, now a day's march from Stanleyville, be turned back. The Belgian battalion was flown

from Ascension Island to Kamina, a Congolese airstrip three hours' flying time from Stanleyville.

Over the Stanleyville radio came shouts of "Lumumba water! Lumumba water"—an evident effort to invoke magic from the late Premier's name. And in a broadcast, Mr. Gbenye sent instructions "to all our brother Lumumbists—if American bombardment comes, take your machetes and cut up the foreigners into pieces."

Monday night, in Washington and Brussels, the final decision was made. At dawn Tuesday, just as the Congolese overland column reached the outskirts of Stanleyville, Belgian paratroops began dropping on the city's airport.

For the next four days—as the "paras" seized Stanleyville, flew on to a white settlement at Paulis, 225 miles away, and oversaw the evacuation by air of whites straggling in from the surrounding jungle—there unfolded a spectacle of horror to rival anything the Congo drama had revealed before. These were some scenes:

Outside the Victoria Hotel in downtown Stanleyville, the troops' arrival interrupted what minutes later would have been the massacre of some 250 white hostages, most of them Belgians. "They lined us up," one of them said. "One of the guards shouted, 'If we are going to die you are going to die too.' Another voice gave the order to fire. The people on both sides of me were killed. Then one of the guards said, 'There are the paras!' Then they fled."

Twenty-nine persons, including a number of women and children, were dead. Among them was Dr. Paul E. Carlson, an American medical missionary whose sentencing to death as a "spy" had been announced over Stanleyville radio, and an American woman missionary. More than 40 persons were wounded.

In Stanleyville's African quarter across the Congo River the paratroops found a heap of bodies—45 white hostages, including a number of priests and four Spanish nurses, hacked and mutilated. There were only six survivors of that massacre. One of them, a planter, said: "We paid for our

lives with money and beer, but the priests and nuns had nothing to give."

In Paulis 211 white hostages were rescued. But 22, including an American missionary, had been "executed"—beaten slowly with beer bottles and clubs, starting at the neck and working down.

There were severe reactions, of course, in the African World and in the Communist countries as well. The N. Y. Times report said:

By this time the complications were mounting. The action was attacked by most African nations as "imperialist" intervention in an internal Congolese affair; the reaction ranged from pained reproof from Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, to an angry speech by Algeria's Ahmed Ben Bella promising more arms—and "volunteers" as well—for the rebels. In Cairo, African students burned the U.S. Embassy library.

A special committee of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) met in Nairobi and recommended an emergency session of all African leaders Dec. 18 to deal with the Congo problem.

Russia protested to the U.S., Belgium and Britain, calling the evacuation of white residents a pretext for an attempt to intervene against the struggle of "the Congolese people." All Eastern European capitals echoed the same line. In Moscow, Sofia and Prague, mobs led by African students stoned and damaged the diplomatic missions of the U.S., Belgium and Britain.

As for Communist China, she expressed "indignation" and pledged "all possible measures" to help the rebels.

At a news conference yesterday, President Johnson defended the Stanleyville action as a humanitarian move. "We think we saved hundreds and thousands of lives," he said. The State Department said about 1,650 persons of 17 nationalities (including 55 Americans) had been evacuated.

In Brussels, Foreign Minister Spaak of Belgium, who had sent in the paratroopers for the rescue, told a hushed Parliament, "I have done my duty. My conscience is at peace."

The matter is now before the Security Council of the U.N.

A major world-event, worthy of record, took place at the beginning of November, when Lyndon Johnson was elected President of the United States for a term of four years. He was the nominee of the Democratic Party and he defeated his Republican opponent Barry Goldwater by a "land slide" majority. Mr. Johnson's "popular vote" was 42 million, 15.6 millions more than that of his rival, and he got 61.3 per cent of the votes,—both being records. Barry Goldwater's campaign was based on race prejudice, repudiation of peaceful approach to Communism on all counts and a generally retrograde attitude where humane considerations were involved. His defeat on such a massive scale has gone a long way towards reassuring the world that the U.S. is working for World-peace according to its own lights.

The other significant event is the declaration by the Soviets that there is going to be a cut of 500 million rubles in the Soviet defence budget. It has been reported that Washington is giving serious consideration to the implications of this announcement and, if on a factual analysis it really means a reduction in the armed might of the Soviets, then a corresponding cut may be made in the defence expenditure of the U.S.A.

His Holiness the Pope asked that the race in armaments should cease and that all progressive nations should impose a 10% cut on their expenditure on armament and men-under arms, and spend the sums saved on the relief of suffering, hunger and ignorance in the backward and underdeveloped countries of the world.

An idea of the amounts involved can be got from the figures released by the Atlantic Alliance authorities at Paris recently. According to that U.S.A. spent, in the current calendar year, 54,339 millions dollars. Canada spent 790 millions Canada dollars, Britain £2043 million, France 23485 million Francs, West Germany 20929 million Marks, Denmark 1685 million Kroner, Norway 1646 million Kroner and Italy 1,100,000 Lire. The total comes to about 75,000 million dollars= 38000 Crores Rupees.

The Eucharistic Congress

Bombay was the venue of the 38th International Eucharistic Congress, which was held for nine days starting from the 28th of November last. This is the first time, since the first International Eucharistic Congress in 1881, that this imposing spiritual demonstration of the unity of Catholicism in Christianity and the public worship of the "Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist"—the bread and wine of Communion—has taken place in a predominantly non-Christian country. Christians of all denominations form barely 3% of India's population, the 6½ million Catholics forming less than 1½%. On the other hand the history of Christianity in India started nearly 2000 years ago, with the advent of St. Thomas the Apostle.

India was chosen as a venue by Pope John XXIII, and his successor the present Pope, Paul VI has made history by gracing the Congress with his presence. The Congress assumed a special religious significance with the arrival of Pope, Paul VI. The Papal Legate, Gregory Cardinal Agagianian preceded His Holiness and performed the opening at the Oval Maidan, where more than 150000 people were present to take part in the ceremonies, besides about 20000 people who stood outside the enclosures. 9000 delegates from 33 countries attended the Congress, 500 Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops forming a small section of them. The only predominantly Catholic country that was unrepresented was Portugal, which had opposed the visit of the Pope to India. The biggest contingent, of about 1500, came from Ceylon, followed by about 1200 from U.S.A.

The 38th International Eucharist Congress had as its theme "The Eucharist and the New Man." In the "apostolic letter" of appointment of Cardinal Agagianian the Pope dwelt on the spiritual problems facing mankind. The Pope said the World of today, in which men seemed to be submerged in material things, had great need of a "renewal of spirit." "May this renewal gush forth, as if from a spring of living water, beyond the shores of India and cover the whole world."

Describing India as that immensely and densely populated land, renowned for its ancient civilization and outstanding for the rapid advances it is making since the attainment of its independence" the Pope invoked God's blessings on the Congress by calling upon the Holy spirit to inspire the "ho-y undertaking and abundantly pour forth His light and strength."

The inaugural ceremonies started with a "full throated rendering of India's National Anthem by a 4000-strong choir of uniformed school children." The formal colourful procedure of the enthronement of the Papal Legate and the presentation of credentials by the Legate and the reading of the Apostolic letter of appointment followed. The Papal Anthem, the Nicene Creed and the Mangalacharanam were then sung by the same choir. Our Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Hussain, whose presence indicated the Governments' approval, said that he was confident that the Eucharistic Congress would make a notable contribution towards bringing about a deeper understanding among men and nations. He hoped it would pave the way for a new social order free from racial discrimination and exploitation and in which truth, justice and mutual respect would prevail. He mentioned the part played by the Bible in the days of India's struggle for independence. "Gandhiji, the father of our nation, sought solace," the Vice-President said, "in some of his darkest hours in the teachings of Christ."

Cardinal Agagianian pointed to the fact that from time immemorial India had been noted for her deep religious instincts. "Indians are masters of spiritual devotion and austerity which were often rendered little more than lip service in other parts of the world. They are unflinching devotees of human ideals and religious convictions. India can teach us all and we, too, are here to learn."

Dr. John Heenan Archbishop of Westminster, said a day would be set aside for Mass and Holy Communion in Britain, for the people of India—not only for the Catholics or Christians but for the people of all religions who had displayed a noble example

of co-operation and unity and spirit of charity in arranging the Congress.

The arrival of Pope Paul VI and his presence in Bombay for four days, lent a deep and special religious significance to the events associated with the Congress.

Pope Paul VI, who had come to India—in his own words—"as a pilgrim, a pilgrim of joy, of serenity and of love" was accorded the grandest welcome ever given to a foreign dignitary, at Bombay. About 1,500,000 people turned out to welcome the Pope, at the Santa Cruz air port and all along the 15 mile route to the Oval and from the Oval to the Archbishop's house, where he stayed. There was no untoward incident, anywhere, during his four day's stay at Bombay.

He was received at the air port by Cardinal Gracias, the Archbishop of Bombay, India's Vice-President Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Prime Minister Mr. Shastri, the Governor of Bombay, Dr. V. Cherian, Chief Minister, Mr. Naik and the Information and Broadcasting Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Dr. Zakir Hussain gave a brief speech of Welcome in which he said the people of India were "deeply touched by the great honour you have done us by selecting India for one of your first visits abroad." India had looked forward, he said, to the visit, not only because of the Pope's position as the head of one of the most important religions of the world, but also "because it is an integral and highly cherished part of our tradition to greet and welcome a great spiritual leader like Your Holiness. The spiritual values you represent, and the quest for peace for which you have always stood so firmly, form the cornerstone of India's ancient heritage, which is the message of truth and non-violence."

The Pope in his reply expressed his "great joy" in finding himself among the Indian people on the occasion of an important religious event. He extolled the people of India for their untiring efforts for world peace and their industry in seeking prosperity in harmony and concord with the other nations of the world.

The Pope's visit almost every waking minute of his four days stay was subjected

to the blazing lights of world-publicity. And every detail of India's welcome and every minute ripple of public response and reactions to the various acts and words made and uttered by this great spiritual leader during his "pilgrimage" was likewise blazoned forth by TV and newsreel and expert reportage, all the world over. It is indeed a matter for satisfaction for us Indians that despite all this publicity, even the most crooked of foreign news-hounds and commentators could not find anything tangible by which to smear either the Indian people or those who arranged the details of this great spiritual festival. Even the news-skunks of the U.S.A., like the correspondents of the weekly *Time*, could only find the puerile and fanatic manifestations of a small group, belonging to what the U.S. press termed sometime back as the "lunatic fringe of Indian politics," for highlighting, and in the general coverage of the Congress, could only invent the shortcomings of the those who arranged the proceedings, with regard to the imaginary wishes of the Pope!

To all Indians, however, from the highest to the lowliest labourer, who strained all his body and nerves for a glimpse of the great spiritual leader and to hear his voice, the Pope's visit was a success. It was a satisfying experience for all intellectuals, regardless of religious denominations or creeds, of the deeply spiritual appreciation of our often decried aspirations, by one whose eminence and clarity of vision in such matters are regarded as being beyond challenge by 500 millions of the World's peoples.

Pope Paul said in Bombay "Yours is a land of ancient culture, the cradle of great religions, the home of a nation that has sought God with relentless desire. Rarely has this longing for God been expressed with words so full of the spirit of Advent as in your sacred books many centuries before Christ: "From the unreal lead me to the real, from darkness lead me to light, from death lead me to immortality."

Only the purest of the pure in heart and the most completely and transparently dedicated to God of Souls could respond

thus to exhortations contained in the sacred texts of an alien religion.

The Pope expressed to the vast crowds, gathered at the air port to have a last look at him prior to his departure, his own feeling with the words "here we leave our heart."

Many, many, millions of hearts have been touched and refreshed by his words, during his brief stay in this country.

The Language Issue

The eminent gentlemen who drew up the draft Constitution of India after the advent of freedom, were doubtlessly vastly learned where the laws of the Indian Empire of the British days were concerned. Further they were imbued with an enthusiastic urge to rectify the disabilities that the common citizen of India suffered in the eye of the law as administered by British bureaucrats charged with the running of the Empire of those days. And lastly they were fervently desirous of removing all the administrative paraphernalia of foreign domination that had been imposed on the country in order to facilitate the ruling and the running of the country. The English language was one of the principal components of that system of administration and as such it was marked out for removal.

Unfortunately these very same eminent gentlemen had no experience of the complexities of administration or of the pit-falls, and thorny barriers that lie in the road to nation-building, nor did they possess the gumption and horse-sense that is evolved out of close contact with the people's problems as is becoming apparent clearly now. As a result many of the definite steps laid down in the Constitution in all innocence—and ignorance of the issues involved—by the Constitution makers, now present dangerous implications which may cause very severe repercussions in the country unless the issues involved are handled with great skill and tact.

The language issue is one of the major problems created by our learned pundits who laid down the Constitution. They fixed an arbitrary date for the replacement

of English by Hindi as an official language, the date being 26th January 1965. In their superlative enthusiasm and abysmal ignorance about the immensity of the tasks involved in developing a comparatively backward language, by expanding its vocabulary, by equipping it with technical terms and language equivalents which would be acceptable all over the country and by adapting and modifying its grammar and usage to fit in with the exigencies of everyday use by those who are Hindi-speaking by birth, they put down this arbitrary and impracticable date. Besides that, of course, was the colossal task of educating over sixty-five per cent of the people in the use of a new language, which was as alien to them as English, in so far as the Southern areas of the country were concerned. The task of adequately training the teachers for the people speaking any of the other thirteen languages is itself a major task since it would mean equipping at least six lakh teachers with an adequate knowledge of two languages and the skills involved in the teaching of the two media for expression.

The enthusiasts for the supplanting of English by Hindi have not even thought it necessary to evolve a common language for those who live in the Hindi speaking areas. A man speaking the Hindustani used in the upper and western parts of Uttar Pradesh would not be familiar with the "refined"—which means crudely Sanskritized-rastrabhasa propagated by the enthusiasts. In any case a wide range of possible variants in Hindi vocabulary and usage should be definitely listed, codified and approved by a really competent body of Hindi literary men and specialists in language teaching.

Then comes the question of teaching equipment such as text books, readers dictionaries, etc. We do not know about other languages, but we are painfully aware of the lack of any adequate and correct English-Hindi and Hindi-English or Bengali-Hindi, Hindi-Bengali dictionaries. There is not one in existence that is either adequate or really correct. Most of them have a grossly and woefully incomplete coverage of technical or highly sophisticated terminology

and in many cases the meanings given are misleading in the extreme. The provision of text-books too is inadequate as they have not been drawn up along the lines that are really useful to either the teacher or the learner.

What is needed most of all is an adequate lexicon—or rather two lexicons—for English-Hindi and Hindi-English students. This should be prepared by a really competent body of lexicographers and not merely by men whose knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit is great but whose acquaintance with technical, scientific and other complex English terminology is inadequate.

Indeed, there is an urgent need for bilingual dictionaries, from English to the fourteen Indian languages, for the purpose of extending the scope of instruction in the regional languages to the higher reaches of education. The dictionaries available at the present day are all inadequate.

It is this sorry state of affairs that has forced our Education Minister Mr. Chagla to declare that English should continue as the link language until West Bengal and South India were in a position to adopt Hindi. His statement in the Lok Sabha was reported as follows:

The Education Minister, Mr. Chagla, declared in the Lok Sabha on Dec. 11 that English should continue as the link language until South India and Bengal were in a position to adopt Hindi, report UNI and PTI.

Replying to the debate on the annual report of the University Grants Commission, Mr. Chagla rebutted charges that he was gradually changing the Government's policy in regard to Hindi.

The Minister said that the transition from English to regional languages as the medium of instruction in universities "must be careful, slow and well prepared".

"We must work for the day" when the national language would become the link language in universities, but till then English must continue.

He added amidst cheers, "You cannot ram down Hindi through the throats of South India and Bengal".

In the interest of national unity and

also in the interest of maintaining high standards of education, English should be developed so long as it continued to be a part of the Indian educational system...

The Minister said that no time limit could be set for the change-over to Hindi. Most States were now preparing to teach English from the third standard.

The present stand of the Government had been adopted after very careful consideration and had been supported by the Chief Ministers, the Inter-University Board, the National Integration Conference, the Official Language Commission and the National Integration Council. It had the approval of Parliament as well.

His attempt had been "to argue, counsel and persuade" the States to work for the transition to Hindi.

But, he declared firmly amidst cheers, "I will not be a party to forcing Hindi upon the South, Bengal or any part of the country".

Mr. Chagla's speech was marked by interruptions as well as cheers. At one stage, an S.S.P. protagonist of Hindi, Mr. Kishan Pattanayak, whose frequent interruptions were resented by many members walking out.

Mr. Chagla said he had been accused by Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri and Mr. U. M. Trivedi during the debate of having deviated from the Government's policy in regard to the medium of instruction.

Since the issue was cropping up again and again like King Charles' head, he would satisfy the House as to the Government policy "once and for all".

"The Government has agreed that ultimately the medium of instruction in universities will be the regional languages (some cheers) there is no doubt about that", he said. That must be the logical evolution of the policy of introducing the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

But—that is an important 'but'—this again is the policy of the Government that the transition from English as the medium of instruction in universities to the regional languages should be gradual, well thought out and after proper preparation is made".

The decisions taken at the Chief Ministers' Conference, which took place shortly after Mr. Chagla rebutted the charges of the Hindi enthusiasts in the Lok Sabha, also followed along the same lines. The decisions were as follows:

English will continue to be used for communication between the Centre and the non-Hindi-speaking States, as at present, even after January 26, 1965, when Hindi will be the official language of the Union.

Hindi will, however, be used progressively only in case of communication with the States which have adopted Hindi as their official language.

There should also be a convention that communication between Hindi and non-Hindi-speaking States should be generally in English and if the original communication from a Hindi-speaking State is in Hindi, an authorised English translation should accompany it.

These decisions were taken today at the Chief Ministers' conference which began here today. The two-day conference has been convened by the Union Home Minister, Mr. G. L. Nanda, and today's discussion mainly centred round the implementation of the Constitutional provision regarding the official language of the Union and enforcement of various foodgrains control orders and laws relating to this.

It is to be hoped that those who are trying to force the adoption of Hindi and the discarding of English would come to their senses and understand that they are damaging the cause of Hindi by their obduracy.

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane

With the passing away of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane at Bhubaneswar at the age of 72 on the first of this month, the world has lost a remarkable personality, India a sincere albeit, on occasions, a rather embarrassingly forthright friend, and the world of science a devoted and a distinguished worker.

With a most remarkable academic career behind him, the late Prof. Haldane had, with characteristic breadth of both vision and interest, covered diverse and widely divergent fields of

learning with consistent distinction although, perhaps, he will continue to be the more well known for his great contributions to the biological sciences.

But what was, perhaps, the most destructive element in his make up was that he virtually broke through the conceit, generally characteristic of most great men of science, that we have known of, that the world of science was the sacred sacrum of only the initiate. He has written a great deal which the novice also could not merely follow but even enjoy. Some of his best writings, indeed, appeared in the popular columns of the *Daily Worker*. His wide humanistic outlook made him aware of the shortcomings of certain societies and which often landed him into controversies which he might easily have avoided but did not care to.

It is this element of indomitable courage in him that made this great man of science an intensely human person, this boldness of character that inspired him to stand up for causes which were not often popular with his friends and detractors alike.

To India, which he made his home and his field of activity during the latter part of his life, his will always remain a most colourful character. His attachment to this country may not be easy

to explain unless it be that here he discovered a most fruitful field where his ardent scientific endeavours and his humanistic emotions alike could most profitably pursue their objectives. It was at the call of the Indian Statistical Institute that he first came out to and decided to make this country his home. But even when he found himself obliged to break up this beautiful friendship, he remained steadfast to his chosen country and continued to pursue his work in another part of the country and under a different aegis. He imparted a colour and character to the Indian scientific scene which the country would be distinctly poorer without.

It appears now that during the last one year of his life he must have suffered a great deal physically. The surgical treatment he had undergone in London was not able to cure him of the metastases which had already been too extensive and to which he eventually succumbed. But with characteristic courage he gave the last mortal remains of himself to the cause of medical research. This, perhaps, was his last and more enduring testament to a cause to which his whole life was devoted, that of relating science's search to 'society's pressing needs in the task of keeping alive.'

K. N.

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NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTIONS TO *THE MODERN REVIEW*

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*Manager, *The Modern Review*.

Current Affairs

By KARUNA K. NANDI

THE FOOD POLICY

After nearly half a year of vacillations and indecisions a national food policy has, at long last, been claimed to have emerged as the result of the so-called unanimous decisions arrived at the Chief Ministers' Conference in New Delhi last month. But, for any coherence in the pattern of this so-called national food policy that is now claimed to have emerged, one looks for in vain.

Concrete Shape

The shape of this so-called policy in concrete terms would now seem to boil down to the following decisions :

- (1) The procurement target of rice for the Central Pool shall be 2,000,000 tonnes in 1965, out of which provisions for the buffer stock would be between 500,000 tonnes and 1,000,000 tonnes ;
- (2) Coarse grains, for the first time now, would be brought under a national system of distribution on a "State to State" basis ;
- (3) Each State will constitute a separate rice zone, and surplus rice from such states as may have it, would be moved to other (presumably deficit) parts of the country on "Government to Government" account ;
- (4) The controversy over the proposal to introduce statutory rationing on an all-India basis—it may be recalled that originally Sri C. Subramaniam, Union Food & Agriculture Minister proposed that all cities and urban units with populations of one million and industrial complexes would be

covered by statutory rationing—appears now to have been resolved by, in effect, leaving the decision in this behalf to the State Governments concerned. Within the framework of an over-all decision that all urban complexes and units with populations of two millions and above would be covered by some sort of rationing, State Governments would decide the method of doing so in their respective States. But while the West Bengal Chief Minister insisted that Calcutta must be covered by full statutory rationing—it is significant that Calcutta is practically the only city in the State with more than a two million population—Bombay, Kanpur and Ahmedabad will go no further than what has been described, euphemistically, as "informal rationing", and eventually, and obviously at the discretion of the State Governments concerned, Madras, Bangalore and Hyderabad may have a "regulated" system of distribution :

- (5) It has been *tentatively* decided to import 250,000 tonnes of rice from the U.S.A. in 1951 under PL 480, although a further 250,000 tonnes may, later, be decided to be imported by paying for it and which, it has been estimated, would cost Rs. 15 crores in foreign exchange ;
- (6) The surplus States, together, will procure over 2,000,000 tonnes of rice for the Central Pool which, after providing for the buffer stock, will cover the needs of the deficit states ;
- (7) The contributions of the surplus States to the Central Pool shall be : Andhra

—800,000 tonnes, Madhya Pradesh—400,000 tonnes, Orissa—300,000 tonnes, Madras—200,000 tonnes and Punjab—250,000 tonnes; Uttar Pradesh also will contribute a small quantity;

- (8) The procurement arrangements in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh will be entirely controlled by the Union Government, while in Andhra it will be handled by the State Government;
- (9) Every state producing coarse grains, whether surplus or deficit, shall contribute 25 per cent of its output for movement to other States on a "State to State" basis;
- (10) The inter-State movement of grain will be free from next March, until when it will be on a "State to State" basis under restricted quotas;
- (11) Movement of all pulses and edible oils will also be free all over the country;
- (12) Decisions regarding wheat will be taken in next March after the next Rabi harvest;
- (13) With a view to check malpractices by the trade as also to allay the apprehensions of deficit States, it has been decided that all movements of grains from State to State shall be entirely on Government account and that, unlike last year, millers will have no part in them. The wholesale procurement and exports to deficit States shall be by official agencies only.

From the above statement of official decisions now taken, it would seem clear that the initiative in handling the present dismal, if not quite critical food situation in the country, is still largely left with the State Governments as heretofore and the outlook on the whole question still remains predominantly regional rather than national as it has been so insistently claimed to be. All that the Centre would seem to have been left with in the matter is the responsibility of only partially

handling the procurement machinery in selected surplus States, of supplying the needs of the deficit States from the Central Pool and of handling the imports of foodgrains. In all other matters the States are to be left with large and widely in dependent discretions in regulating the basic patterns of food distribution in their respective territorial boundaries,—patterns which, it has been agreed will vary materially from State to State.

State Trading

The crux of the whole problem of food distribution in the country is obviously that in view of the marginal nature of food output in the country as well as having regard to the changing patterns of food consumption with progressively widening demands for the finer grains like rice and wheat, some sort of nationwide regulation of distribution would have to be devised to enable the people to be provided with their basic requirements of food at reasonable prices from out of the marginal supplies available to the country. The logic of the whole situation would seem to lead to the inescapable conclusion that, first, all regional thinking in this connection must be replaced by a vigorous national outlook and that, in the matter of food distribution and prices the entire country must be regarded as one single unit. As so clearly enunciated by Sri C. Subramaniam, Union Food & Agriculture Minister, the only answer to the situation could be a well devised system of regulated distribution covering the entire country and its vigorous implementation by an efficient and honest administrative machinery, in other words, statutory rationing. And as rationing must necessarily presuppose control over supplies, Sri Subramaniam rightly concluded that the State must, at the same time, enter into and regulate the foodgrains trade in the country in a very predominant manner. Statutory rationing without arranging for the primary pre-requisite of control over supplies would be bound to breakdown having especial regard to the hideously anti-social role that the private sector in the foodgrains trade in the country has been playing all through the last several years and, especially with the onset of the national emergency arising out of the Chinese invasion of our northern frontiers in October, 1962.

That to have any influence upon the free market trends of foodgrains supplies and prices State Trading in foodgrains must assume a predominant and vital role, is too obvious to need any especial emphasis. And this was what was understood to have been at the root of Sri C. Subramaniam's clear and objective enunciation of the Centre's food policy some months ago. Very soon after, however, the Union Food Minister, possibly on account of not too well concealed pressures from the Party bosses and from the States, in the highest counsels of which the richer and more resourceful sections of the private foodgrains trade seem to wield considerable influence, began to have second thoughts and eventually increasing pressure from these directions began to undermine what might eventually have emerged as a really *national* food policy. Sri Subramaniam declared soon after that the State did not have the resources to take over the entire foodgrains trade or even any substantial portion of it and it must, therefore, confine itself to handling only about 25 per cent of the trade at the initial stages. As regards the initial proposal to take over the entire food processing industry in the country under the public sector such as rice mills, etc., which had, likewise originally emanated from the Union Food & Agriculture Minister, amendments followed almost immediately afterwards first, in the shape of the announcement that to begin with only some of the larger rice mills would be taken over and, secondly, by the quickly following announcement that there would be no take-over of existing mills which were too outmoded and obsolete, but that in addition to the existing mills in the private sector some 2,000 large and modern mills would be set up in the public sector. In the so-called food policy that now appears to have emerged, there does not seem to be any question of the State entering into the rice mills industry, either by way of take-over of existing mills, or even, as earlier proposed, by setting up some new mills in the public sector.

In fact the basic proposal to introduce State Trading in Foodgrains with effect from the new year, in however attenuated a size, appears now to have been completely by-passed. The Rs. 100 crore Foodgrains Corporation Bill which has, in the meanwhile, been introduced in Parliament, however widely its "Objects and Reasons" may have been drafted will, it appears, be mainly

directed to handle the procurements for the Central Foodgrains Pool, and not, obviously, to participate in anyway, in the free market foodgrains trade in the country.

Food Management

In sum, therefore, what appears now to have emerged as what has been claimed as the national food policy, is essentially a non-descript muddle consisting partly of (1) Government procurements covering a quota of upto 2 million tonnes of rice out of which the requirements of building a Central buffer stock and supplies to deficit states would be met; (2) introduction of statutory rationing of rice, wheat and sugar in selected urban areas—for the present, it seems, the only city intended to be covered by full statutory rationing would be Calcutta and the Durgapur-Asansol industrial complex in West Bengal; (3) introduction of "informal rationing"—whatever that may mean in concrete terms—in some large cities such as Bombay and Kanpur and some sort of "regulated distribution" in certain other cities of the country; and (4) promulgation of price controls at the harvest, wholesale and retail levels. It is piously hoped that in view of the above measures, free market supplies and prices would be effectively "influenced" how, no one in authority has cared to explain so far. It may just be a hope and no more that it would be so.

In West Bengal, in view of the decision to introduce statutory rationing in Calcutta and the Durgapur-Asansol industrial belt the State Government would, in addition, raise their levy on the rice mills from 25 per cent to 50 per cent. Rationing in Calcutta alone, it has been officially estimated, would involve a weekly supply of 6,000 tons each of rice and wheat. The situation as regards stocks at the time of our going to press was officially announced to have been still critical—as there was only enough stocks in Government godowns to cover two weeks' supplies only. But with the commencement of large-scale harvesting the situation was expected to improve considerably and the continuing crisis, it was hoped, would be over in course of the next one week or so. As we write, the crisis appears to have visibly deepened especially in the regions on the perimeter of the metropolitan city on account of the failure of the Food Department to maintain supplies to the

fair price shops under the modified rationing scheme. From personal inquiries pursued in these areas it appears that price of rice in the free market (of the variety of which the statutory retail price was fixed at between 68 nP. and 76 nP. per Kg. which used to be at the level of Rs. 1.20 nP. per Kg. had dropped, with new arrivals reaching the market about ten days ago, to Re. 1.00 per Kg. but which, during the current week has again hardened to Rs. 1.04 per Kg.

While new market arrivals from the current harvest would, thus, seem to have hardly influenced any very substantial downward trends in rice prices towards the wholesale and retail ceilings fixed by Government, reports flowing in from the districts seem to indicate a definite slump in prices, with new harvest arrivals, to levels even below the floor harvest prices determined by Government. This may have been accounted for, at least in some measure, by the reported slow-down in the rate of mills' production in areas contiguous to large-scale paddy growing centres in the State such as Burdwan and Birbhum and, partly perhaps, by the absence in these areas of cheap and abundant transport facilities enabling supplies to be rushed to dearer markets. The reported slow-down in the rate of mills' production may, in its turn, have been influenced by the Government's decision to raise their levy on mills from 25 per cent to 50 per cent of their production. The structure of supplies upon which statutory rationing in Calcutta is intended to be based is, however, crucially dependent upon the success of Government's procurements programme from the mills. West Bengal mills, together, produce 830,000 tonnes of rice in a normal year and a 50 per cent levy on this production would enable the State Government to procure just enough rice to sustain statutory rationing in the metropolitan city of Calcutta. The further 400,000 tonnes of rice that the State Government expect to derive from the Central Pool, would enable them to cover the needs of rationing in the industrial complexes and, in addition, to meet possible crises in supply in deficit and vulnerable rural areas through Fair Price Shops. If, however, the expected quantum of procurement falls short of current estimates by any substantial margins, the whole structure of controlled distribution would be likely to utterly break down. There would seem to be deliberate design in the whole situation, calculated to

vitiating the State Government's purposes vis-a-vis rationing and the possible influence that such a successful system of distribution might be likely to have upon free market supplies and prices. How such a situation can be successfully met without actually launching into a programme of total and wholesale procurement—a measure for which the State Government do not simply seem to have the requisite minimum machinery at their disposal,—is more than we can conceive of.

That Government operations in foodgrains has never been able to "influence" free market prices in spite of fixation of statutory ceilings has been indisputably established over the last one year. Rice has been openly and quite overtly selling in the free market in and around Calcutta at very nearly double the statutory ceiling fixed by Government and, but for merely dispensing that absurdly complacent counsel of perfection that people should not buy at these higher prices, they have been able to do nothing about it. The West Bengal Chief Minister, who also holds the Food Portfolio of his Government, had to frankly admit defeat, at least by implication, when he announced some weeks ago that "according to information at his disposal some 2 million tons of rice had gone underground in this State during the current year." That big business was involved would be too obvious and it was patently beyond the strength of Sri P. C. Sen or even of his counterpart in the Union Government to do anything to effectively curb their activities or to bring them to book. The Government, it is now being claimed, have now armed themselves with fresh powers under a new Ordinance to enable them to deal with food hoarders and profiteers. But such a claim is too transparently dishonest to convince any dispassionate onlooker. All that the new ordinance has provided for is to limit the punishment to hoarders and profiteers to an absurdly nominal sentence. The conviction has been gaining ground that the purpose of the new Ordinance was merely to build up a public relations facade in respect of their handling of food hoarders without any material injury to the latter community, a purpose which could not have been served by the D.I.R. for the courts would then have the power to impose sentences that might really hurt. In fact, according to many, so long as the D.I.R. was in force, Government had ample power to deal with this anti-social

community, if they really wished to do so, with devastating effect and there was not the least reason to promulgate a fresh Ordinance unless it was intended to limit the power of courts so that while a pretence of dealing with food profiteers effectively could be maintained, the proved wrong-doer would not be materially hurt.

That present decisions will also not be able to "influence" market arrivals and prices in any appreciable degree is also too obvious to need any comment. The central rice pool would cover approximately only 6 per cent, assuming production at last year's level at 33 million tonnes only although the prospects of a larger current harvest has already been officially visualized, and it defeats all judgment how this may curb hoarding and profiteering to any extent. In addition, of course, there will have to be procurements by State Governments to maintain rationing, statutory or otherwise, where it may be introduced. But the total extent of Government procurement throughout the country is not intended to be as large as may influence free market trends. On the contrary, the residual supplies for the free market, after Government have taken their share could, it appears only reasonable to suppose, could be manipulated by the private sector at will to maintain, even accentuate, conditions of scarcity and by continuing the crisis in supplies, to uphold the continuing crisis in prices. Government's buffer stocks which, it has been announced, will be built up to an extent of between 500,000 tonnes and 1,000,000 tonnes, are not likely to be large enough to be unloaded on the market, in whichever part of the country the supply crisis continues, in any substantial quantity to influence the quantum of free availability and prices. Even at the optimum level of 1,000,000 tonnes, the buffer stock of rice would not exceed 3 per cent of total production, and production being only marginal so far, this obviously would be too insufficient to influence either supplies or prices.

West Bengal Levies

Taking the case of West Bengal as an instance in point, the decision to raise levies on mills to 50 per cent of their production is not likely to prove materially helpful. The mills can, as the oil mills have already done, reduce

their production to defeat the Government levies. There are enough indications from past experience to presume that there is powerful financial support behind the foodgrains trade in the country to enable it to manipulate supplies and prices to its own particular advantage. If, as the West Bengal Chief Minister said some time ago that some 2 million tonnes of rice had gone underground out of last year's harvest is backed by facts, a finance of between Rs. 120 crores and Rs. 150 crores must have been necessary to enable it to do so. Such powerful interests may, again, this year also help the mills to reduce their procurement of paddy and quantum of production to defeat Government's procurement campaign. If Government have so far been unable to unearth concealed stocks of paddy and rice last year, there is no more reason to suppose that they will be more successful in the present instance. As the situation stands today there is every likelihood, that the whole scheme of statutory rationing in Calcutta and the industrial areas which would need only about 600,000 tonnes each of rice and wheat over a twelve month period, may breakdown for a variety of reasons, one of them being their inability to carry out their procurement programme to the estimated extent. It is true that there is an undertaking from the centre that the State's resources in rice would be subvented by another 300,000 tonnes from the Central Pool. But even if rationing in the selected areas can be upheld with the help of these subventions, scarcity and prices in areas beyond those cordoned off by rationing may assume such levels—as they did in 1943 in Calcutta—that it may not be possible to prevent mass migrations to the metropolis and the consequent emergence of a devastating famine. The fact that apart from only about 60,00,000 persons, the rest of the State's population are obliged to buy anywhere between six months' to a whole year's requirement of food would seem to indisputably support such an apprehension. The lesson of 1943, it seems obvious, have been wholly lost on our Government and their counsellors.

But even, hoping for the best, if the State Government were able to get together ample stocks of rice and wheat, by local procurement as well as by subventions from the Central Pool, to enable statutory rationing to be successfully sustained in

Calcutta, the question as regards the machinery of distribution would still seem to pose a grave problem. Recently pulished press reports have disclosed the existence of thousands of ghost ration cards. In many cases the issue of these spurious cards have been traced to an unholy liason between certain State Government employees' and owners of Fair Price Shops through whom rations are being, so far distributed. The obvious implication is that the rations being drawn on these spurious ration cards have been going into the black market and the profits derived therefrom were being divided by the State employees concerned and the owners of the Fair Price Shops involved in the racket. The recently announced decision by the Government that distribution would continue to be channeled through these Fair Price Shops and through similar new ones where none exists at present would, on the face of recent discoveries, seem to be a most amazing fact. Obviously, in view of the recently discovered facts, the present Fair Price Shops, are a most unreliable channel of distribution. Likewise the Food and Rationing Department itself would seem to call for a most searching probe and a complete overhaul. Government, however, do not seem to be aware of either of these vital needs and have been complacently continuing to pursue a course which has already been proved to have been studded with dangerous pitfalls!

There can only be either of two reasons for such an obviously callous unconcern to the defects of the present machinery of distribution; that Government simply do not have the imagination and the resources to conceive of an alternative system: or that they are too chary of challenging the power as well as, perhaps, the interests of the entrenched vested interests in this field. In either case they may, perhaps, apprehend that with their poor administrative resources to undertake distribution on the basis of wholesale statutory rationing in a large and thickly populated city like Calcutta departmentally, the contents of either rectitude or efficiency of which do not seem to be conspicuous, might prove a worse folly than to continue to press the Fair Price Shops to service. This would seem to indicate a measure of lack of preparedness to undertake the fullest responsibilities of rationing which would seem to be most amazing in view, especially, of the fact that it was the West Bengal Chief Minister, practically against

the entire consensus of his colleagues in other States, who insisted upon introducing full statutory rationing in Calcutta with the new year. Launching into rationing, apart from other reasons, without the requisite minimum administrative resources in terms of both efficiency and unquestioned rectitude—and the latter is by far the more important—may, we apprehend, prove to be a far worse disaster than to leave the consumer to the tender mercies of the conscienceless private trader!

The Remedy

What, then, is the real remedy to the situation. The long-term remedy is, of course, to materially increase food production to, at least, conform to the rate of increase of the population. But that may be such a long-term expedient that we may all be "dead in the meanwhile." Imports of food from abroad can, at best, only be a partial and a very inadequate remedy over a limited period. The only logical and obvious answer to the situation is some measure or measures which will enable authority to (1) prevent withdrawal in any quantity of food from market supplies, (2) to enforce a method by which available supplies, marginal as they are, could be rationed out among the people at a predetermined norm as regards quantum and at legitimate prices; and (3) to build up central stocks out of available supplies to enable crises occurring at any time could be tided over without any material strain upon the people's already too inadequate quantum of basic nourishment.

Rationing in vulnerable areas and a system of regulated distribution in the rest of the country would seem to be the only available answer to the situation. And the only logic of regulated distribution—under whatever name it may be pursued, real or euphemistic—is a wholesale and blanket control over supplies. The need for state trading, therefore, as the only possible expedient in the circumstances and as originally suggested by Shri C. Subramaniam, Union Food and Agriculture Minister, would seem to be an inescapable logic of the situation. Likewise, the enunciation of a national food policy under wholesale Central initiative and direction, under which not merely the whole country would be treated as one and Centrally directed adminis-

trative unit, but which shall assess individual food requirements and supplies by apportioning them between the finer and coarser foodgrains available is equally an indispensable requirement of the situation. If the whole country had to subsist on the finer grains like wheat and rice alone, our present production, level on the basis of a 16 oz. daily adult ration and half that quantity for those in the age groups 0-14 years and 65 years and above, would be found to be short of basic requirements by as much as between 37 per cent and 40 per cent. But with the coarser grains forming, approximately 40 per cent of our total foodgrains intake, we have just about enough to cover our minimum requirements of food, seed grains and have a marginal surplus of just about a gross 2 million tonnes left over. If this whole supply can be regulated under Central aegis, the present crisis can be tided over without unduly large reliance on supplies from abroad.

-Party and the Government

But this has been exactly what the Government were not prepared to undertake or even to support. The Centre appeared to have been more realistically alive, at the initial stages, of both the facts and the needs of the situation. Unfortunately, their realism as well as their preparedness to undertake the heavy and onerous responsibilities that the situation demanded, has now been effectively and summarily sabotaged. The reason for this may be either that the Party bosses and the State Governments (and party bosses seem to virtually dictate policy at both levels and which, obviously is more calculated to uphold the powers and prospects of the party rather than assume the basic responsibilities of Government in the peoples' interests) were unable to assess the situation for what it really is as well as to conceive of measures necessary to obviate its evil potentials or, and this seems more likely in the present case, they were not prepared, happen what may to the country and her people, to jeopardise their source of power which is located in the ever more powerfully growing private sector in both trade and industry.

And the foodgrains trade in this context has an overwhelmingly greater importance than even the rich and powerful private sector in industry.

Having regard to the fact that agriculture, despite the vigorous process of industrialization of the last fifteen years, still accounts for more than fifty per cent of the total national product and of which foodgrains production alone accounts for well over 60 per cent, invests the private trade in foodgrains with an importance to the present ruling party which is almost without parallel. That the party would be extremely unwilling to endorse any policy that may have the effect of even partially liquidating this sector is understandable. But, as already underlined above, this is the real key to the present situation and it would be wishful thinking of the most criminally complacent variety to hope that there could be any expectation of the present crisis being resolved without curbing the area of discretion and initiative of the private foodgrains trader and the caucus that maintains the Party on its throne of power. So far as the States' unwillingness to endorse the creation of a unitary food administration under Central directive is concerned, the reason is too obvious to need emphasis; the States, which are directly under the thumb of local party bosses, are not prepared to cede any of their present powers and prerogatives to the Centre.

A Muddle And A Critical Future

What has, therefore, actually emerged in the name of a "national food policy" is obviously the illegitimate child of the power-pressures of parochial origin and is dictated more by parochial power ambitions rather than by a consciousness to conform to larger national interests. The result is a muddle of the most confused variety which is neither the one thing nor the other. The situation virtually remains as it has been traditionally and what may be lurking just around the corner may be anybody's guess. We, for our part, are frankly demoralised by the spectre of a far more devastating crisis as a result, the seeds of which are inherent in the present decisions.

STATE ELECTRICITY BOARDS

The recently reported decision recommending an upward revision of the rates charged by State Electricity Boards to their consumers comes to

us as something of a shock. As it is, the average consumer rates charged by State Electricity Boards are high enough. The rates of the West Bengal State Electricity Board, for instance, even in areas immediately contiguous to the regions serviced by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, are very nearly double, on an average, of those of the latter. This would, clearly, seem to be an instance how the States have been exploiting their monopoly supply privileges for undue profiteering on an essential consumer item which also provides, in large measure one of the basic infra-structures of industrial development. The reported decision, on the face of it, would, therefore, seem to be quite indefensible.

What, after all, one might pertinently ask, could there be any justification for such a recommendation? If it were that of the high cost of production and distribution, one would be led to an inescapable comparison with the much lower rates charged by the Supply undertakings in the private sector. Costs in both sectors, both of production and distribution, should be comparably similar. If they are not, the inevitable conclusion should be that the higher costs in one sector, larger and immensely more resourceful as it must be, can only be accounted for by the inferior efficiency of the other or on account of the latter's inability to obviate preventable wastages. If the State Electricity Boards are unable to bring efficiency in working upto comparable levels with large supply undertakings in the private sector that can surely not be an acceptable justification for further enhancement of already much too high a rate structure?

There may be a variety of reasons why State Electricity Boards are not able to bring comparable efficiency to their work. One of these may be thoughtlessly undertaken schemes of extension of their services to areas with demonstrably uneconomic yield-potentials while the demand for extension to areas with immediate higher yield potentials are left pending indefinitely because the requisite political pressures forcing the hands of the Board to accord priority to such areas have not been or could not be mobilized in the latter case. In West Bengal we have known of cases where long distance extensions have been undertaken at enormous public expense just to serve one single domestic consumer because the latter were able to mobilize powerful political support in favour of his request for supply. We have also

known of cases where supply lines have been extended at public expense which have been unable to attract even one single domestic consumer for months together while extensions to immediately contiguous areas with nearly half a hundred immediately prospective consumers have been left indefinitely hanging fire on one excuse or another not merely for months but, sometimes, even for years together. We have information about one such case where an extension requiring only ten or eleven poles, which would immediately yield some forty consumers have been left undecided for more than a year while, within a stone's throw an extension has been sanctioned and actually carried out some months ago but which has not, so far, yielded one single subscriber. This is one of the many and obvious causes of the wastes and inefficiencies of State Electricity Boards which, in spite of the already much higher rates charged by them, find themselves still unable to cover costs and have been clamouring for still higher rates.

There is obvious and thoughtless diversion of public funds by at least some of the State Electricity Boards—we have mentioned one or two such cases above dealt with by the West Bengal Board—to serve some uneconomic but powerfully boosted connections. We are not aware of either the quality or the extent of the inquiry carried out into their workings that has now led to the recommendation for a higher rate structure. But we most strongly feel that a thorough, detailed and searching public probe should immediately be carried out into the working of the State Electricity Boards, preferably by Committees of Parliament and the State Legislatures concerned, before the recommendation for a higher rate structure can be or should be implemented. If there have been preventable wastages, misdirection of public funds to serve individual interests or demonstrable cases of neglect and inefficiency—as we strongly suspect there must have been many instances of—the executives responsible of the Boards concerned, should be appropriately dealt with before the recommendation for higher rates is accepted. Officers of the State Electricity Boards should be made to realise that they are public servants accountable for their failures to a public tribunal and cannot be allowed to deal rudely or even indifferently with members of the public from whom they derive both their powers and the munificent competence which enables them to live in comfort.

THE MEANING OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S VICTORY

By KENNETH L. HILL

The overwhelming defeat of Senator Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential election constitutes a mandate for President Johnson to continue to carry out those policies, both domestic and foreign, initiated since the close of World War II. Before looking at some of these policies we should first examine some of the reasons why Barry Goldwater was so decisively defeated.

The Senator's view of world politics is a simple one, indeed. His basic assumption is that the world can be neatly divided into two groups : those favouring and those opposed to communism. In this simplex scheme there is no recognition of the pluralism of today's world. He fails to understand the importance of the non-aligned nations and the many contributions they have made to the alleviation of international tensions. Whether one agrees or not with some of the policies of these nations, they certainly cannot be ignored. That some nations, including our allies, may have foreign policy priorities different from those of the United States, is outside the scope of the Senator's imagination. Communism, in his view, is so overwhelmingly evil that all freedom loving nations should participate in an anti-communist crusade. His definition of freedom loving would include all those nations opposed to communism regardless of their form of government. It is comforting to note that not one government in the Atlantic Alliance supported the Senator's views. How the Senator could be so close to the decision making process in Washington for so many

years and fail to understand the complexity of foreign policy problems, must remain a mystery.

Goldwater's absolutist conception of international politics leads him to demand the United States and her allies to seek a victory in the cold war. If communism is evil, then obviously there cannot be any compromise with the Communist nations. This view also ignores any differences that might exist among the Communists. There are several weaknesses to this view. In the first place we should have to define victory and this is not an easy task. Victory in the cold war may be a fine campaign slogan but it is not a policy. This slogan also fails to differentiate between the ephemeral and the perennial. If communism could be eliminated this would automatically produce a problem-free world. The two great wars in the twentieth century were not caused by Communist nations. Victory is sometimes very difficult to identify. If we examine just a few of the most important problems in world history, we find they have no easily identified terminal point. Who, for example, won the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants that led to the incredibly destructive Thirty Years War. The defeat of Germany in World War II solved a number of problems but also created some problems. The division of Germany today is directly related to the policies of Adolph Hitler. When the Congo became independent this terminated Belgium's colonial rule but it did not solve that tragic nation's problems.

Victory in the cold war may very well prove to be an elusive goal.

Senator Goldwater also fails to see the relationship between communist expansionist tendencies and indigenous conditions in many nations conducive to communist exploitation. One of the best ways of containing communism is to deal with problems that nurture its spread. Communist propaganda to be effective must have some relationship to life experience. Communism has an appeal to those people who have been exploited. It appeals to those who have suffered injustice and do not possess even the minimum requirements of economic well-being. These are problems that cannot be dealt with by strengthening American military posture. The American Government has received bipartisan support for most of its aid programmes. Republicans and Democrats have recognized the necessity of these aid programmes and much money has gone to those nations who do not ordinarily support American foreign policy. The goal of these programmes has been to further the independence and freedom of the recipient nations for this is the best defense against communism.

Senator Goldwater has no understanding of the limitations of American power and influence because he cannot see the many conflicting interests evident in the world. He does not recognize that there are somethings the United States cannot do very much about. The United States has made many mistakes in Laos and South Vietnam but our State Department is primarily interested in maintaining the freedom of these two nations. They need not be aligned with the United States but they must not come under the control of Communist China. The basic problem in both Laos and South Vietnam is

that they lack viable governments enjoying the broad support of the people. In this kind of a situation there is really very little the United States can do. There is no school in Washington D. C. for charismatic leadership. The people of Laos and South Vietnam must solve their internal problems and they must do so largely by their own efforts. These are basically political, not military problems. Senator Goldwater approaches the problems of South-East Asia in a military frame of reference completely divorced from casual political factors.

Finally, Senator Goldwater dangerously under-estimates the willingness of China and Russia to defend their national interests. He, therefore, advocates a policy of brinkmanship regardless of the thermo-nuclear consequences. The two Communist giants have certain legitimate national interests which they will defend. To expect them to back down because of a thermo-nuclear threat, is a dangerously risky policy. In this respect China and Russia are no different than the United States. All three nations have certain national interests vital to their security. The basic purpose of an accommodation policy is to seek areas of agreement to reduce international tension. This is the policy of President Johnson. Senator Goldwater opposes this approach for he does not believe that the Communist and non-Communist nations can co-exist. But is there an alternative to co-existence? Is there a realistic and sane alternative?

Senator Goldwater does not believe there are any differences among the Communist states. He argues, and quite correctly, that the only difference among the Communist powers is how best to spread their ideology. The difference is however quite important.

Soviet Russia, recognizing the dangers of a thermo-nuclear war, has been much more cautious than Communist China, for the latter believes she can survive a war of nuclear weapons. It seems to me that the difference between these two positions is a very important one. It involves nothing less than the future of mankind. The countries of Eastern Europe are not as subservient to Russia as they have been in the past. They have achieved a degree of autonomy which should be encouraged. Each Communist nation must be treated individually.

The defeat of Senator Goldwater was a great victory for the American people and the democratic political system. Many Americans are tired of the cold war and the permanence of crisis. Goldwater's easy solutions to complex international problems must have tempted a number of people to support him but they rejected the simple answers for the reality, however unpleasant, of the real world. This may not seem to be a very great accomplishment but remembering America's isolationist background the rejection of Goldwater takes on a different and more important meaning for it indicates that the United States is willing to accept its responsibilities calmly and maturely.

The domestic policies advocated by Senator Goldwater also contributed to his defeat. There was great fear on the part of some observers that the Senator might receive a large anti-Negro vote. This did not materialize. Although he won the electoral votes of five Southern states his margin of victory in two of these states, Georgia and South Carolina, was not very large. Goldwater's victory strategy was based on winning all of the Southern states, a goal he did not come close to accomplishing. Many

Americans are genuinely troubled by the racial tensions of recent years, but they are also willing to accept a moderate programme for improving racial relations. If Goldwater had won the Presidential election, the Negro would have suffered a great defeat; for the Republican nominee believes that the states should be primarily responsible for solving their racial problems. Although Senator Goldwater may be sincerely opposed to racial segregation, his policies were supported by those who believe in white supremacy.

There are many problems that President Johnson must cope with in his new term of office. Most important is the problem of reducing international tension. Whether he succeeds in this task depends not only on his own efforts but also on the willingness of Russia and China to cooperate. South Vietnam and Laos will be the critical test. There is a very definite and a very probable danger that the war in Southeast Asia may escalate if no satisfactory solution is soon found. The time is short, the danger is great. President Johnson favours accommodation but not appeasement. It can also be expected that the Johnson Administration will firmly support the Malayasian Federation against any encroachments by Indonesia. He can also be expected to seek the counsel of the Indian government particularly in relation to Asian problems.

President Johnson will also seek to better relations with Soviet Russia and to increase contacts between the United States and the Eastern European states. Trade between the Communist and non-Communist nations has been increasing and can be expected to continue to do so. Whether there is a significant improvement in Russian-American relations will be determined by their efforts.

to maintain or change the status quo in Berlin. It is not likely that any new or dramatic steps will be undertaken to improve relations between the two countries until it becomes clear who will rule Soviet Russia. It may take a year or eighteen months before a strong man appears.

A primary goal of the United States will be to strengthen its ties with its Western European allies. This will be difficult to

achieve because of the independence of President de Gaulle. But President Johnson might make a bold and dramatic bid to restore unity.

At home, President Johnson's policies should be moderate and prudent but also progressive. We can only hope that the next four years will strengthen the peace. This is the major goal of President Johnson.



ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

(1864-1938)

By GOURANGA GOPAL SENGUPTA

Shri Brajendra Nath Seal was born in Calcutta on September 3, 1864. His father Mahendranath Seal was an eminent lawyer of Calcutta. Brajendranath lost his father before he came to age. He was brought up at his maternal uncle's house under the care of his mother. At school, Brajendranath distinguished himself as a prodigy in mathematics. While in school, he could work out sums in higher mathematics. Even his teachers did not hesitate to take his help when they could not work out a sum. Brajendranath passed the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in 1878 with a Junior Scholarship. He was then admitted to the General Assembly's Institution of Calcutta (now Scottish Churches College). Brajendranath, prodigy as he was, soon drew the attention of William Hastie, the then Principal of General Assembly's Institution. Through his influence, Brajendranath's attention was drawn towards literature and philosophy. As an ungraduate student he soon mastered English literature in all its phases, Philology, Law, Western Theology and Philosophy. Extra-ordinary memory helped him a lot in the earning of so much knowledge in a variety of subjects. Shri Narendranath Dutta—Swami Vivekananda of later years—was a fellow student of Brajendranath in the General Assembly's Institution. When Narendranath was suffering from severe spiritual conflict, his friend and fellow student Brajendranath advised him to read Shelley's poems, Hegelian philosophy and the history of the French Revolution. Narendra-

nath immensely benefitted himself through the advice and guidance of his friend—Brajendranath.

In 1883, Brajendranath graduated with First class Honours in Philosophy and was appointed a Lecturer of Philosophy in his own college. Next year he got his M.A. degree in Philosophy standing first in the first class from the Calcutta University. After passing the M.A. examination, he privately studied Sanskrit, Economics, Hindu Philosophy, Ethnology, Anthropology, Comparative Religion etc. In fact there was hardly any branch of human knowledge beyond the grasp of Brajendranath. He also became well versed in different languages of the world, viz., French, German, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Persian, etc. He learnt these languages to become acquainted with their classics in original.

After passing the M.A. examination, Brajendranath worked as a Professor of Philosophy in the City College, Calcutta for a year. Next year he took over as Principal of a college at Nagpur. In 1887 he came to Berhampur (West Bengal) as Principal of K. N. College and continued there for about nine years. Then from 1896 to 1913, Brajendranath served as Principal of the Victoria College at Cooch Bihar (West Bengal).

In 1899, Brajendranath represented India as a delegate to the International Congress of Orientalists held in Rome. He inaugurated the Indian section of the Congress with a discussion on the "Test of Truth" and read a paper on "Comparative

Studies in Vaisnavism and Christianity". In this article he explained Vaisnavism, adopting the historico-comparative method and proved that the Bhakti Cult was of Indian Origin emanating from the Vedic Hymns and the Upanishadas. Here he exploded the popular belief of Western Orientalists claiming Vaisnavism to be an off-shoot of Christianity on the authority of a reference in the Mahabharata to Narada having visited Swetadwipa (Syria, Egypt region), Brajendranath's contention was that Vaisnavism might have been influenced by Christianity and vice-versa at a later stage of development. But it definitely originated long before the advent of Christianity, at a time when it was impossible for other nations of Europe or of the world to reach such a high level of spiritual thought. This paper was later on published in the form of a book from Calcutta. In 1903, Brajendranath published a book "New Essays in Criticism" which incorporated his famous essay on the Neo-Romantic movement in literature published in the "Calcutta Review" in 1890-91. This excellent treatise included a chapter on the Neo-Romantic movement in Bengali literature in which the then rising poet Rabindranath was hailed as one of the greatest living lyric poets in the world. Brajendranath's narrative poem "Quest Eternal" composed at this time was published shortly before his death. "Quest Eternal" reveals Dr. Seal as a creative artist of a high order in respect of both form and matter wherein the hero is striving for immortality. The "Quest Eternal" was hailed as a "Modern Faust" by appreciating critics, both in the East and the West.

In 1905, Brajendranath was appointed a member of the Simla Commission for dra-

wing up Calcutta University Regulations. His services proved to be very valuable for the Commission. In later years he also served as a member of the famous Sadler Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler who considered him to be a Guru to him in matters relating to educational reforms. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee—the Chief Architect of Calcutta University throughout his stewardship of the University—largely depended on the help and advice of Brajendranath whenever he had any intricate problem for the University to be solved. During the Swadeshi Days when the National Council of Education was started in Bengal, Brajendranath was one of its sponsors and promoters. He was also considered to be the fountain head of a resurgent notionalism in the country.

In 1910, Brajendranath got the Ph.D. degree of the Calcutta University. In 1921, the Calcutta University also honoured him by conferring the degree of Doctor of Science (Honoris causa). In 1911, Brajendranath was invited to inaugurate the first Universal Races Congress held in London. The honour came to him not only as a foremost scholar in Ethnology and Anthropology but also as a foremost creative thinker in the world, believing in universal brotherhood of mankind. In his opening speech, long before the "League of Nations" or U.N.O. came into existence, Dr. Seal remarked that all disputes between nations should be settled at an international level through arbitration and racial conflicts should be thus avoided.

In 1914, Brajendranath was appointed to the newly created post of King George V Professor for Moral & Mental Sciences of the Calcutta University. No better selection could be made by the University as

Brajendranath had already established himself as a most erudite scholar, deeply versed in the western and eastern methods of philosophical thinking. As a teacher he was endowed with deep analytical powers, cosmic in their sweep, who always adopted critico-comparative methods to enrich the minds of his pupils for the acquisition of knowledge in the truest sense. In 1915, Brajendranath published his famous work named "Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus". In this book he conclusively proved on the authority of textual references from the store house of Sanskrit Literature that ancient Hindus were well versed in Physics, Chemistry, Mechanics, Biology, Botany, Zoology, Acoustics, etc. etc. They were even familiar with the Atomic theory and conception of Molecular motions. He further established that the orthodox schools of Hindu philosophy and the comparative modern schools of Buddhist and Jaina thoughts were based on the scientific knowledge of the Ancient Hindu race. In 1920, Brajendranath left Calcutta on being appointed Vice Chancellor of Mysore University. For about ten years he served the university as Vice Chancellor with rare ability. He not only served and enriched the University of Mysore but also rendered great service to the princely state of Mysore in educational reforms at all stages. As Chairman of the Commission for constitutional reforms in the Mysore state he ensured the safeguarding of minority interests in the state. As Chairman of the state Commission for Industries, he suggested provision of state aid to the industries in the state. His report as Chairman of these two commissions revealed his thorough grip on economic, political and social matters. For sometime he also served on the Executive Council of the Mysore state.

The grateful Mysore ruler conferred on him the title of "Raj Ratna Pravin".

In December 1921, Brajendranath delivered the inaugural address when his old friend Poet Tagore formally transformed his school at Santiniketan as 'Visva Bharati'.

In 1925, the Govt. of India conferred a Knighthood on Dr. Seal. In 1930, due to failing health, Dr. Seal left Mysore and settled in Calcutta in retirement. However, his doors remained open to scholars and students whom he continued to teach, guide and inspire with his usual zeal and generosity. When his eyesight completely failed, he continued his studies with the help of a young student who either read out or wrote down for him.

Brajendranath delivered an illuminating address on Raja Ram Mohan Roy in connection with the centenary of his death celebrated in Calcutta in December 1933. He also inaugurated the Parliament of Religions held in connection with the centenary celebrations of Ramkrishna Paramhansa in Calcutta in March 1936.

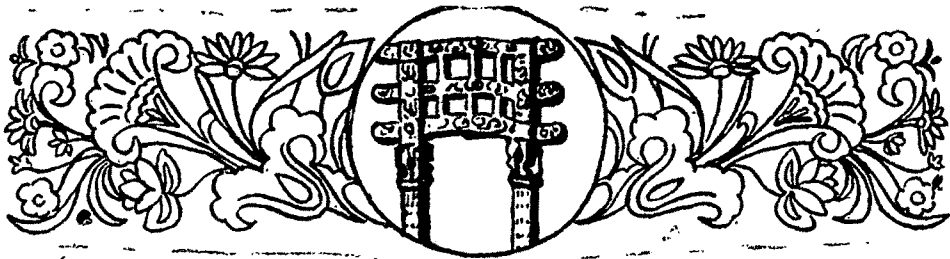
Brajendranath's 72nd Birth Anniveasary was celebrated under the auspices of the Indian philosophical Congress in session in Calcutta on December 19, 1935 at the Senate Hall, Calcutta. The celebrations were presided over by Dr. Nilratan Sarkar. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore who could not join the celebrations in honour of his life-long friend—composed a long and beautiful poem on Brajendranath revealing the greatness of Brajendranath as a scholar teacher and as a man. Attending the reception, Brajendranath gave vent to his mental anguish—over the outbreak of communal troubles in India during the time. He appealed to all sections of Indian people to

integrate themselves as a nation as a whole and cultivate the feeling of universal brotherhood. Dr. Seal breathed his last at his Calcutta residence on December 3, 1938. His wife predeceased him by about 40 years. He was survived by two sons and one daughter all of whom were well placed in their lives.

It is a pity that the volume of writings of Dr. Seal are slender considering his encyclopaedic learning. However, whatever writings he had left are worth their value in gold. His main attention was centred not on writing himself but on creating a band of scholars to keep the flame of true knowledge burning in his native land. For about half a century in different parts of India he inspired a galaxy of scholars through his teachings. He was an "Acharya" in the truest sense of the term. The University of Calcutta in grateful recognition of his services has renamed the King George V Professorship in Philosophy of which Brajendranath was the first occupant, after Dr. Seal as "Acharya Brajendranath

Seal Professorship of Moral and Mental Science" since 1950.

On the appointment of Dr. Seal as Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University—Dr. S. Radhakrishnan—the present 'Rashtrapati' of India succeeded him as King George V Professor in the Calcutta University. It may be mentioned in this connection that on the death of Dr. Seal, Dr. Radhakrishnan paying tribute to his greatness as a man remarked that "His prodigious learning in many branches of human knowledge was the admiration and despair of lesser minds." In personal life, Brajendranath was as pure as he was simple in dress and manners. Righteous to the hilt, his heart was filled with the milk of human kindness for all human beings. He professed universal brotherhood and lived upto that standard in day-to-day life. Brajendranath was a deeply religious man. He resembled the ancient sages of India in appearance and in nature also. No tribute paid to this great savant and soul can be too adequate for him.



SANTHANAM COMMITTEE REPORT : AN APPRAISAL

By BHARAT BHUSHAN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Minister for Home Affairs, declared in the Lok Sabha on June 6, 1964, 'Since we know most of the problems (of corruption),¹ the real point is to take remedial action.'²

In pursuance of the above statement, a Committee on Prevention of Corruption, popularly known as the Santhanam Committee, consisting of the following members was appointed.³

1. Shri K. Santhanam, M.P. Chairman.
2. Shri Santosh Kumar Basu, M.P.
3. Shri Tika Ram Paliwal, M.P.
4. Shri R. K. Khadilkar, M.P.
5. Shri Nath Pai, M.P.
6. Shri Shambhu Nath Chaturvedi, M.P.
7. Shri L. P. Singh, Director, Administrative Vigilance Division.
8. Shri D. P. Kohli, Inspector General, Special Police Establishment.

Shri T. C. A. Ramanujachari, Joint Director, Administrative Vigilance Division, was appointed Secretary of the Committee. As is apparent, the Committee was fairly representative of Parliament, the Vigilance Commission and the Police Establishment.

The terms of reference of the committee were :⁴

(i) To examine the organization, set up, functions and responsibilities of the Vigilance Units in the Ministries and Departments of the Government of India and to suggest measures to make them more effective.

(ii) To examine the organization, strength, procedures and methods of work

of the Special Police Establishment and the difficulties experienced by it, and to suggest measures to further improve its working.

(iii) To consider and suggest steps to be taken to emphasize the responsibilities of each Department for checking corruption.

(iv) To suggest changes in law which would ensure speedy trial of cases of bribery, corruption and criminal misconduct, and make the law otherwise more effective

(v) To examine the rules relating to disciplinary proceedings and to consider what changes are necessary in order to expedite these proceedings and to make them more effective.

(vi) To suggest measures calculated to produce a social climate both among public servants and in the general public in which bribery and corruption may not flourish.

(vii) To examine the Government Servants Conduct Rules and to recommend changes necessary for ensuring maintenance of absolute integrity in the public services.

(viii) To suggest steps for securing public support for anti-corruption measures.

(ix) To consider special measures that may be necessary in corporate public undertakings to secure honesty and integrity amongst their employees.

A perusal of the terms of reference indicates that the Committee was set up primarily to eradicate corruption from Central Services (including those serving in public undertakings). It was even authorised to suggest changes in Government Servants' Conduct Rules and Indian Penal Code to expedite proceedings against erring officers.⁵ The creation of appropriate social climate and the measures to enlist public co-operation

1. Words within brackets are the author's.
2. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

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5. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 2. also see Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration*, 1958, p. 137.

come in only incidentally.⁶ It was later stated that there was no intention to restrict the committee's scope of work and the terms of reference were mentioned only to emphasize the lines of the committee's work.⁷ Despite this clarification, the committee stuck to its terms of reference. This is borne out by the nature of the Interim Reports that came in gradually. Recommendations regarding elimination of corruption in other spheres are halting, apologetic and incidental.⁸ In a 304-page report (including annexures) only 5 pages have been devoted to creation of a proper social climate. It is true, the committee sees two sides to corruption—the bribe-taker and bribe-giver.⁹ Emphasis has been laid on fighting corruption on both of these fronts,¹⁰ but the burden of remaining honest has been finally thrown on the public services. This was perhaps due to want of co-operation on the part of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.¹¹

As I have stated, the major part of the Report has been devoted to measures necessary for eliminating corruption in Central Services. This aspect has also engaged the Committee for the best part of its time. The Committee was hardly well-equipped for its task. It was composed of four Lok Sabha and two Rajya Sabha members and two representatives of Administrative Vigilance Commission and one representative of Special Police Establishment. There was no representative of the Central Services as such on the Committee. There was an assurance that "some members of Parliament and, if possible, other public men would sit with our own officers in or-

der to review the problem of corruption and make suggestions."¹² In accordance with the above, the list of witness¹³ that has been consulted by the Committee is fairly representative. It comprises of 73 public men, journalists, and officers (both in service and retired). The last category mostly comprises ex-Comptroller and Auditor General of India, ex-Attorney General of India, General Managers of Railways, Secretaries of Departments, Commissioners of Income-tax, Members of the Central Board of Revenue, Members of the Excise and Customs Department, one Textile Commissioner, one Joint Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, one Director General of Supplies and Disposals, one Executive Engineer and a few Vigilance Officers. One would wish there were a few permanent representatives of Central Services also on the committee to adequately represent them in regard to Government Servants' Conduct Rules and particularly in respect of the procedure to be followed in cases where disciplinary action was necessary. The Committee, therefore, produced a document which tilts against the Central Services to some extent.

The Santhanam Committee recommendations can be split up into two parts:

1. Recommendations for public men.
2. Recommendations for public services.

1. The recommendations regarding public men are halting and apologetic. These are incidental to what is described as the creation of a social climate. Adoption of a code of conduct for Ministers and its enforcement by the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers in their respective jurisdictions, investigation into allegations against a Minister by a Probe Committee drawn up

6. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 2.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The Santhanam Committee reported that "Corruption can exist only if there is some one willing to corrupt and capable of corrupting."

10. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

12. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.

13. See Appendix to the *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 291-292.

from a National Panel if these are made in writing to the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers by any 10 members of Parliament or a State Legislature, allegations appearing in the Press against Ministers to be referred to the Probe Committee as in case of allegations that are backed by ten legislators, in all other cases where allegations are made against Ministers there should be perfect freedom for Ministers to institute legal proceedings with state assistance, failure on the part of Ministers to take legal action should result in their resignation except in rare cases where the Minister's integrity is unquestioned, the constitution of a National Panel by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister, appointment of a Commission of inquiry in case of a *prima facie* case against a Minister, immediate dismissal of the Minister and further punitive action, if charges against a Minister are sustained by the Commission, and presentation of the report to the Parliament or the State Legislature, as the case may be, curbs on the commercial activities of the members of Parliament and State Legislatures, restriction on collection of funds by political parties and the utilization of the Press and public men in tracing out all cases where corrupt practices are suspected and in setting a tone to public opinion against persons who corrupt public officials, are the total recommendations of the committee in regard to public men.¹⁴

A perusal of the foregoing recommendations of the Santhanam Committee leave the enforcement of the code of conduct and the reference of allegations to the Probe Committee into the hands of the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers who may not be free from party or personal considerations. The Committee leaves to the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister's discretion to retain Ministers charged with corruption if they were satisfied that their integrity was unquestioned. This casts too heavy a burden on the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers. The recommendation of the

Santhanam Committee in regard to the fiscal activities of the members of Parliament may be difficult to implement since pressures may be exerted by members of Parliament and members of State Legislatures through subtle and ingenious ways. These curbs cannot be left to the good sense of members. Some other machinery shall have to be evolved to impose restrictions on M.P.s' and M.L.A.s' fiscal activities to keep the Government free from political pressure groups.

2. The recommendations of the Committee in regard to public services are divisible into two sections: curative and preventive. Under the head curative, the Committee in its interim report of May 9, 1963 recommended¹⁵ that superior Government servants should keep a watchful eye over the integrity of subordinate staff, every Government servant should take full responsibility for his actions except where he orders of the official superior are explicit, and amplification of rules in regard to receipt of gifts and conflict between private and public duty is clear. It suggested periodic submission of statements of assets and liabilities including the value of movable property except articles of daily use, like clothes, utensils, crockery, books and jewellery.¹⁶ It also suggested an amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution to provide for a simplified procedure, in case, members of the former Secretary of State's services were involved in bribery, corruption and lack of integrity charges.¹⁷

The interim report dated August 23, 1963 made a number of recommendations regarding disciplinary rules out of which some relevant recommendations were, withdrawal of pension, in full or in part, compulsory retirement of a Government servant on completion of 25 years of service or after attaining 50 years of age if suspected of doubtful integrity. It also suggested an appropriate machinery to review all cases

14. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 102-104.

15. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 27.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

of doubtful integrity where action was called for.¹⁸

The Committee recommended proper planning and effective implementation of preventive measures, administrative, legal, social, economic and educative. It suggested a thorough review of laws, rules, procedures and practices for the purpose of deciding the level of discretionary powers, the manner of their exercise, control over such exercise of powers, the precautions to be taken at the points where citizens come into contact with the Ministry/Department and the purpose for which they do so.¹⁹

Other preventive measures recommended by the Committee were the grant of housing and medical facilities, for education of children of Government servants, adoption of an informal code of conduct for different categories of Government servants working in Ministries/Departments dealing with economic affairs of the country (and which spend large sums of money),²⁰ grant of extension or re-employment to persons of integrity and honesty, prevent sale of information, imposition of a ban on Government servants accepting private or commercial employment for two years after retirement, making of income-tax returns and assessments open, rupture of dealings with firms of doubtful integrity, maintenance of diaries by officers granting interviews, maintenance of regular accounts by companies and businessmen, evolution of effective propaganda and publicity machinery and submission of periodic summary of departmental action or courts' prosecution to the press.²

It also made certain general recommendations. It suggested changes in the Indian Penal Code to provide for punishment against social offences.²² A fresh definition of 'public servant' including Ministers of Union

and State Governments was urged.²³ It was recommended that offering of bribe or attempt to offer bribe should be made a substantive offence and should be made non-bailable. Possession of disproportionate sources of income should be brought within the definition of criminal misconduct and treated as a substantive offence.²⁴ It suggested simplification of procedure for prosecution of Government servants charged with corruption.²⁵

The Santhanam Committee recommended the reorganization of the entire Vigilance Organization on a proper and adequate basis without undermining the general principle that the Secretaries and Heads of Departments are primarily responsible for the purity, integrity and efficiency of departments.²⁶ The improvement in Vigilance Organization for Railways was suggested.²⁷ The setting up of Vigilance Organizations in Public Sector Undertakings²⁸ and the Judiciary was urged.²⁹ The Committee suggested the starting of training courses for the Vigilance Officers³⁰ and the enlargement of the powers of the Special Police Establishment.³¹

The Committee emphasized the significance of a social climate opposed to corruption in the task of purification of public services. This, according to the Committee, should begin from the top. Absolute integrity in the Central and State Ministers is an indispensable condition for the establishment of a tradition of purity in public services.³² Honest officers should be protected and those found guilty of corruption should

18. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 114-115.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-123.

22. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 123.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-136.

be deprived of their jobs and socially degraded.³³

The Committee has left the problem of corruption in the defence forces to be considered by a Separate Committee, and has, as an interim measure, recommended that conduct rules, disciplinary rules, preventive measures and procedural matters connected with social contacts and purchases could also be applied to the Defence Ministry and its establishments.³⁴ Exceptions were made about matters covered by the Army, Navy and Air Force Acts.³⁵

The Santhanam Committee's recommendations in regard to public men are salting, incidental and made with a certain reservation, but the Committee's recommendations in regard to removal of corruption from public services are more than adequate. The Committee has done well to go into both the preventive and curative sides of corruption in public services, and most of the recommendations are likely to have beneficent effects on integrity and efficiency of Government servants. Two recommendations deserve particular mention.

1. The jurisdiction of the courts in defence of public services is sought to be limited under Article 314.³⁶ In fact, the judiciary is a veritable safeguard of public servants against victimization by higher public servants. There is no reason why the protection guaranteed to the citizen under Chapter III by way of Fundamental Rights should not be made available to public servants in India. In view of political polarization of public services in several States and the movement in reverse, popularly known as "de-Kaironization" in the Punjab, it is advisable to keep civic rights of public servants intact. On the other hand, the right of public servants to seek the protec-

tion of the law should be ensured to all which are sought to be limited through the implementation of paras (vi)³⁷ and (viii)³⁸ of the interim report of August 23, 1963.

2. The Santhanam Committee suggested that Section 21 of the Indian Penal Code should be amended to re-define the words "public servant" to include 'every person in the service or pay of the Government, a local authority or a Corporation established by a Central or State Act, or a Government Company as defined in Section 617 of the Companies Act, 1956 and/or who is remunerated by fees or commission for the performance of any public duty.'³⁹ This is rather a bold suggestion, for according to this definition, "public servant" would include Ministers, Secretaries and even persons engaged in any trade or industry. Such a broad definition of public servant is desirable in view of the extended socio-economic activities of the Government. As a consequence, the rule of law would be effectively enforced in the country as in the United Kingdom. The Santhanam Committee, however, fails to analyze the far-reaching repercussions of this broad definition on Administration.

The Santhanam Committee submitted its interim reports in 1963 and 1964 as requested by the then Home Minister⁴⁰ and the Consolidated Report on March 31, 1964.⁴¹ The Chairman of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, held that "if the suggestions of the Committee are carried out corruption in the country would be appreciably reduced in the next two years."⁴² This may be optimistic but the least the Government can do in the matter is to give the Committee a chance by giving effect to most of its recommendations.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Also see Annexure IV. pp. 299-300.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

Also see Annexure IV, pp. 299-300.

40. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.

41. *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1961.

42. Leading Article, *The Hindustan Times*, January 29, 1964.

32. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. New Delhi, 1964, pp. 101-102.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

34. *The Hindustan Times*, April 4, 1964.

35. *Ibid.* April 4, 1964.

36. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs. New Delhi, 1964, p. 113.

SECULARISM IN POLITICS

By Dr. R. T. JANGAM

The article attempts a brief study of Secularism in Politics. Secularism is sought to be defined as an intellectual and moral attitude and socio-economic-political movement in western history. It is contended that Secularism became stronger stage by stage as religion beat its political, intellectual and 'religious' retreat; and that the expansion of the state activities which was broadly in conformity with the growing spirit of Secularism was marked by corresponding decline in the influence of religion. The article touches on the prospects of Secularism in the Indian context vis-a-vis the religious incompatibilities.

Secularism as an attitude or outlook on life or world should be distinguished from the movement corresponding to the attitude which influenced the nature of political institutions and course of events.

As an attitude, Secularism can be said to have three aspects—intellectual, moral and socio-economic-political. On the intellectual and moral levels, Secularism implies individual as an end in himself and an adequate source of values so that there is no need to postulate a religious or transcendental frame of reference for justification of moral values. Secularism may be anti-theistic or may not have any reference to God or deity. Secularism in both atheistic and anti-theistic forms obtained in 19th Century England where the movement of Secularism started (about 1846) under the leadership of G. J. Holyoake; and incidentally, the movement was more vigorous and flourished remarkably better when it was in its anti-theistic phase. In this sense, Secularism is non-conventional and non-religious. Secularism

further implies the individual's right to question, debate or consider on his own the problems that concern his life. This presupposes his reliance on reason as distinguished from reliance on faith or authority. In this sense, Secularism is rational and non-authoritarian.

On the socio-economic-political level, Secularism implies the movement aspect. The movement, as we can see now, purported to minimize or eliminate the influence of religion on the one hand and work out the implications of its intellectual and moral attitude as briefly explained above. The socio-economic-political implications which were earlier touched upon in the natural right theories and contractual states of Hobbes and Locke ("Letter Concerning Toleration") were fully worked out in the socio-economic-political theories of the 18th and 19th Centuries. These theories include the sociological relativism of Montesquieu (or political relativism, for he takes "Sociology" in a wider sense), the utilitarian theories of economics, politics, ethics and jurisprudence especially of Mill, Bentham, Austin and Sidgwick; and socialistic theories of economics, politics and history including Marxian brand of socialism (communism). In the 19th Century Europe, Secularism received, both on its attitude and movement sides, tremendous impetus from the socio-economic-political events, particularly, the French Revolution (1848) which had profound and far-reaching repercussions in the Western world as promoting the secular goals of liberty, equality and fraternity of men; the epoch-making attempt at widening the basis of democracy in England by the introduction (1832) of the

Reform Bill; and the contemporary movement of Chartism.

As regards the attempt of Secularism at minimizing or eliminating the influence of religion in the organization of social, economic and political life, it may be broadly stated that an advance of Secularism was marked by a corresponding retreat of religion—religion in the sense of a body of doctrines and values giving its sanction or lending the weight of its authority and tradition to the institutions and practices which, according to Secularism, were either outmoded or out of place. There was a time—roughly speaking, the period between 900 A.D. and 1400 A.D.—when religion determined and controlled not only the religious or spiritual life of the individual but also the social and political life. The scope of its activities was coextensive with the life of society, and the state or political authority formed only a constituent part of the religious domain. However, as the events developed later, papal power lost the contest for political domination to the regal power; and this marked a beginning of the process of progressive limitations on the activities of religion. Henceforward, religion was to become less and less of a political influence.

The intellectual monopoly of religion came to be challenged and broken with the advent of Renaissance and Reformation and with the rise of defiant and radical thinkers like Bruno, Spinoza and Galileo who often paid the price for their intellectual freedom. The movements of Renaissance and Reformation and the rise of defiant thinkers made it difficult, if not impossible, for religion to dictate in the traditional fashion the contents, methods and ends of knowledge. Incidentally, it should be noted that the terms Renaissance, Reformation and Secularism, though not exactly identical, are significantly similar in their contents and orientation, on their attitude and movement sides. This marked a second stage of the process. Henceforward, religion was to become less and less of an intellectual influence.

Next, even the 'religious' monopoly of religion came to be challenged by • defiant

practitioners of religion spearheaded by Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. To be on his own in religious or spiritual matters came to be advocated as a right of the individual. The individual was to have freedom in deciding the nature of relationship between himself and God; and the position, authority or acceptability of scriptures. This was a tremendous blow to the sacerdotalistic or the establishment aspect of religion. This marked the third stage at which the very citadel of religion—the religious domain—came to be shaken. Henceforward, religion was to decline in its dogmatism and exclusivism (even) in the religious domain.

The progressive retreat of religion is linked up with the progressive expansion of the state activities. How far the expansion of the state activities is directly the result of adoption of Secularism is a debatable matter. However, this can be broadly stated that the expansion of the state activities—especially in the democratic countries—presupposes logically and philosophically and is in broad conformity, with Secularism. The modernization of Turkey (about 1920)—the "sick man of Europe"—can be said to be perhaps the closest example of how the expansion of the state activities can be said to be based on the adoption of Secularism and how such adoption of Secularism can throw the traditional religion in the background or noticeably diminish its influence. The functions—and therefore the powers—of the states have increased phenomenally especially during the closing decades of the 19th Century and the present Century on account of the obsolescence of the negative state and the acceptance of the positive and welfare state; and the scientific and technological revolution which has made possible for states to assume positive or welfare roles. The enormous increase in the powers of the state is understandable in the case of monarchies or dictatorships. But even in the case of federal or democratic countries, the states have come to acquire enormous powers on account of war (the two World Wars in particular), depression, and the assumption (by the states) of welfare functions.¹ The net result of such an increase in state powers is that religion has come to

be one of the institutions in society with a limited role to play. In some countries like Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt religion is given prominence, but only as an expedient or instrument; the political systems in these countries are not at the mercy of religion. Not only has religion come to play a limited role, but it is obliged to play the role within the political framework with attendant limitations and restrictions. In multi-religious political systems like ours, religion finds itself subject to one more limitation, namely, that its practice must be compatible, if not harmonious, with the practice of other religions. In India, on account of the logic of inevitable coexistence of different religions, the religious practice tends to be more private and less public so that the area of conflict due to incompatibility may be reduced. Strangely enough, there is a tendency on the part of politicians and policy-makers to slur over the basic differences of religions or to fight shy of them. The slogan of Secularism tends to underplay the basic religious differences and the traditionally proven incompatibilities among different religions, and to declare abruptly and rather wishrully the oneness, similarity or equality of all religions. It is sought to be assumed naively and superficially that the different religions will somehow coexist happily and the religious freedoms granted by the Indian Constitution can help such a happy coexistence. The assumption, besides being logically untenable, is practically dangerous. Because, through the fault of omission, it seeks to drive underground the religious differences and incompatibilities. These unresolved differences and incompatibilities

constitute today a most formidable challenge to those who are seeking the political and cultural integration of India. The exigencies of the Secular state demand, besides the minimum compatibility, a common civil code² which would apply to all citizens regardless of their religious affiliation. For example, the law of marriage or monogamy should apply to all citizens. But, this does not happen. Because, apparently it is feared that some religions have not changed or adjusted themselves doctrinally and institutionally—so as to make possible acceptance and practice of a common civil code. Going a step further we may say that there is a need for adequate secularization of all religions in India. The passage of the Hindu Code Bill highlighted the need for adequate secularization not only of other religions like Islam but Hinduism itself as was evident from the uproarious reactions from the orthodox sections of the Hindu community.

The views of articulate and progressive Muslim leaders like Professors A.A.A. Fyze and Humayun Kabir clearly show that there is an intellectual minority within the fold of Islam which is struggling to secularize it. There is a feeling³ in the influential Christian quarters that the Christian citizens, though presumably ripe and ready for

2. A strong plea for common civil code was made at a Seminar on "The Indian Tradition and Its Significance for Cultural Freedom" organized at Poona on 21, 22 and 23 August 1964 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. The Seminar was attended by leaders in different walks of life like Jayaprakash Narayan, M. R. Masani, Laxmanshastri Jshi. This may be said to be a fair cross section of the vocal intellectuals and thinking men who plead for a common civil code.

3. Devandan, P. D.: *Preparation for Dialogue*, Bangalore, The Christain Institute for The Study of Religion and Society, 1964, pp. 7-8.

The whole book which is a collection of articles has an underlying argument that Hinduism is undergoing a beneficial process of secularization and it is getting priority in this matter for a variety of reasons. The Christian community should no longer be a mere spectator of this process but must do something to participate actively in the process.

1. Wheare, K. C.: *Federal Government*, London, Oxford University Press, Third Edition, 1956; First Edition, 1946.

Today, it is an established proposition that the federal governments have become enormously unitary or have survived as just quasi-federal governments. Professor Wheare establishes the proposition in the light of massive evidence of the working of the federal systems of India, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and South Africa in particular. This is by no means the only work on the subject, but is one of the ground-breaking and leading ones.

the acceptance of a common civil code, are not taken into confidence; and are given the (mis)benefit of the doubt because (apparently) they have kept quiet and have not expressly demanded the application of a common civil code or of secular legislations like the Hindu Code Bill which applies to the Hindus.

In the light of the recent attitudes of the Muslim and Christian communities to secular legislation (or legislation for evolving a common civil code) and the attitude of the legislators to these communities, it seems unlikely that the legislators will take initiative in bringing these communities within the range of secular legislation. For, such initiative would entail the risk of internal reformation (or secularization from within) of the communities for which they (legislative) are not suited. Besides, the oft-invited duty of giving protection to the religious minorities is politically more valuable and easier to perform. Under the circumstances, it appears likely and necessary that the leaders of the communities will bring about the internal adjustment and develop increasing understanding with the legislators so that the latter undertake wider secular legislation and do not take the easy way out of "giving protection to the minorities". Further, it appears likely that the Christian community will become ready for secular legislation earlier than the Muslim community, although something will have to be done to reduce considerably its (Christian community's) incompatibility with other religions, particularly Hinduism which is the majority religion.

The proselytizing aims and activities of Christianity which essentially rest on compulsive preference for the Christian religion and the resultant desirability (or programme) of conversion⁴ of non-Christians will tend to bring Christianity into incompatibility with Hinduism; more so because Hinduism is pluralistic in outlook, more tolerant and not competitively or aggressively disposed to other religions because it maintains that God or salvation can be

reached by different paths. Against this background, it may be reasonably affirmed and hoped that the prospects of Secularism in India are bright, but the task of realizing the prospects is not an easy one.

4. (i) The Committee for Special Literature on the Indian Church and Social Concerns: *The Secular State in India—A Christain Point of View*, Calcutta, YMCA Publishing House, 1953, p. 9.

(ii) *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 1947, Vol. 3, p. 480

Conversion is a part of the Christain faith or doctrine. It seeks to go beyond the secular adjustment or compatibility with other religions. The above booklet on Secular State in India says, "Christian tolerance is inspired rather by the conviction that every man is the object of God's tender love and care. Therefore, the Christian's responsibility for those of other faiths does not stop with the securing of justice in human relations. It goes further to seek avenues of service through which the love of God for man can be mediated, and the reality of his forgiveness interpreted in concrete terms of the restoration of the fallen, the recovery of the delinquent and the healing of the infirm." This means that the Christian religion will not let other religions alone, especially if the members of other religions are "fallen" or "infirm" and need "healing." From secular point of view, this insistence on conversion is unfortunate, to say the least, how far it is true or false on religious or logical grounds is altogether a different matter. India's recent history does not support the hope that Christianity's conversion activities can be peaceful or non-controversial. There are quite a number of Hindus who feel that the Niyogi Report (1956) is an understatement of the evil effects of conversion activities.

During the Constituent Assembly Debates, Mr. K. M. Munshi, an Assembly member, pleaded that the conversion of underage persons should not be considered legal: "Any conversion from one religion to another of any person brought about by fraud, coercion or undue influence or of a minor under the age of eighteen shall not be recognized by law." A Christain member of the Assembly objected to this, saying conversion which involves spiritual awakening may take place even in a minor person!

BONUS AWARD AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

By N. G. Gujar

Historical Background

The practice of the payment of bonus, though not unknown before the Second War, became conspicuous in India in and after the War. Taking advantage of war conditions producers were making enormous profits. These profits were made in spite of the rise in taxes and the imposition of new levies like the Excess Profits Tax. The profits as indicated by the published statements of accounts showed considerable increase. For example, the profits in the cotton textile industry became three-fold during the war period. There were reasons to believe that all the profits that were made were not disclosed. It was natural for workers, specially when the cost of living was increasing, to demand bonus as a share in these huge profits. Some employers were either enlightened or practical enough to grant this demand ; others refused. But all the employers contended that the bonus was an ex-gratia payment, depending entirely upon the goodwill of employers and which could not, therefore, be claimed by workers as a matter of right. But this view of the employers was not supported by various awards of Industrial Tribunals. All post-war decisions of the adjudicators tend to support the view that bonus is not an ex-gratia payment and that it can be claimed as a matter of right by workers, particularly in the circumstances when the workers' wages fall short of the living wage standards and when the industry is making huge profits. The principle underlying this view seems to be that bonus should be related to the profits and that as profits have been earned with the aid and co-operation of the workers in the industry, a part has to be paid to

them in the form of bonus as their rightful share in these profits.

Accordingly a large number of workers received bonuses from time to time during and after the war. In some cases bonuses ranged as high as six or nine months' basic wages during a year.

In order to give a systematic basis for profit-sharing the government appointed a committee called Profit Sharing committee, which submitted its report in September, 1948. The Committee came to the conclusion that it was not possible to devise a system of profit-sharing in which labour's share of profit could be determined on a sliding scale varying with production. What is of more interest is : it recommended six industries, viz., cotton textile, jute, steel, cement, the manufactures of tyres and cigarettes, as the sectors in which the experiment might be tried in the first instance, for a limited period of five years. The committee came to the conclusion that labour's share of the surplus profits can only be determined in an arbitrary way. Taking all factors into account the committee proposed that six percent on paid-up capital plus all reserves held for the purpose of the business would be a fair return on capital invested in the concern. Whatever remained formed "surplus profits." Labourers' share in the "surplus profits" thus understood, should be 50%

The recommendations of the Profit Sharing Committee were shelved and no action was taken, since it was viewed that because of the complicated nature of the problem of profit-sharing and bonus, there was a need to set up norms with the help of

experts. Thus the question remained to be considered and decided by industrial courts on the merits of each case. Mention may be made of the agreement between the Textile Labour Association and the Millowners' Association in Ahmedabad in June 1955, on the payment of bonus for the five years, 1953 to 1957. According to this agreement, workers were to get a minimum of 4.8 percent and a maximum of 25 percent of basic wages during the year depending upon the surplus profits that would be available for distribution. Then there was a decision of the Labour Appellate Tribunal in Bombay Mill owners' Association vs. Rashtriya Mazdoor Sangh which laid down a formula for ascertaining the surplus that could be distributed as bonus. But mostly unions were required to raise a dispute periodically and to ask for its adjudication. This resulted into a near chaotic condition in that there were no uniform principles for the calculation of residuary surplus and labour's share therein. Neither has this practice helped in the development of co-operation and friendly relations between the managements and labour. In order to avoid this situation the First Bonus Commission was appointed and the main recommendations of the Commission were made available to the Press in February this year.

Defects in the System of Payments of Bonus

At the outset it has to be realised that the defects in the system of paying bonus had been presented to the authorities before the Commission was appointed. Time and again it had been shown that the efficient and inefficient labourer, the hardworking and lazy labourer, the conscientious and careless labourer, all received the same amount of bonus. Moreover it was pointed out that the workers of badly managed concerns and

efficiently managed ones were treated in the same manner where bonus was made payable industry-wise. The system prevailing in the country was a crude one, not found in any other industrially advanced country since in this system the amount paid as bonus was not related to the performance of a worker and, therefore, was not conducive to improving the productivity of the worker.

But it is doubtful whether it would have been feasible or desirable to abolish this long standing system. The payment of bonus has become a sort of "social commitment" and there is no alternative to it. We have to accept it and the authorities have to introduce safeguards in order to minimise the harmful effects on the economic system in general and on industrial concerns in particular. Moreover the recommendations of the Commission would eliminate, it was expected, bonus disputes as a recurrent source of industrial friction; they would, to that extent, make for industrial stability.

Recommendations of the Bonus Commission

They have defined bonus as a share of the workers in the prosperity of the concern in which they are employed. Such payment of the bonus is desirable when the actual wages are below the living standard and it will import, according to the Commission, an elasticity in the wage structure.

Bonus Formula

From the total receipts of a concern the following items are to be excluded: (a) profit or loss from the sale of immovable property or fixed assets of a capital nature; (b) income from business outside India; (c) income of non-Indian concerns from investment outside India and (d) refund of income tax paid for previous years. What remains is the gross profits.

From the gross profits, there are certain "prior charges", to be excluded. The prior charges are: (a) Normal depreciation, admissible under the income tax act, should be allowed. (b) Income tax and super tax should be included in the prior charges. (In the case of plantation companies, agricultural income tax also should be considered as a prior charge.) (c) Seven percent on paid-up equity capital and four cent on reserve should be included in these charges.

In the note of dissent by one member, viz., employers' representative on the Commission, it was suggested that $8\frac{1}{2}$ percent on equity capital and 6 percent on reserves should be considered as a fair return on capital and therefore these percentages should be allowed as prior charges. The minute of dissent also suggested that rehabilitation allowance and the super profits tax should be considered as prior charges. The majority report has declined to accept the rehabilitation allowance and the super profits tax as prior charges.

After deducting these prior charges, what remains is the surplus. Of the surplus 60 percent should be made available for bonus. The bonus should be linked to wages and dearness allowance together. Moreover an employee will get as minimum bonus an amount equal to 4 percent of his annual earnings or Rs. 40 whichever is higher. This would mean a compulsory payment of bonus by a concern whether it makes a profit or not, except in the case of new units.

The Commission's formula is applicable also to public undertakings which compete with the private sector. That is public sector undertakings which are not departmentally run and which compete with the establishments in the private sector will be required to pay the bonus according to this formula.

Objections

The employers objected to the recommendations of the Bonus Commission on the following grounds. (1) The exclusion of super profits taxes from the prior charges is not logical. (2) Seven percent return on capital and 4 percent on reserves is too low. (3) The uniform application of the formula to all industries, as if their capacity to make profits and their need for conservation of reserves do not differ, is inequitable. (4) The Commission's recommendation that a minimum bonus must be payable irrespective of whether there is any profit or not is unsound and contradicts its own concept of bonus as a workers' share in the prosperity of their concern. (5) Commission's rejection of development rebate as a prior charge is harsh.

In general the view of the employers was that the majority report was altogether Labour-oriented without any larger economic perspective in that the Commission had ignored the interests of the Community as a whole. If the funds available for the improvement of the techniques of production and for rehabilitation, replacement etc., would be dissipated by way of higher bonus to labour, the progress of the industry and nation would be slowed down. The rate of return allowed on the capital is not adequate; the company finances are bound to be adversely affected. The division of the "surplus" as 60 percent for bonus and 40 percent for the rest (for gratuity to workers, other necessary reserves, rehabilitation reserve, super profits tax) is inequitable. This would siphon off the greater part of corporate surpluses acting as a drag on any company's financial resources. It may, indeed, kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

Government's Decision

On 27th August, this year, the Government has accepted the Bonus Commission's recommendations, subject to certain modifications. The most important modification is in connection with "prior charges" on gross profits before the amount available for distribution is computed. In modifying the Commission's recommendations the authorities have more or less accepted the major demand made by the employers' representative on the Bonus Commission, in his note of dissent. The rate of return on capital as "prior charge" will be 8.5 percent for paid up equity capital and 6 percent for reserves. (The majority report of the Commission had suggested 7 percent and 4 percent respectively.) For banking companies 7.5 percent on paid up capital and 5 percent on reserves has been accepted as the prior charge by the Government. This suggests realistic approach by the Government. It may be argued that the concept of a reasonable yield on employed capital in the case of sur-tax calculation is more liberal and provides for a 10 percent return. So also, according to this line of argument, the Government should have done well to follow the Tariff Commission's basis of adopting the rate of return on capital, which is 10 percent for both, capital employed in a concern and reserves, in most of the industries.

But then, after deducting "prior charges", there will be a surplus out of which only 60 percent is made available for bonus distribution. At least a part of the rest will be made available for supplementing, if necessary, the $8\frac{1}{2}$ percent as a return on capital allowed in the prior charges. This is all the more important since, now this surplus would be smaller. And that is the second modification made by the Government while accepting the Commission's recommendations. In computing

the "available surplus", all direct taxes will be deducted as prior charges. Tax concessions given to the industry to provide resources for development will also, according to this modification, be accepted as prior charges. According to the Commission's recommendations the super profits tax and some of the tax concessions that have been provided, currently, to certain to industries are to be excluded from the "prior charges" for the purpose of arriving at the "available surplus". Now the Government makes it clear that all such concessions, as well as all direct taxes, are to be considered as "prior charges" and are to be excluded from "the available surplus". Of course the Government proposes to take steps to ensure that the amount involved in such concessions are utilised only for the specific purpose for which they are given.

It has been announced, and that is the third modification, that bonus beyond a certain amount would be distributed in the form of securities of one or the other kind and not in cash. In the present inflationary situation part payment of bonus in securities is all the more desirable.

Comments on Government's Decision

Despite these realistic gestures one important anomaly from the Commission's recommendations has not been removed, and that anomaly is: the uniform application of the formula to all industries. The Government has made a distinction between banking companies and others in that separate rates of return on capital have been accepted in both these categories. But the Government has not been consistent since it makes no distinction between one category of industries and another, between industries of one region and another. More particularly, the formula as accepted by the Government does not make any allowance for the difficulties and hazards

of industries like plantation and mining. Moreover the government has accepted the commission's recommendations in connection with new concerns. The Bonus formula will not apply to them until they have recouped all early losses, subject to a time limit of six years. But there is no reason to believe that the new concerns would be able to do so within the time limit thus prescribed.

There is an important implication involved in the Government's acceptance of the Commission's recommendation in connection with the minimum bonus. A minimum bonus of four percent of the earnings or Rs. 40, whichever is higher, irrespective of profit or loss of a concern has to be paid. This is nothing else but a "straight increase" in wages. There are several objections to such a straight increase in wages. Firstly instead of giving it as a bonus it should have been given as a wage increase. Secondly, this type of payment is not a "share in prosperity" and thus is not consistent with the definition of bonus accepted by the Commission. Thirdly, this type of straight wage increase will mean cost inflation in most of the industries—a dangerous trend in to-day's inflationary economy.

But the most important aspect of this type of minimum payment of bonus is its repercussions on other sectors of the economy. The employees of public sector industries not competing with the private sector industries,

and those of Posts, Telegraphs and Railways, and of other departmentally run industries, employees of Central and State Governments and those of local self government units will necessarily claim such increases. And to refuse a similar payment to these employees will be discriminating against, not to speak of the discontent it would create amongst them.

In practice when the Government will take steps to implement its decision on the bonus formula it is likely to meet stiff resistance from the side of employees' unions. Leftist trade unions will definitely raise a hue and cry against the Government's decision. They are likely to bring pressure by resorting to strikes of all sorts. Even some of the leaders of moderate organisations like the INTUC has reacted adversely in connection with the Government's modifications of the Bonus Commission's formula. In the short run the Government's modification of the recommendations may lead to serious widespread industrial unrest. But the additional burdens that will be imposed on industrial finances under the commitments of bonus have to be viewed against the cumulative impact of taxes and other levies on profits in recent years. This is a long-run aspect of industrial growth and labour leaders can ignore it only at the risk of stunting industrial growth with adverse reactions on employment.

THE ROLE OF PERSONALITY TEST IN THE RECRUITMENT OF HIGHER PUBLIC SERVICES: A BRITISH LESSON FOR INDIA

By HIREN J. PANDYA

Administration, to be effective and efficient, has to have a recruitment system that puts premium on the personality of the recruits to the higher public services. This is all the more true in the context of the welfare state, wherein higher public servants are being increasingly associated with the process of policy-formulation, which was, before, the exclusive preserve of the political executive. It has long been recognised that mere intellectual ability will not make a good civil servant, whose calling places him in diverse and difficult situations of which he has to be the master. The crying need of the day is 'administrative statesmanship' with creative intelligence. The emphasis on creative intelligence is explained by Emmette S. Redford, who observes, "The primary needs, in my judgment are to recognise the complexity of problems which must be faced and to emphasise the part that creative intelligence can play in the solution of problems. I am using the word 'expert' comprehensively to include every form of intelligence which can be employed efficiently in the solution of problems".¹

It is one thing to stress the need for creative intelligence in an administrator, and another, to discover it. The device now used to sift applicants and obtain the cream of the candidates for the civil services is the Personality Test. The aim of the Personality Test is to assess the emotional balance and nervous equipoise of those interviewed. It serves as a yardstick to measure the initiative, intellectual alertness, presence of mind, the power of decision, ability to anti-

cipate events and a sense of discretion, which are so vital in a good administrator.

We shall now examine the system of testing Personality as it is used by the British Civil Service Commission, and make a comparison of it with the methods in vogue in India. In conclusion, we shall examine some suggestions for improvement and some modern trends in the sphere of Personality Test. It would not be out of place to begin with a look at the state of affairs in Britain before the present mode of Personality Test became an essential part of the methods used for recruitment to the British Civil Service.

Till the setting up of the Civil Service Commission, by an Order in Council in May, 1855, recruitment to the British Civil Service depended, in the main, on patronage and favouritism. It was another 20 years, however, before the abuses in the recruitment system were entirely swept away and party attacks on the work of the Commission ceased. In 1870, another Order in Council made a Test of open competition obligatory, practically throughout the service. As far as recruitment was concerned, the Civil Service Commissioners were given quasi-judicial powers and they were not subject to outside interference, even from the Treasury. The interview was established in 1917, on the recommendation of the Committee on Class I Examination, which remarked, "We believe that qualities may be shown in the viva voce examination which cannot be tested by a written examination and that those qualities should be useful to public services." They considered that the viva voce could be made a test of the candidate's alertness and intelligence. While subject to the value of 1000 marks may be offered for the written examination

1. Emmette S. Redford, 'Administrative Regulations' in the *American Political Science Review*, Dec. 1954.

from the various options, the interview was to carry 300 marks. The use of this method, with minor adaptations to suit modern thought, has remained to this day.

Two methods of recruitment are now in use in the British Civil Service, known as Method I and Method II. Method I consists of a full academic written examination with preliminary and final interviews. The preliminary interview is conducted by a single interviewer and carries no marks. The interviewer, however, supplies a Report to the Final Interview Board under the chairmanship of the First Civil Service Commissioner who awards upto 300 marks for the candidate's record and personal qualities. The Board also takes into account the candidate's achievements in relation to his opportunities and also confidential reports from responsible people and from two referees.

Method II has three stages and eliminates candidates at each stage. On the strength of the results of a short written Test, candidates are invited to be interviewed by the Civil Service Selection Board. A series of tests and interviews, lasting two and a half days, follows, known as the House Party or Country House system of personality test. These include written tests, group discussions, committee work, psychological tests and personal interviews. The Selection Board's assessment of the candidate's performance is sent to the Civil Service Commission. The second stage consists of an interview by University professors. The final award depends on the Commission's own interview. School and University records are also taken into account at this stage.

The latter method which came into use after the Second World War, was actually a leaf taken out of the book of the army. Doubtless, the employment of this pattern of recruitment did away with misgivings regarding subjectivity and chance. Further it appealed to those who had some administrative experience at school or college or in the Forces. The method was adopted because the experts were convinced about its efficacy as a means of recruiting the best available candidates to the administrative

class. The interview assesses the candidate's suitability for each of the services he has entered for, particular importance being attached to his intelligence, alertness, vigour and strength of character and potential qualities of leadership.

The significance of the personality test can hardly be over-estimated. At least 800 out of 1300 candidates are very close to each other in ability and hence the interview can be a decisive factor in success or failure. Another point of practical importance is, as Finer says, "It is unlikely, because of the age limits, that a candidate will have more than two attempts so that the interview may be decisive of his whole life."² The procedure adopted in Method II implies an interview of longer duration than the method in vogue before 1945 and hence gives a better opportunity to the Board to assess the candidate's personality.

Speaking of the personality test, a report of the Civil Service Assembly says, "**Whatever the form or the ostensible purpose** of the interview may be, it serves one necessary end—to humanise an otherwise bureaucratic relationship. Moreover it often presents an opportunity for engendering goodwill which springs from letting the candidate know that he is being considered as a human entity rather than as an array of skills and talents and similar abstractions."³ It is designed to place special emphasis on personality and quick-wittedness as opposed to sheer intellectual ability. The psychological tests conducted by the British Civil Service Commission are intended to discount differences in age, education and experience and they seek to provide sound evidence of basic mental capacity. With this object in view, each candidate is interviewed separately by the Group Chairman, the Psychologist and the Observer. While the Observer is mainly concerned with the quality of the candidate's mind, the Psychologist with his personality and life history, the Group Chairman concerns himself "with

2. Finer, H., "Governments of the Greater European Powers" (1956), p. 227.

3. 'Oral Tests in Public Personnel Selection' by the Civil Service Assembly, p. 5.

all aspects of the candidate, with particular emphasis on how he has spent his time since leaving school, on his leisure pursuits and on his reasons for seeking to enter the public services."⁴

On the other hand, many thinkers are of the view that the interview does not really gauge the candidate's mental prowess. R. C. Oldfield says that psychological tests of the type described above tend to bring a sense of irritation or of disappointment to the candidate, due to the often ill-founded and overhasty conclusions of the interviewers and the candidate's sensitivity to them. The problem is how, without previous acquaintance, upon a particular occasion and within a limited period of time, to arrive at a reliable assessment of the personal qualities of an individual. The question may be asked, "How can we distinguish with scientific confidence, among the persons with the appropriate mental abilities and knowledge, their varying degrees of effectiveness in the interpersonal relations?"⁵ It is next to impossible to measure such qualities as tact, persuasiveness and motivations.

What the interviewer judges during the interview is chiefly the attitudes displayed by the candidate, and here the personal qualities of the interviewer himself play a great part. While some interviewers are able to conduct the course of an encounter—to draw out the shy and urge on the reticent, others lack these abilities. R. C. Oldfield considers the choice of the topics for conversation also important. He observes, "The candidates must be led to a state of mind in which well-defined, symptomatic attitudes can be aroused by conversational stimulation."⁶

The factor of bias is the most vitiating influence in the interview. The peculiar characteristics of each person are capable of being looked at in different lights by different people. Personal likes and dis-

likes of the interviewer affect the outcome of the interview to a greater extent than is generally recognised.

Objections have also been raised to interviews by Boards. The alarming nature of the position in which the candidate is placed makes him nervous and in no fit condition to put his best foot forward. A sense of unjustified, yet inescapable formality has been attributed to the members of the Interviewing Board. The mutual relationships of the several members of the Board may also present some problems. For example, a single member may dominate the questioning and deliberations of a Board or there may be mutual antagonism between the members of the Board.

It has rightly been remarked that suspicion is the candidate's general attitude towards the interview. Written papers with their happy anonymity, are fair, while the test of personal contact is likely to depend on purely subjective opinions. It is surely a fallacy to assume that whereas a human being's brains are a matter of personal credit, and therefore capable of just assessment and of being weighed in a scale against the brains of others, his voice, his looks, his manners, his temper, his vitality and his power to guide and help are given by nature and ought not to be charged for or against him. It may however be argued here that every instrument is fallible in human hands and in the assessment of these rather intangible qualities, the margin of error may just be wider than in the measurement of the brain's capacities. The assessment of personality is difficult in the highest degree but as Mary Agnes Hamilton says, qualities such as "Zest, an interest in the whole business of being alive, an awareness of variety in experience, curiosity as to the world one lives in, tastes, these things do somehow get across."⁷ To get the best out of it, interviews should be kept as informal as possible, the conversation being designed to elaborate the information on the application form and then to find out the applicant's views on his career and his plans for

4. Statement of Government Policy and Report by the Civil Service Commission (H.M.S.O.), p. 23.

5. State Personnel Administration—Agenda for 1960's by A. H. Aronson in *Public Personnel Review*, April 1960, p. 99.

6. R. C. Oldfield, *The Psychology of the Interview*, p. 77.

7. Mary Agnes Hamilton, 'Use of Interview in Recruitment and Promotion.'—*Public Administration*, Jan.-Oct. 1937, p. 305.

the future. Some critics, however, are of the opinion that it is sheer nonsense to say that committees, whatever the degree of informality, are not influenced by the bearing and appearance of the candidates. It follows from this that the candidate's performance itself will not be of great importance, in gauging his personality. And there is no such thing as a perfect Selection Committee.

Until 1956, the Union Public Service Commission in India had set a great store by the Personality Test in the recruitment of candidates to the public services. A maximum of 400 marks out of a total of 1850, was awarded for personality. Personality, therefore, was a vital factor in determining the candidate's success or failure. Unless he secured qualifying marks in this test, he was not eligible for appointment. A notification of the Home Ministry describes the Personality Test in the following lines:

1. The candidate will be interviewed by a Board who will have, before them, a record of his career. He will be asked questions on matters of general interest. The object of the interview is to assess personal suitability of the candidate for the service or service for which he has applied, by a board of competent and unbiased observers. The qualities to be judged may be broadly summed up as an assessment of the mental calibre of the candidate when the term is understood to include not only intellectual qualities but also social and moral qualities of personality. Some of the qualities to be judged are mental alertness, critical powers, assimilation, clear and logical exposition, balance of judgment, variety and depth of interest, ability for social cohesion and leadership, intellectual and moral integrity.

2. The technique of interview is not that of strict cross-examination but of natural though directed and purposive conversation which is intended to reveal the mental qualities of the candidate. The Personality Test is not intended to be a test either of the specialised or general knowledge of the candidate which has already been tested through his written papers. Candidates are expected to have taken an intelligent interest not only in the special subjects of academic study but also in the events which are

happening around them both within and without their own State or country, as well as in modern currents of thought and in new discoveries which should rouse the curiosity of well educated youth."⁸ The popularity of the Personality Test for All-India and Central Services is vouchsafed for by the increasing number of candidates who apply for these examinations each year. The Commission, therefore, devoted increasing care and attention to the conducting of these tests. In its Third Report the U.P.S.C. remarked: "Ministries of Government continue to be insistent that a minimum stand in these tests must be an indispensable condition of admission to their respective services."

When the fifteen minutes' interview came for a volley of criticism, the first report of the U.P.S.C. had observed, "No human judgment can claim to be completely free from the element of subjectivity but, after carefully reviewing the matter, the Commission have come to the conclusion that a Board of this kind can be expected to size up the trend of the personal qualities of young people even during a conversation of fifteen to twenty minutes." However, Shri A. D. Gorwala opined that, "A fifteen minutes conversation with laymen, although possessing the wide experience of the Public Service Commission, can be no substitute for expert psychological examinations designed to give a scientific insight into the candidate's mental and emotional make-up."

The U.P.S.C. is well-aware of the shortcomings in the Personality Test conducted by it. It is looking towards Britain and actively considering the adoption of interview methods on the lines of those in use there. The tests may be expensive of time where there are more than 5000 initial applications, but if steps are taken to sift entrants at the initial stage by the use of a

8. Ministry of Home Affairs Notification: Rules, New Delhi, the 12th February 1955. Appendix IIB: Standard and syllabus of Examination.

9. A. D. Gorwala: Report on Public Administration, Government of India, Planning Commission, 1951.

Screening Board at the State level, the thoroughly incompetent can be eliminated.

After examining the various methods of assessing the candidate's merit, one has to admit that the perfect and infallible method is still to be devised. As the Tomlin Commission puts it, "Every method of testing candidates is.....exposed to its own hazards."¹⁰ Britain and U.S.A. are going ahead with research into better methods of testing personality. Their untiring efforts may result in a technique providing greater approximation in objectivity and reliability.

In spite of all the criticism levelled against it, the Personality Test seems to have come to stay. There is no gainsaying the fact that its usefulness in estimating the candidate's innate qualities, is unparalleled. In recent years attempts have been made to bring about improvements in the oral test with the object of reducing the element of chance to the minimum. Recently a symposium of Service Psychologists which was convened under the auspices of the Commonwealth Committee on Defence Science observed that, "In view of the established position of the interview among selection procedures, considerably greater effort should be devoted both to elucidating its structure and to applying in practice the results of current research." The lack of consistency and accuracy in interview judgments has to be eliminated as far as possible. Scientifically determined techniques of interviewing are coming into prominence everywhere and there is no reason why some of these techniques should not be applied to the interviewing of personnel for the public services also, with profit.

Dr. Finer, in his book, 'The British Civil Service' has put forth some valuable suggestions to lessen the iniquities of the Personality Test :

1. Its duration should be increased from fifteen minutes to half an hour.

2. It should relate to academic subjects and not to general conversation.

3. It should be a supplementary and not a decisive test.

10. Report of the Royal Commission (Tomlin) on the Civil Service (1929-'31).

4. The interview board should include a business and a University administrator.

5. The interview should come after and not before the written examination.

6. Tutor's reports should be consulted only after the interview by way of check and the tutor should exercise self-restraint in giving the testimonials.

7. Interview marks should be reduced from 300 to 150 i.e., half of their present magnitude.

Some of these suggestions have already been implemented in India. While the marks awarded for the interview have been reduced, its duration has been increased.

The need for informality in the conduct of interview cannot be over-emphasised. The room in which the interview takes place should be quiet and comfortable. The atmosphere should be such as to encourage free and friendly communication between the interviewer and the interviewee.

Prejudices should not be allowed to distort the judgment of the interviewers. A study undertaken by the American National Information Research Centre showed that interviewers holding majority and minority opinions on different topics tend to be influenced by their own views, when marking their assessment of the candidate's mental capacities. It is therefore absolutely necessary to keep in mind the possible presence of such bias and take measures to control it so that the interview would yield dependable information about the candidate. Interviewers should be able to develop a sense of objectivity and to assess with complete absence of prejudice, candidates' views which may be diametrically opposed to those which they themselves hold.

Shri W.T.V. Adisesiah has put forth at length, in his learned article,¹¹ some key principles for gathering information about the candidate and matching it with his job specifications, so that the interview will not be of a random nature. These principles being of general application and being pertinent

11. W. T. V. Adisesiah, 'Selection Interviewing' in *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, April-June 1962. p. 207.

to the present discussion, may be summed up here, as follows :

1 **Recollection** : The interviewer should not accept or reject a candidate till the end of the sitting.

2 **Observation of behaviour patterns** : Since some degree of emotional stability is essential for any sort of job, the interviewer would do well to observe behaviour patterns which repeat themselves. "The more repeatedly a behaviour pattern occurs, the more strongly evident is the characteristic expressed by that pattern."¹²

3. **Avoidance of reliance on isolated factors** : A strong impression created by one factor, e.g., the personal charm or ready wit of the candidate, should not be allowed to colour all other evidence.

4. **Avoidance of underrating** : Some candidates tend to overrate the quality of their achievements and sometimes interviewers allergic to exaggerations, try to offset this marking the candidate low. While it is understandable that the candidates should not be at an advantage by mere force of his impressiveness and grandiloquence, these exaggerations should not place him at a disadvantage either. The interviewer should use fine discretion to take stock of his true merit.

5. **Allow for distortions of memory** : In recollection, people have a tendency to reorganise facts to their own advantage. The candidate's memory might modify his accounts and the interviewer's memory might play him false. The interviewer should therefore guard against these possibilities.

6. **Understanding the language of the candidate** : The interviewer should be proficient in disentangling the 'latent content' of a statement from its 'manifest content'. Though what is said appears perfectly cogent and reasonable, it may really be expressive of deep-seated, irrational hostili-

ties. The ability to categorise the information logically is essential to an interviewer.

7. **Assessing non-verbal material** : Candidates come from diverse backgrounds and the interviewer will have to take precautions not to be irrational in his approach to candidates from backgrounds different from his own. This and other personal aspects of the interview should be given due weight while considering improvements to be effected in interviewing techniques.

Finally, and most important of all is the check-up by the interviewer of the value of the assessments made by him. If about 60% of the candidates selected after interview have, in the opinion of their employers, shown competence on the job, the selection technique can be considered satisfactory.

It follows then, that the selection of the interviewer should be as carefully done as the selection of the candidates for appointment. In the words of P.E. Vernon and J. B. Parry, "The main qualities of a good interviewer, and the main factors leading to good rapport are thorough knowledge of the job or other matters with which the interviewee is concerned and of topics in which he is interested, emotional maturity or a well-adjusted personality.....and a reputation amongst previous interviewees for sincerity, sympathy and sensitiveness."

In this article an attempt has been made to examine the British model of Personality Test for recruitment to Higher Civil Service and also some recent trends and thought in the field, with a view to exploring the possibility of deriving some lessons from this, for India. Admittedly, outright and wholesale adoption of a practice prevalent in another country, or of suggestions of some expert individual or body may not, perhaps, be feasible or even advisable. However, there cannot be any doubt about the fact that there is great scope for study, research and experimentation in this aspect of Public Personnel Administration in our country.

12. *Ibid*, p. 207.

SMALL SAVINGS MOVEMENT IN INDIA NEED FOR RE-ORIENTATION

By Prof. P. K. Jain, M. Com.

BEFORE independence the Small Savings Movement in India was regarded only as an adjunct to the war effort. It was as late as in June 1948 that far-reaching changes were introduced in the set-up of the organisation and the Movement was broad-based. As is evident from the following two tables, with the advent of the planning era the Movement has gained considerable confidence of the masses and has come to play a crucial part in financing the development plans of our country.

TABLE I

Small Savings Mobilisation during the thirteen years of planning in India

(In crores of Rupees)

FIRST PLAN		SECOND PLAN		THIRD PLAN	
Year	Net Collection	Year	Net Collection	Year	Net Collection
1951-52	38.5	1956-57	61.7	1961-62	87.0
1952-53	40.0	1957-58	69.2	1962-63	70.0
1953-54	38.0	1958-59	78.5	1963-64	120.0
1954-55	55.1	1959-60	84.3	—	—
1955-56	68.5	1960-61	104.8	—	—
Total :	240.1		398.5		277.4

Source : Prepared with the help of tables appearing in :

- The Reserve Bank Reports on currency and finance (from 1955-56 to 1962-63) ; and
- The Reserve Bank Bulletin—May, 1964, p. 686.

* For this article I am grateful to my respected teacher, Prof. C. P. Srivastava, Principal, D.A.V. College, Kanpur for showing me the line of approach, and to Professor T.P. Rastogi, Maharaj College, Chhatalpur for going thorough it and correcting its many mistakes.

TABLE II

Progress of Small Savings Movement in India during the Three Plans

S. N. Variable	Units	FIRST PLAN	SECOND PLAN	THIRD PLAN
		1951-52 to 1955-56	1956-57 to 1960-61	1961-62 to 1965-66 (Target)
1. Plan Outlay	Rs. Crores	1,960	4,600	7,500
2. Population at the end of the period	Million	397	438	492
3. Small Savings (Net) at the end of the period	Rs. Crores	235	400	600
4. Per capita outlay at the end of the period	Rs.	49	105	152
5. Per capita income at the end of the period at 1960-61 prices	Rs.	306	330	385
6. Per capita small savings at the end of the period	Rs.	5.9	9.1	12.2
7. Average Annual small savings collections	Rs. Crores	47	90	120

Source : *AICC Economic Review*, March, 7, 1962, p. 10.

A close study of the Movement would reveal that since the very inception of the First Plan, constant efforts have been made to devise such securities as to suit every pocket and every psychology. Introduction of Cumulative Time Deposit Scheme and the Frize Bonds has completed the circle. People, who can save but a few rupees in a year, can invest in the Post Office Savings Bank, Prize Bonds, National Defence Certificates, Defence Deposit Certificates, or in Savings Stamps. Those who have a steady monthly income and can set aside a fixed sum each month can contribute to the Cumulative Time Deposit Scheme. Then, there are the Fifteen Year Annuity Certificates specially adapted to people who have a lump sum of money to live on and which they would like to be available to them in the form of a monthly pension, as it were. Thus, the security-composition, as such, may be said to be complete in itself. But this is disturbed by

the innovations introduced from time to time. These innovations might be good in themselves; but more often than not they work most unwittingly at cross-purposes. In 1963-64 Budget, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme was introduced. This has, however, been scrapped in the 1964-65 Budget. More recently, with effect from 1st July 1964, the Unit Trust Scheme has been launched. If the report appearing in daily newspapers is any guide, the small investors, who had put their savings in fixed and cumulative deposits, "are now utilising the amount to buy Units." Innovations are both necessary and desirable. But they should not disturb the existing composition. If at all they do, the existing composition should simultaneously be so re-oriented that they displace spending and not the other forms of saving.

As is evident from the above tables, despite these attempts towards improvements in the security composition, net collection through

Small Savings has not exhibited any marked improvement. It has increased but at a snail's speed. One of the most important factors responsible for the slow rise is the absence of the basic inducement provided by an attractive rate of interest. Although the interest rates payable on various schemes have been raised from time to time, they have not moved in line with the changed pattern of the capital market. Even the lottery features of the Prize Bonds have not provided sufficient incentives. "Most of the savings", observes Mr. S. K. Iyengar, "bagged by the Small Savings Staff is on the basis of pressure of one sort or other."² Therefore, it is high time that the interest rate structure were examined by an independent committee of experts and adequate financial incentives provided to the small savers to save and to invest. We suggest a minimum interest rate of 5 per cent (compound). It is expected it would have a favourable response. Further, in order to discourage pre-mature encashments and withdrawals, the rate-structure should be so patterned that rates rise as the obligations approach maturity.

Another factor inhibiting the success of the Movement is that the per capita income is below the subsistence level. The situation is further aggravated by the inflationary rise in prices. Duesenberry's demonstration effect adds an irony to it. Between 1956 and 1964 the cost of living index has risen from 96 to 137. It has further moved up to 144 in April, 1964.³ As per predictions of the Research Bureau of the Economic Times, "The sharpest rise in prices will take place only in the coming months."⁴ Nothing would harm the Small Savings Movement in India than these inflationary waves. Inflation

results in currency-depreciation which, in its turn, causes the small investors to incur negative interest. It is, however, sometimes contended that "saving itself is a way of arresting increase in the cost of living." It might be. But saving is as much a function of per capita income vis-a-vis the cost of living as it constitutes an antithesis of inflation. Moreover, we may take the horse to the pond, but we cannot make it drink water. Likewise, in an era of rising prices, we may succeed in building up a savings psychology, we cannot process the whole saving into developmental investment when alternative investments like investment in inventories and real estates are apt to be more profitable. It is hoped that if the Government undertakes to return the Small Savings in the form of some kind of index-linked bonds, it will provide sufficient inflationary hedge and will go well with the growth of the Small Savings Movement.

On the organisational side also a few comments are imperative. Although a number of steps have been taken from time to time to strengthen it, it has failed miserably to rise to the occasion. Principally, our Small Savings Movement aims at democratisation of saving and investment in the economy, mobilisation of economic surplus for development plans being the secondary objective. In practice, however, reverse is the case. The Movement has not reached yet the Small Savers in the rural and semi-urban areas and the major portion of the Small Saving mobilised so far has been collected from institutional investors and individuals with substantial savings. This is also supported by the revelations made by the recent studies concerning the volume of domestic saving and the pattern of its flow during the decade

of 1950s. It has been observed that while the share of urban households in domestic saving has been going up and this has also been accompanied by a rising saving propensity, both the saving of rural households and their saving propensity have remained more or less static around 1.9 per cent of national income and 2.6 per cent, respectively.⁶ Professor I.S. Gulati has made an enquiry into the causes of these disparities in ratios and has arrived at a conclusion that "the low rural propensity to save can be said partly statistical, partly economic and partly sociological."⁷ He further explains that the rural propensity is not so low as is indicated by the above ratios. Had non-monetised investment been taken into account it would have been around 3.8 per cent of the national income or 54 per cent of the rural income.⁸ This shows that the rural saving is not so low as to cause a concern. But the tragedy of the situation is that a considerable part of it is frittered away either over conspicuous consumption or non-priority uses of capital. It is high time that the Small Savings Organisation were streamlined on such lines as to enable it to pick up the thread from this analysis and reach down to the remotest corner of rural and semi-urban areas with an integrated and disciplined policy. Potential savers are easily attracted savings facilities are "pushed right under the individual's nose".⁹ It is, therefore, suggested that the P. & T. Department should set up a separate wing like the telephone branch for running the Savings Bank. Mobile Bank Units should be developed specially for rural and semi-urban areas. People save more if they are given "some acceptable reason for saving".¹⁰ In publicity work, usually, "we tend to underline only the value of having money to fall back on in times of need. It is just as important,

however, to lay stress on the positive aspects of living".¹¹ For this, booklets and pamphlets should be distributed, film shows and dramas exhibited, posters and wall-papers displayed, special postage stamps and tokens issued and door-to-door propaganda groups organised with frequent intervals. People also save more during national crises. Only recently, we have seen how people, in general, rushed with their everything including even their blood towards the National Defence Fund and the Blood Bank under the impact of surging emotion generated in the wake of Chinese aggression. But, unfortunately, this emotion appears to have virtually cooled down, although the threat to our security hangs over us as such. Is not the organisation, if not wholly at least partly, responsible for it? It is incumbent on the Organisation not only to arouse public enthusiasm but also to keep it constantly burning.

To cap it all, in a democratic set-up like ours, much depends upon people's willing co-operation. There seems to be no other way than to follow a strong policy of restraints, austerities, and restrictions on all non-essential expenditure, whether public or private, whether developmental or non-developmental. Let each of us develop the urge and capacity to sacrifice our 'today' for a prosperous 'tomorrow'. Then only will be written the concluding chapter of our Savings Movement; then only can we become not only the proud 'Pilgrims of Progress' but the brave 'Soldiers of the Battle of Field' as well.

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EX-COMMUNICATION—ITS VALIDITY

By P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

I

Introduction

'Data on Caste: Orissa',¹ published by the Anthropological Survey of India is one of the latest authentic books on caste which presents constitutions of a few castes of Orissa. The reader of the book will be startled to note that most of the castes have retained the primitive punishment of excommunication even after the promulgation of the Constitution of India. Adultery, fornication, mesalliance, filing of suits in civil courts etc., are some of the grounds on which the punishment of excommunication is prescribed. Thus, the Regulations of the All-Orissa Committee of Chasa (cultivators), 1951² prescribe that, 'if anybody disregards an order of punishment passed on him by the caste committee, the committee will be empowered to out-caste the guilty person'. The current Regulations of the Kulta caste of Orissa provides that 'if a widow or a woman having a husband has sinful contact with a person belonging to the (Kulta) caste, then both will be expelled from the caste. But if the Mahasabha so decide, they or their

issues may be readmitted to caste. In a contrary event they and their issues will remain outcasted'.³ Persons who keep up social contacts with an outcasted person will also be punishable.⁴ From the observations of the Conference of Potters of the region of Rampur held at Patharpunji in May 1958, it has been reported that 'a merchant (Bania) of Sanagarh had a concubine of the Potter caste. The girl's father, Khetra Paria, had been outcasted on account of this in the meeting held in Sanagarh two years ago, on the matter having been reported to the meeting. Later on, a potter of the region of Sirei eloped with this girl (to his village). Word was sent to the Potters of Sirei that the man should be outcasted. Then the potter went away with the woman to the town of Puri. There, he is still an outcaste'.⁵ Many more instances of excommunication are found in the book which we omit for want of space.

The organization of the caste Assembly of the Gaura or Gopala, cowherds or Milkmen, contains provisions for readmission of excommunicated persons to the caste, an example of which is worth quoting here before we pass on to the question of cognizance of caste offences by civil courts :

'Even otherwise, when an outcasted person desires to return to his caste, he submits an application to the Mahabhoi. A date is fixed, and punishments of various kinds are meted out to him. These are some examples :

- VI. 6.2.1. The guilty person may be asked to carry a vessel of water on his head seven times round the place where the meeting is held.
- 6.2.1. A variant is when an areca-nut is placed on his head, under the pitcher.
- 6.2.2. He may be asked to seize his right ear with his left hand twisted round the back of the head, and then circumambulate the place of meeting seven times.
- 6 2.3. He may be asked to stand on one leg for a specified length of time.
- 6 2.4. He may be asked to kneel down on pebbles.
- 6 2.5. He may be asked to prostrate himself on the ground in salutation before the meeting seven times. While he does so, he wraps his napkin on his neck, this being an additional mark of humility or supplication.
- VI.6.2.6. Fines ranging from Rs. 3, 5, 10, 15 to 20 may be inflicted on him."⁶

II

Civil Courts and Caste

The government of British India followed a policy of *laissez-faire* in respect of the social institutions of the people of India. The caste system thrived on this fertile ground. Instead of causing the disintegration of the caste system, the perpetuation of the institution now presents a serious bottleneck to the cultural and emotional integration of India into an integrated whole. The British Indian courts were debarred from entertaining suits in which caste questions were involved.

Sir T. Strange's view

The proper and indispensable limits of the cognizance of religious and caste questions by a secular court are indicated by Sir T. Strange. He states :

"A British court exercising ever the most delicate caution is not to meddle with matters of religion, but, and in so far as it happens to be inseparable from the question of right, upon which alone, as it concerns property, or the civil duties of life, is its proper function to adjudicate".⁷

It is our intention to review the policy of the civil courts towards the caste question. We shall divide the subject into two periods, the first part beginning from 1827 and ending with 1951, and the second one after 1951, i.e., after the commencement of the Constitution of India. We shall also present the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act, 1949, as an appendix to this article.

Bombay Regulation II of 1827

The Regulation II of Bombay, 1827, and similar Regulations in other Provinces, practically debarred the courts from entertaining suits on caste questions. Section 9 of the Civil Procedure Code also debarred the courts from entertaining purely caste suits. The practice of excommunication is not a purely caste question, as civil rights are at stake, and we shall briefly examine Section 21 of the Regulation II of Bombay which remained unrepealed till 1920 and its import. It reads as follows:⁸

"The jurisdiction of the Civil Court shall extend to the cognizance of all original suits and complaints between natives and others not British-born subjects respecting the rights to moveable and immoveable property, rents, government revenues, debts, contracts, marriage, succession, damages for injuries and generally of all suits and complaints of a civil nature;⁹ it being understood that no interference on the part of the court in caste questions is hereby warranted, beyond the admission and trial of any suit instituted for the recovery

of damage on account of the alleged injury to the caste and character of the plaintiff, arising from some alleged act or unjustifiable conduct of the other party".¹⁰

A word of explanation is necessary here before we go in for what is a caste question. What the Regulation II of Bombay prohibited was non-cognizance of purely caste offences, and when the suit was in the nature of a civil wrong, though incidentally it involved a caste question, the court had the power to entertain it. "The wording of the Section gave the courts general jurisdiction over all suits and complaints of a civil nature. The wording of the proviso has given rise to many questions of delicate nature and fine distinctions have been drawn as to what are and what are not caste questions, and what does and what does not amount to an interference in such matters within the meaning of the Section".¹¹

Section 21 of Regulation II of Bombay was the last straw of the protagonists of caste to the question of the authority of the court in respect of suits in the nature of caste questions, not to speak of the validity of excommunication. The Bombay High Court could not be whittled down by such illogical deductions. It has steadily maintained that the "Section does not say that a Civil Court is not to take cognizance of any case in which a question of a caste rule or of membership of a caste may be raised by way of answer to a claim for property or on a breach of contract. What it says is that 'no interference on the part of the court in caste question is hereby warranted' in the large class of cases immediately before specified as subjects of cognizance, and in which question of case law must incidentally arise from time to time. The words too, are followed by the exception 'beyond the admission and trial of any suit instituted for the recovery of damages on account of an alleged injury to the caste and character of the plaintiff arising from some illegal act or unjustifiable conduct of the other party'. Hence it is plain that the civil courts may discuss and deal even with

a caste question where the membership and character of a member have been unjustly injured. To take evidence of the customary law of a caste, to recognize the law and the vote of a majority as given effect to by the law, is not to interfere in caste questions it is simply to recognize the existence of castes as corporations with civil rights and an autonomy suitable to the purpose of their existence".¹²

The criterion

The court has to decide, in the first instance, whether a case before it relates to a caste question or not. There must be some criterion by which it could reject or entertain a suit. The criterion which the court applied was : is the taking cognizance of the suit an interference with the autonomy of the caste ? What is the autonomy of the caste is at best debatable and students of law may keep off from the field, as anthropologists or sociologists may find it a rewarding intellectual experiment in investigating what actually constitutes the autonomy of the caste. The test of the court by which it rejected or entertained a suit may be noted here.

The test which ought to be applied is that applied by Sargeant C. J. in *Murari Vs. Suba*¹³ (ILR, Bom. VI, p. 725), namely. "Would the taking cognizance of the matter in dispute be an interference with the autonomy of the caste ?" Will the court be deciding a question which the caste as a self-governing body is entitled to decide itself ?

Autonomy of a caste means that where rights to property are not involved all matters of internal management must be left to the decision of the caste. Where there is a question in dispute between the caste and a section of it, it is outside the jurisdiction of the court. A court will not grant a decree for the enforcement of a privilege granted by a caste because such a privilege may be taken away by the caste at any time and the decree may be rendered nugatory. The proper tribunal in such cases is the caste itself, not a civil court.¹⁴

Definition of Caste

In our enthusiasm, we have omitted to give a definition of caste. Popular definitions are plenty and juristic definitions scanty. Caste is beyond definition, but it may be described as 'a voluntary association of persons for certain purposes. It is open to a person to leave it. But every Hindu, at any rate, the majority of them, are born into some caste or other. Their status and their relation towards other castes are defined and fixed by the caste to which they belong. Their matrimonial relation their laws of inheritance and generally their religious and social rights and duties also are determined by their caste'.¹⁵

A better definition of caste is the one given by Farran, J :

"The caste is a social combination, the members of which are enlisted by birth, not by enrolment. Its rules consist partly of resolutions passed from time to time but for the most part of usages handed down from generation to generation. The caste is not a religious body, though its usages, like all other Hindu usages, are based upon religious feelings. In religious matters, strictly so called, the members of the caste are guided by their religious preceptors and their spiritual head. In social matters they lay down their own laws".¹⁶

What is a caste question ?

Excommunication must be decorticated from other caste questions. It is difficult, as we have stated already, to pronounce a judgment beforehand as to what amounts to a caste question and what does not. Any such question must have to be decided upon its own merits. Generally a caste question means the one which relates to matters which affect the internal autonomy of the caste and its social relations. "Claims between rival factions of the same caste to common caste property, claims to leadership of caste, claims to require voluntary offerings and honours and presents to be paid to particular members, claims to officiate as-priests against the consent of the

caste, claims for compulsory invitations to dinners etc., are some of the matters which affect the autonomy of the caste and its social relations and suits in regard to them have been held to be barred by Section 21 of Regulation II of Bombay and similar enactments in other parts of India."¹⁷

Tortious Nature of Excommunication

Let us turn our attention for a while to the realm of Tort and see if excommunication is liable to be impeached on that count. The principle that applies to excommunication is **Injuria sine damno**. *Damnum* means damage, in terms of loss of money, comfort, service, health or the like ; it need not be wilful or malicious, for though it be accidental if it be tortious, an action will lie. Every person has an absolute right to reputation. Excommunication is an act of infringement of one's right to reputation. The caste owes a duty to one of its members that he is not deprived of his social intercourse by lowering him in the estimation of his fellow-caste men. Excommunication is an injury in the legal sense. "Every injury imports a damage, though it does not cost the party one farthing, and it is impossible to have the contrary ; for damage is not merely pecuniary, but an injury imports a damage, when a man is thereby hindered of his right."¹⁸ Excommunication is therefore an actionable wrong.

It is a Tort in wrongly excluding a man from proprietary rights, and that if the special damage alleged is not proved, the plaintiff is entitled to general or at any rate nominal damages. "Malice is not an essential ingredient of a tort of this character and damages are recoverable".¹⁹ No doubt an individual member owes a duty to his fellow-casteman and the caste at large to protect the interest of the caste, but the caste also owes a duty to one of its members not to injure him without legal justification. "A person who owes conflicting duties does not commit a wrong even though the result of what he does is to cause damages to another, if he can establish a legal justification or excuse by prov-

ing that he honestly did what he bona fide and reasonably believed to be his duty. Where a person deprives another of his rights and privileges as a member of the community and of his civil rights in the property upon no evidence and for an offence which is not a caste offence, without giving him notice of the charge, and without employing the rule of procedure laid down by the caste, the aggrieved party is entitled to damages even though no malice is proved on the part of the opposite party".²⁰

In the realm of Tort, excommunication is also liable to be impeached on the score of defamation. "A member of a caste is entitled to have his own views about the propriety or otherwise of the conduct of another person as regards real or supposed caste customs or usages and if a member of the caste in his individual capacity boycotts another member for what he considers to be transgression of caste rules, he may at best desist from associating with him. But if he causes his views published and the opposite party is boycotted by him, the aggrieved party has a remedy in civil courts. Words which are intended to bring about disastrous consequences resulting from the loss of caste such as deprivation of religion and social communion, by imputing unworthiness to any person to continue as a member of his caste are **prima facie** defamatory and give rise to a cause of action. They certainly may lower him in the estimation of his own caste and of other castes".²¹

Words that indicate that a person has transgressed caste rules and a purification ceremony is required for his readmission to the caste certainly cast aspersion on the character and standing of the person. A purification ceremony for a caste offence as a condition for readmission into religion or social communion implies provisional excommunication which is removed when the purification ceremony is performed. When the meaning of the imputation is ambiguous, evidence is admissible to explain its meaning.²²

The publication of an act of excommu-

nication by a caste assembly is not a privileged communication. Though the principle followed by the court is that 'where a domestic tribunal has been appointed for the regulation of the affairs of a community, the court has no jurisdiction to interfere with its decisions if it acts within the scope of its authority and in a manner consonant with the ordinary principles of justice', excommunication being beyond the scope of the authority of a caste, it is liable to be invalidated on the application of the aggrieved party.

"There is a dividing line between the passing of a resolution at a caste meeting and its communication by the authorities of the caste to its members in the discharge of their social duty. If any member of a caste publishes to all its members a caste resolution in such discharge of duties the law will hold the occasion of the publication to be privileged. The member who publishes it is bound to publish it and the members of the caste have an interest in hearing it. But there must be good faith on the part of the member who publishes, that is, it must be proved that the publication was made with due care and attention."²³

One test of good faith is whether the circumstances of the case show that the accused made the imputation having reasonable grounds to believe it to be true.

Publication of true statements regarding an individual does not constitute a cause of action in a civil court, though, if the publication be unjustifiable, it may be an offence under the provisions of the Penal Code. If the publication is made in a caste meeting it is justified if the publication is of matters relating to the caste which it is the common interest of the caste to know. So long as the caste passes a resolution for the enforcement of social caste sanctions, and does not seek to deprive a man of property or legal rights for disobeying it, the court generally desists from inquiring into the nature of the rule, for a civil court cannot dictate to the caste what rule it shall, and what it shall not, lay down for its guidance.

Equity and Excommunication

We have tried to indicate how an act of excommunication is liable to be attacked on the basis of tort. We shall now try to present in the following few paragraphs the equitable grounds on which an act of excommunication is likely to be impeached.

"A person cannot be deprived of the membership of the caste except in accordance with caste usage. The caste as a body or the majority of them may, no doubt, expel him, but if they do so without giving him an opportunity of explanation, the civil court will interfere. . . . The procedure must be in accordance with usage and the excommunication must not be opposed to natural justice. A man may be excommunicated or otherwise punished for a caste offence. But that jurisdiction must be exercised by the caste only with due care and in conformity with the usage of the caste. An individual member has no right to excommunicate another individual member.

"Where a domestic tribunal has been appointed for the regulation of the affairs of a community, the court has no jurisdiction to interfere with its decision if it acts consonant with the ordinary principles of justice".²⁴ But "the court would not assist the majority by its decree to deprive without cause the minority of their right. . . . it would not give effect to a resolution passed in violation of the rules of natural justice".²⁵

The pronouncements quoted above should not be taken as indicative of non-interference of courts in respect of an act of outcasting. Excommunication is opposed to natural justice as it strikes at the very root of the caste itself. The caste panchayat or head of the caste may have power to regulate the social intercourse of the members of the caste *inter se*, but when it is sought to extend a civil sanction to an ecclesiastical offence, by enforcing an order of excommunication and thereby depriving persons of their civil rights which otherwise they would be entitled to exercise it must always be open to the civil courts, whose aid is invoked to enforce it, it is

open to the court to enquire if the order of excommunication was passed in consonance with the canons of natural justice. Ex parte nature of the enquiry by which an individual member of the caste is excommunicated is a ground that is against natural justice, as the accused is precluded from defending his case. If the proceedings of a caste panchayat are not conducted with fairness, the order excommunicating one of its members is liable to be declared as *void ab initio* by the court. The court is the ultimate tribunal that decides whether any decision arrived at is in keeping with natural justice or if it is *ultra vires* or *intra vires* of the social fabric or the decision is *bona fide* or *mala fide*.

In short, the criterion by which a Civil Court shall interfere in suits of excommunication is, was the sentence passed on justifiable grounds and after fair and proper enquiry?

Complications arise when a person is denied of his civil rights by excommunicating him. The courts take a very broad view of civil rights, for to take a simple example, the right of exclusive worship of an idol at a public place set up by a caste is a civil right for adjudication by the civil court and when it is questioned on the ground of excommunication, it is competent of the court to inquire into the defence, and they are bound, when it is necessary, even to examine the religious foundation on which the excommunication is based.

Even if an act of excommunication is passed in exercise of the jurisdiction according to caste usage, and such exercise of jurisdiction is manifested with due care and in accordance with custom, the civil courts will interfere, if it is based on a mistaken belief of facts. A caste custom permitting expulsion without notice would be invalid. "The caste institution is not above or outside the law. Usage and custom exist only under, and not against, the law."

Where a man's character and station as a member of a caste is called in question, and on the strength of an alleged excommunication it is sought to deprive him of the use of an office with perquisites, the courts will inquire into the factum of ex-

communication, and see that the expulsion was in accordance with caste usage and in conformity with natural justice. It may not be possible for a court to determine the adequacy of the religious grounds on which the excommunication is based, but it can and ought to satisfy itself that there are fair and *bona fide* grounds for such action. Excommunication resorted to in order to compel obedience is invalid.

Caste and Clubs

Courts, as we have seen, are generally precluded from entertaining suits in the nature of caste questions. Excommunication needed prevention and the courts have consistently held that the general principles applicable to expulsion of members from a club govern cases of expulsion from caste. These principles, so far as relevant, involve that the expulsion must be in accordance with the rules of natural justice which means primarily that the accused must have a fair hearing and that the expulsion is in accordance with the rules. Briefly speaking, there must be *prima facie* a caste offence, that the rules of procedure of the caste, if any, must be complied with, that notice of the charge and of the meeting at which it is to be dealt with must be given to the accused, and full opportunity afforded to the accused to defend himself, and that notice must be given to the members of the caste of the meeting and of what is intended to be dealt with at the meeting. The distinction between the case of a caste and a club should not be overlooked, because in the case of a club there is no power of expulsion unless such power is given by the rules. We shall not try to go into the details of the comparisons of a caste and a club.

It is not our intention to institute a comparison between a Hindu caste with that of an English corporation, though it has been done several times. "That unique aggregation, the Hindu caste is so wholly unknown to the English law that, as it seems to us, English decisions concerning English corporations and partnerships tend rather to confusion than to guidance.

A Hindu caste may have points of resemblance to English corporations and partnerships, but its points of difference appear to us more numerous and more radical".²⁶

Collective excommunication

Civil courts are the guardians of the society and it is their duty to see that the society is not led to disintegration by rival factions of a caste or community. After all laws are made not only for the enforcement of discipline, but it is also meant for the lubrication of the social machinery so that there is harmony and smooth functioning.

If a particular caste practices collective excommunication, an altogether unwholesome atmosphere is created. "The large number of outcastes so created lead to difficulties in the caste over betrothals, marriages and the status of widows. As a consequence of excommunication betrothals are denounced, marriages refused and widows recalled to their parents' houses".²⁷

Caste is a peculiar institution to India at present and such an institution must depend naturally upon its members for its existence. If a faction of the institution is excommunicated, it could no longer survive, and it is in effect an attack upon the institution itself.

III

In the foregoing pages we tried to impeach the validity of excommunication on the basis of tort and equity. In the subsequent pages of this essay, it is our intention to give a juristic meaning of excommunication. We shall also examine the validity of excommunication in the light of the provisions of the Constitution of India. There is no more uncertainty about the law. A few introductory words will be followed by exposition of our view-point supported by the decided case-law.

Constitutional validity of excommunication

In a recent all-India survey conducted by a scientific organization on the present

condition of the caste panchayats, it has been found that caste panchayats which served many a useful purpose in the past are now in the jaws of death or are in a moribund state. The main cause of such a state of decay is that most of the caste panchayats have become of late powerless to enforce their decisions as the elders of the caste are afraid of 'law'. No social institution can function effectively unless it has the means to enforce its decisions. Excommunication was a powerful weapon in the armoury of the caste panchayats. When it cannot use it effectively, caste panchayats are bound to die.

Meaning of excommunication

The secular use of the term 'excommunication' is but an analogical extension of the same in theology. In popular conception, it may mean the action of excommunicating or cutting off a member from the fellowship of a community, or rather expulsion of an offending member from the particular community. As we are neither concerned with its secular usage, nor confined to its popular meaning, we pass on to its legal meaning. Before we do so, it will be instructive to indicate the nature of excommunication in the changed context.

Excommunication is a punishment meted out to a transgressor of the customary laws of a particular community, a religious denomination, caste or sub-caste—whatever may be the organization. It is the severest punishment which a caste organization can award. Any and every transgression of the moral code is not punishable with excommunication. Serious or aggravated forms of crime are the only offences that call for excommunication. The offence committed must be one which the community or caste considers fundamental for its existence and excommunication is not awarded when the dispute is between an individual and another, both counted as individuals composing the community. In juristic conception, this form of punishment is awarded when the rights *in rem* of the community are violated, and not when

right *in personam* of its members are broken.

The rights *in rem* which a caste enjoys have already been noted briefly when we explained what is meant by the autonomy of caste. Rights *in rem* in respect of a particular community or caste are either antecedent or remedial, the existence of the former being apart from any wrong having been committed and the latter when the enjoyment of the antecedent rights have been disturbed. No doubt the community enjoys certain rights *in rem*, but we cannot overlook the rights *in rem* which a particular member of the community enjoys apart from the community, but within the framework of the organization. As the topic of a person having a right above, and apart from, the community being beyond the scope of this essay, we shall pass on to the antecedent rights *in rem* of a particular member of a caste.

If a certain course of action is viewed with general approbation, and the contrary course with disapprobation, we shall say that he has a right. The right *in rem* of a person are available for his benefit against the whole of the world. Such rights may conveniently be included in the (1) right to personal safety and freedom, (2) right to the consort of his spouse, (3) right to exercise one's calling, (4) right to possession and ownership (if private property has developed in, and acknowledged by, the community) etc. etc. The rights *in rem* mentioned above may be taken as illustrative and not as in any way exhaustive. If anyone's rights *in rem* are violated, he shall have a remedy.

Fundamental Rights and the Constitution of India

Right to equality before law (Art. 14), right against discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth (Art. 15), right to equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Art. 16), right to (a) freedom of speech and expression, (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms, (c) to form associations or union, (d) to move freely throughout the territory of

India, (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and (g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business—all of which are subject to certain reasonable restrictions mentioned in Art. 19, right to protection in respect of conviction for offences, life and of personal liberty, and against arrest and detention in certain cases (Arts. 20, 21, & 22) etc., etc., are some of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India. These rights are fundamental in the sense that they are justiciable and fundamental for the very existence of a citizen. Some of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution are rights *in rem*. These rights are granted to a citizen, irrespective of the fact that he belongs to a particular religion, caste or community, but on the strength of his very citizenship. These rights cannot be taken away except by way of the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Constitutional remedies by way of *habeus corpus*, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari* are also guaranteed. The sacrosanctity of the Constitution demands that all other laws must conform to it.

Religious Freedom

Art. 25 of the Constitution Guarantees :
 "Subject to public order, morality and health.....all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion, subject to reasonable regulation by the State.

Art. 26 of the Constitution provides
 "Freedom to manage religious affairs: Subject to public order, morality, and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

- (a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes,
- (b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion,
- (c) to own and acquire moveable and immoveable property, and

- (d) to administer such property in accordance with law".

After having a preliminary survey of the fundamental rights enshrined in our Constitution, we are now in a position to examine the constitutionality of excommunication. Before we do so, it is necessary to explain the legal meaning of the term excommunication which has been left unexplained so far.

Legal Meaning of the Term Excommunication

The term excommunication has been defined in the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act (42 of 1949). As the Act itself is being reproduced here as an appendix, we will rather profit by its judicial notice in *Syedna Taher Saifuddin Vs. Tyebhai Moosaji Kocha and another*.²⁸ Excommunication being the deprivation of the rights of a member of a community, it is inadvisable to leave the term also unexplained here. We cannot better explain these terms than merely reproduce the masterly judgment of Chagla C.J. here in the case cited above in which the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act was impugned.

".....Community has been defined very broadly—Birth, conversion or the performance of any religious rites are all factors which go to constitute a community and therefore, when a member belongs to a community, he does not cease to be a member of that community merely by the act of expulsion or excommunication, but what the act of expulsion or excommunication does is to deprive him of certain rights and privileges and the Legislature felt that in the spirit of changing times it was not proper that any member of any community should be deprived of his rights and privileges. Further it is an error to read the expression 'excommunication' used in the Act as the act of turning out a person from a community or society, or the decision regarding excommunication. The expression excommunication has a much wider implication and the implication is that excommunication does not merely

refer to the point of time when the person is expelled from a community but it refers to a continuing state during which a member of a community is deprived of his rights and privileges. Therefore, in the context of the Act, 'excommunication' means the condition of being expelled, and 'in reference to a member of a community' means the continuing state during which he is deprived of his rights and privileges.

"If this be the true meaning of the expression 'excommunication', then it is clear.....that although the Act may be prospective, it still protects the rights of members of the community although by an order of excommunication or by decision with regard to excommunication they might have been expelled from the community long before the Act came into force. Therefore, in this context, the Act to prohibit deprivation of the rights and privileges of a member of a community".

Consequences of Excommunication

It is perfectly clear from the judgment of Chagla C.J., the excerpts of which are given above, that the consequences of an act of excommunication, interpreted legally, are the deprivation of rights and privileges and will have no effect at all. Therefore, "although in law a member of a community might have been validly excommunicated.. (but he) could no longer be deprived of his rights and privileges of being a member of a particular community, and he can claim his rights and privileges....."

Application of Arts. 25 & 26

In the suit under reference, the defence counsel relied on Arts. 25 and 26 of the Constitution and the validity of the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act was challenged on constitutional grounds. The scholarly judgment in this case is illuminating the points raised and we shall rather be doing injustice, if we do not quote that portion in its entirety.

After drawing a sharp distinction between the religious faith and belief on the one hand the religious practices on the other hand, the judgment continues :—

"What the State protects is religious faith and belief. If religious practices run counter to public order, morality, health or a policy of social welfare upon which the State has embarked, the religious practices must give way before the good of the people of the State as a whole. Here also, our view is that the right to excommunicate a member of a community is not part of religious faith and belief. At best, it can only be a religious practice, and if in the opinion of the Legislature such a religious practice runs counter to public order, morality, health or a policy of social welfare upon which the State has embarked, then the religious practices must give way and legislation must prevail against the practice."

The judgment has further explained the scope of Art. 26 of the Constitution. Delineating the Art. 25 from Art. 26 His Lordship observes :

"It is only subject to public order, morality and health, and therefore so long as a religious denomination manages its own affairs in matters of religion, and that management is not interfering with public order, morality and health, the Legislature cannot interfere with the rights of the religious denomination. Now, the question is, what exactly is the meaning of the expression 'management of its own affairs in matters of religion'? Does it mean that the religious denomination can manage its own affairs in such a manner as to deprive a member of that denomination of his legal rights and privileges? Surely, that cannot be the meaning to be given to the language used in the Constitution. To manage its own affairs in matters of religion can only mean that in domestic matters of a religious denomination, where these matters are concerned with questions of religion, the Legislature cannot interfere unless the denomination is managing its affairs in such a way as to interfere with public

order, morality and health. But when a religious denomination seeks to deprive a member of his legal rights and privileges, it is doing much more than managing its own affairs. It is interfering with the rights of its members, and the Constitution has not protected a religious denomination and has not given its imprimatur to the acts of a religious denomination which deprives its members of their legal rights and privileges. Further, it does not seem to us that when a religious denomination claims a right to expel or excommunicate a member, it is managing its own affairs in matters of religion. Religion has nothing whatever to do with the right of excommunication or expulsion. As we have said earlier while referring to Art. 25, it is more a question of religious faith or belief and the distinction between religious practice and religion is sharp and clear. Religion is a matter concerning a man's contact with his Creator. It has nothing to do whatever with the manner in which a practice is accepted or adopted as forming part of a particular religion or faith. Therefore, in our opinion, the defendant can't claim the right conferred upon a religious denomination under Art. 26 to manage its own affairs in matters of religion in order to put forward the claim of excommunicating or expelling its members and thus depriving them of the rights and privileges which attach to the membership of that denomination".

Conclusion

It is clear from the extracts quoted above, that excommunication is ultra vires the Constitution of India. Unconstitutionality of the act of excommunication can also be arrived at by a different process of reasoning.

When a caste panchayat excommunicates a person, it deprives a member of the caste the fundamental rights guaranteed to him in the Constitution. To deprive a person of his fundamental rights is not within the right guaranteed under Art. 26. Ex-

cept by way of an amendment of the Constitution, or otherwise provided in it, no one can be denied of his fundamental rights. An act which is declared unconstitutional is void ab initio and shall not render anyone deprived of his fundamental rights.

Another reason for the unconstitutionality of the act of excommunication is furnished by Art. 21 which states: 'No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law'. An act of excommunication takes away one's right to move freely among his community and his personal liberty in so far as it manifestly does not allow him to move freely or do anything of his choice within the jurisdiction of the caste panchayat. Though the American conception of 'due process of law' has not been followed by our courts, the very fact of excommunication restrains a member of a caste of his personal liberty. The Constitution expressly provides that the right to freedom of movement etc., cannot be restricted except according to 'procedure established by law'. A procedure followed by a caste panchayat is not 'established by law', for the verb 'established' means 'enacted'.

The punishment inflicted by way of excommunication being arbitrary, it is further liable to be attacked under Art. 14, since a rule of procedure also comes within its purview as any rule of substantive law.

The Constitution of India has not sanctioned excommunication and an act of excommunication passed by any caste, religious denomination, sub-caste, or even a sect does not deprive a member of the organization concerned of any of his rights and privileges which he enjoys under the caste organization and under the Constitution of India.

Appendix

BOMBAY ACT No. XLII of 1949 (THE BOMBAY PREVENTION OF EXCOMMUNICATION ACT, 1949)

1st November, 1949.

AN ACT TO PROHIBIT EXCOMMUNICATION IN THE STATE OF BOMBAY

WHEREAS it has come to the notice of

Government that the practice prevailing in certain communities of excommunicating its members is often followed in a manner which results in the deprivation of legitimate rights and privileges of its members ;

AND WHEREAS in keeping with the spirit of changing times and in the public interest, it is expedient to stop the practice ;

It is hereby enacted as follows :

Short title and extent—

1. (i) This Act may be called the Bombay Prevention of Excommunication Act, 1949.

(ii) In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

Definitions—

(a) "community" means a group the members of which are connected together by reason of the fact that by birth, conversion or the performance of any religious rite they belong to the same religion or religious creed and includes a caste or sub-caste ;

(b) "Excommunication" means the expulsion of a person from any community of which he is a member depriving him of his rights and privileges which are legally enforceable by a suit of civil nature by him or on his behalf as such member ;

Explanation—For the purposes of this clause a right legally enforceable by a suit of civil nature shall include the right to office or property or to worship in any religious place or a right of burial or cremation, notwithstanding the fact that the determination of such right depends entirely on the decision of the question as to any religious rites of ceremonies or rule or usage of a community.

Excommunication not to be valid and of any effect.—

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law, custom or usage for the time being in force, to the contrary, no excommunication of a member of any community shall be valid and shall be of any effect.

4. Any person who does any act which amounts to or is in furtherance of the excommunication of any member of a community shall, on conviction, be punished with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees.

Explanation—When any person alleged to have committed an offence under this section is a body or an association of individuals, whether incorporated or not, if the offence is alleged to have been committed at a meeting of such a body or association, any individual who has voted in favour of the decision regarding the excommunication shall be deemed to have committed the offence.

Jurisdiction under this Act—

5. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1893, no Court inferior to that of a Presidency Magistrate or a Magistrate of the First Class shall try any offence punishable under Section 4.

6. No Court shall take cognizance of an offence punishable under Section 4,—

(a) after the expiry of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed, and

(b) without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government or any officer authorised by the Provincial Government not below the rank of the Commissioner of Police in any area for which a Commissioner of Police has been appointed and the District Magistrate elsewhere".

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Also see Parsons, J. **Appaya Vs. Padappa**, ILR, Bom. XXIII, 1899. 122-131.
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17. Ranade, J.—**Appaya Vs. Padappa**, ILR, Bom. XXIII, 1899, pp 122-131. Reference to case-law omitted.
18. Holt, C.J.,—**Ashby Vs. White**, 1 Sm. L.C.
19. Based on the judgment of Blackwell, J.
20. **Abdule Razak Haji Mahomed Vs. Adam Haji Usman Noorani**, AIR, Bom. 1935.
21. Adapted from M.L.J. 1909 referred to in 15.
- 22.
23. **Emperor Vs. Virji Bhagawan**, BLR, XI. 1909.
24. **The Advocate General of Bombay Vs. David Haim Devaker & others**. ILR, Bom. XI, 1887.
25. **Haroon Haji Vahedina Vs. Haji Adam Haji Oosman Nurani**. BLR, XI (1909).
26. **Beaumont, C.J.—Nagindas Vs. Somnath Premchand**, AIR, Bom. 1932.
27. **Murphy, J.—Devchand Totaram Kirange Vs. GhanasYam Sakharan Choudhury**, AIR Bom. 1935.
28. AIR 1953, Bom. 183.
Facts of the case—One Syedna Taher Saifuddin (appellant) was excommunicated by Tyebhai Moosaji Kocha, the Head Priest of the Dawoodi Bohra community on 28.2.1934 and Bombay Prevention of Excommuni- again on 28.4.1948. When the cation Act came into force the appellant sued the responded. The appellant won the case.
29. As adapted after the bifurcation of Bombay State and enacted by the Bombay Legislature in 1960 under the title Bombay Act No. II of 1960. For report of the Select Committee see Bombay Government Gazettee Part V, 1949, (Jan-Dec.) p. 169-171.

SCIENCE & RELATION

By Prof. S. R. KHASTGIR

Recent achievements in science are indeed remarkable. The furthest corners of the universe have now been scanned with precision by powerful optical and radio telescopes. In the modern days of rockets and artificial satellites, there is every promise of space travel and it is certain that the space research will yield wonderful results. As in the realm of the large, so also in the realm of the minute, the scientists have probed into atoms. Atoms have been smashed and during the process there are withdrawals, readjustments and infiltrations of the positives, negatives and neutrals inside the atoms and the result is a complete change—the establishment of a new atomic order. The alchemists' dream of the transmutation of matter is now a reality. With the discovery of nuclear fission and fusion we have now atomic bombs which have been used for mass destruction. The stupendous nuclear energy has also been effectively employed for peaceful constructive purposes. On the theoretical side, on the other hand, the advance is indeed of a far-reaching character. The old classical ideas about the physical basis of the universe have now changed beyond recognition. The scientists of to-day have gained knowledge but have lost their faith in basic concepts. To understand the significance of this statement, it is necessary to trace the sequence of scientific thought arising out of the recent discoveries of modern science. In my attempt in this direction, I shall confine myself to physical science, as the most fundamental changes in scientific thought have been due to discoveries in Physics.

The law of causation as a guiding principle in Nature was a triumph of the 17th century—the great century of Galileo and Newton. What is this causal law? What happens at any instant follows by inexorable laws from the state of things at the preceding instant. And this state of things

is in turn determined by an earlier state, and so on. The whole course of events is thus uniquely determined by the state of the world at the beginning of the creation. The causal law led in this way to the principle of determinism which proved to be a great success in the field of astronomy. The physicists had taken Newton's dynamical laws in the equations of celestial mechanics as their model. Subsequently when the atomic theory gained universal acceptance and matter resolved into minute fundamental particles, these laws were applied to the ultimate particles. Thus if the mass, position and velocity of all the particles were known, these data, along with a knowledge of the forces acting on them, determined their position and motion at any subsequent instant with the help of Newton's dynamical laws. The principle of determinism thus extended itself and out of this emerged a movement to interpret the entire physical world in terms of mechanical models. This mechanistic principle gained in strength and culminated in the latter half of the 19th century. It was then that Helmholtz affirmed with all emphasis that "the final aim of natural science is to resolve itself into mechanics." It was then that Lord Kelvin failed to understand anything of which he could not make a mechanical model. It was the age of the Engineer—Scientists who were busy in their workshops with cranks and shafts and cog-wheels to make mechanical models of the entire universe.

The phenomenon of light did not at first fit in with this mechanistic scheme. Light regarded as a stream of high-speed corpuscles could not possibly produce such effects as interference etc. The well-known wave-theory originated by Huyghens and perfected by Maxwell explained these optical phenomena. With the discovery of the electron as a universal constituent of matter, Maxwell's optical theory changed into an

electronic theory at the hands of Lorentz.

To Newton's dynamical laws, as applied to electrons, were added the electromagnetic field equations of Maxwell, as applied to radiation and the combination gave an exact formulation of the causal law. The equations could be applied individually as well as collectively. In the latter case we got statistical laws, which proved so helpful in the study of matter regarded as a collection of an enormous number of particles in rapid motion. It was, however, tacitly believed that if it were possible to obtain all the necessary data regarding all the particles, each and every particle would give us an exact fulfilment of the causal law. A belief in the causal law and in the continuity of events constituted the basis of the deterministic outlook.

The first sign of a rift in the solid bed-rock of causality and determinism appeared in the opening year of the 20th century. Facts were discovered which knocked down the fundamental equations which justified our belief in determinism. In 1900 Max Planck discovered that the interchange of energy between matter and radiation must take place in discrete units or 'quanta'. This revolutionary idea of energy-quanta could only restore our house to order. The new idea found immediate application in Bohr's theory of atomic structure, where the electrons were supposed to be moving in different orbits round the atomic core. According to Einstein, an electron-jump from one orbit to another gives rise to emission or absorption, each being a discontinuous process. Indeed this quantum theory furnished solutions to various puzzling problems. Nevertheless the very idea of a discrete unit or quantum of energy gave a rude knock at our belief in continuity. Moreover, it became increasingly clear that the dynamical laws and the laws of electromagnetism failed to account for atomic processes. Definitely there was a need for new laws and extensive theoretical researches were carried out for the purpose.

The dual aspect of energy—its wave aspect showing a periodicity and its quantum aspect was implicit in the old quantum theory. In the new quantum theory which

soon emerged we got a synthesis or unification of these two aspects by deBroglie, Heisenberg, Dirac and Schrodinger. A moving particle of matter is now regarded as a group of waves, just as radiation is looked upon as quanta or photons moving with the velocity of light. With the formulation of the new quantum theory, it was hoped that by a radical modification of our ideas about a particle of matter or energy, it might be possible to rehabilitate the causal law and determinism. But all such hopes soon faded away. Heisenberg, on the other hand, postulated a principle of indeterminacy. The principle can be stated as follows: With regard to any particle, either of matter or of energy, it is possible to find either its position or its velocity, but not both in any exact sense. According to the old science, if we know the position and the speed of a particle at any instant, these data together with a knowledge of the forces acting on it from outside determine the entire past or future of the particle. According to the new science, as interpreted by Heisenberg, it is impossible to procure these data. If we know that a particle is at a certain point in space, it is not possible to know exactly its speed, whereas if we know its speed, we have no precise knowledge of its position. Thus in new science there is no determinism of events when individual atoms and electrons are involved. Physics is thus no longer pledged to a scheme of deterministic laws. Determinism has dropped out altogether in the latest formulation of theoretical Physics. It is doubtful whether it will ever be re-established.

What is the outcome of this radical change in the outlook of modern science? We depended on logic or reason which ultimately rested on the acceptance of the causal law and determinism.

What now will our every day life be reduced to, if we have to discard logic or reason? It is indeed fortunate that we live and have our being in a world of finite dimensions. The physics of bodies having finite dimensions is only very slightly affected by the principle of indeterminacy. It is only when we are concerned with atomic dimensions, the principle asserts itself

and makes space-time description impossible.

The scientists' desire for knowledge and analysis has thus led them to a rather difficult situation. In physical science, we define the properties of a body in terms of physical quantities. When we do so, we impart a knowledge of the responses of the various metrical indicators like weighing machines and other measuring instruments. What would the responses of these indicators mean? When we proceed to study the fundamental particles of matter, it is known that the measuring instruments have an essential influence upon the final results and it is not possible to compute separately the contribution of the instruments and that of the object itself. There is thus an amount of uncertainty in our study of matter. We have, therefore, to admit that by the very nature of things, it is not possible for physical science to determine the nature of the physical world. The real and intrinsic nature of the physical world thus remains undetermined. The 19th century scientist strongly asserted that he knew what he was talking about regarding matter but now it is realised that science has nothing to say as to the intrinsic nature of matter. It is not defeatism to say so. The present-day scientist lives and moves in a world where he deals with manifestations, appearances, responses or shall we say, symbols. The scientist is thus concerned with only a symbolic world. His mission is to work for a unified picture of this symbolic world, where he fags for facts and figures and ever strives for their co-ordination and synthesis. Reality is not the scientist's goal. The scientist today is modest and honest enough to recognise his jurisdiction. This is the basis of Eddington's new Epistemological outlook of science. We deal with shadows and not with substance—we deal with the tune and not with the player. The scientist's world is a world of symbolic knowledge. This symbolic knowledge is only subjective. Such characteristic as the objective reality does not enter into the scheme at all.

Now that the jurisdiction of science is clearly defined and recognised, the age-long clash between science on one side and art,

religion and spirituality on the other, should disappear altogether. Having realised the boundary of the domain of science and recognised that science deals only with symbolic knowledge, the scientist today admits that there are other experiences which must be on the same footing as the experiences of his own world. Max Planck, the originator of the quantum theory, clearly expressed the modern scientists' view, when he said: "There are realities existing apart from sense perception and there are problems and conflicts where these realities are of great value." When a man is a mere scientist, he confines himself to his world of symbolic knowledge but a man is very much more than a mere scientist. He is not satisfied with a symbolic knowledge. He seeks for an intimate knowledge, as Eddington puts it. The world of intimate knowledge is a world of realisation, feeling and values which constitute the basis of art, religion and spirituality. Let me quote, *in extenso*, from Eddington:

"The intimate knowledge will not submit to codification and analysis; or rather, when we attempt to analyse it, the intimacy is lost and it is replaced by symbolism.... Suppose that we are offered an alleged joke. We subject it to scientific analysis as we would a chemical salt of doubtful nature and perhaps after careful considerations of all its aspects, we are able to confirm that it really and truly is a joke. Logically I suppose, our next procedure would be to laugh, but it may certainly be predicted that as a result of this scrutiny, we shall have lost all inclination we may ever have had to laugh at it. The analysis concerns a symbolic knowledge of humour which preserves all the characteristics of a joke except its laughableness.... I think this is a not unfair analogy for our mystical feeling for Nature and I would venture even to apply it to our mystical experience of God. There are some to whom the sense of a divine presence irradiating the soul is one of the most obvious things of experience. In their view a man without this sense is to be regarded as we regard a man without a sense of humour. We may try to analyse the experience, as we analyse humour, and

construct a theology.....But let us not forget that the theology is symbolic knowledge, whereas the experience is intimate knowledge....Primarily this world of intimate knowledge is not a world to be analysed but a world to be lived in."

Besides this outlook, so ably expounded by Eddington, Whitehead gives another way of meeting the difficulty of the modern scientists regarding their failure to find the intrinsic nature of the physical world. The difficulty is ascribed to the inadequacy of the primary abstractions in physical concepts. According to Whitehead, the conception of a 'substance' possessing a location in space and time is inadequate to the needs of modern science. What we perceive is a 'relationship of conformation'. Things do not simply 'occur', they conform to previous occurrences. According to this view, the notion of matter is replaced by the notion of an 'organism.' An organism is defined as the realisation of a definite shape of value.

I am not competent to speak on Whitehead's philosophy and I am not sure whether I have represented it correctly.

I am aware that the positivistic school of philosophy is generally critical of the theistic interpretation of the Universe. Julian Huxley writes: "God has become more remote and more incomprehensible and most important of all, of less practical use to men and women who want guidance and consolation in living their lives. A faint trace of God, half metaphysical, half magic, broods over the world. But the growth of a psychological knowledge will rub even that from the Universe.....The fading of God does not mean the end of religion—it means a recasting of religion.....the shouldering by man of ultimate responsibilities which he had pushed off to God." This view of Julian Huxley appears somewhat similar to Comte's positivism, the central position of Humanity being replaced by that of Evolution in it.

Whatever be the positivistic outlook, the failure of modern science to get at the root of the Universe does not

connote a denial of the mystical outlook. The failure, as I have elaborated before, has clearly marked out the jurisdiction or the domain of science. When we follow up sense-impressions or pointer-readings, we deal with an external world discussed by science. But a scientist today does not gainsay that feelings, purpose and values make up our consciousness as much as sense-impressions. These lead us to the world of art, religion and spirituality. A scientist may not have a direct experience of this world but when he does have such an experience, he represents the whole man. The material and the transcendental aspects of human experience constitute a complete picture of man.

Let me conclude by quoting from Rabindranath Tagore: "The details of reality must be studied in their differences by science, but it can never know the character of grand unity of relationship pervading it which can only be realised immediately by the human spirit. And therefore it is the primal imagination of man—the imagination which is fresh and immediate in its experience that exclaims:

Wisdom and spirit of the universe!

Thou Soul, that art the eternity of thought
And giv'st to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion."

The Seers of the Upanisads referred to this realisation of intimate knowledge when they proclaimed: "Raso vai sah" रसो वै सः—The infinite is love itself—the eternal spirit of Joy. "Tam vedyam purusam vedah", (त्यम् वेद्यम् पुरुषम् वेदः) Know him who is to be realised. "Esha devo Visvakarma Mahatma sada jananam hridaye sannivistah." (एष देवो विश्वकर्म महात्मा सदा जनानाम् हृदये सन्निविष्टः) This is the divine being, the World-maker, the great soul ever dwelling inherent in the hearts of all men. "Yah etad vidur amritasto bhabanti. (यः एतद् विदुरमृतस्ते भवन्ति) Those who realise him transcend the limits of mortality.

THE MAHILIS

By P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

The Mahilis, a "Scheduled Tribe" in Bihar are found scattered in several districts of Bihar, namely, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Santal Parganas, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Singhbhum and Dhanbad. The bulk of them are in the districts of Chhotanagpur Division and Ranchi district has the largest concentration of them. They are mostly scattered in the villages. In 1872 Lohardaga district, which then consisted of the present Ranchi and Palamau districts had 8,999 Mahilis. In 1881 there were 7,510 Mahilis.¹ The total population in Ranchi district according to 1941 census was 19,681 (males 9,332 and females 9,749).² There has been no tribewise census in 1951. In 1961 census the present population of the Mahilis in Ranchi district is 24,359.

It is unfortunate that the Welfare Department of Ranchi District Collectorate or the Welfare Department of the Govern-

ment of Bihar or the office of the Assistant Commissioner, Scheduled Tribes and Castes under the Government of India have no authoritative information regarding the village-wise break-up figures of the population of the Mahilis. Since the Community Development Projects have now covered the whole of Ranchi district and every Village Level Worker is expected to have got a **Paribarik Pustika** or a register of the families of the villages under him, there should be no difficulty in compiling the figures. It is not known how effective welfare schemes could possibly be framed and implemented when there are no reliable statistics.

A study was made of the Mahilis in two villages, Chutupalu and Dahu in Ormanjhi police station of the Sadar sub-Division of Ranchi district. During the investigation the following Mahilis were examined at villages Chutupalu and Dahu :

Village Chutupalu

Name of the person	Father's name	Age
1. Rajju Mahili	Birua Mahili	65 years
2. Beldeo Mahili	Manhgu Mahili I	50 years
3. Sahdeo Mahili	Manhgu Mahili II	40 years
4. Jagdish Mahili	Lalchand Mahili	24 years
5. Dukhu Mahili	Manhgu Mahili	45 years
6. Damru Mahili	Hirua Mahili	60 years
7. Ladu Mahili	Manhgu Mahili	36 years
8. Churta Mahili	Dubraj Mahili	25 years
9. Mosamat Daulitia	w/o late Deo Nath Mahili	55 years
10. Ram Das Mahili	Dubraj Mahili	20 years

1. H. H. Risley—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.
2. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. VII, Bihar, Tables, p. 66.

Village Dahu

1. Khiro Mahili	Ramlal Mahili	60 years
2. Subram Mahili	Shyamlal Mahili	28 years
3. Bheku Mahili	Chhatu Mahili	55 years
4. Matno Mahili	Ghangru Mahili	40 years
5. Parsu Mahili	Shiblal Mahili	40 years
6. Dalu Mahili	Lalit Mahili	60 years
7. Sadhu Mahili	Sumra Mahili	55 years
8. Sukhdeo Mahili	Sohrai Mahili	35 years

Regarding the origin of the Mahilis there has been much speculation without any definite conclusion. Sir Herbert Risley had mentioned that the Mahilis form "A Dravidian caste of labourers, palanquin-bearers, and workers in bamboo found in Chotanagpur and Western Bengal. They are divided into five sub-castes—**Bansphor Mahili**, who make baskets and do all kinds of bamboo work; **Patar-Mahili**, basket-makers and cultivators; **Sulunkhi-Mahili**, who are cultivators and labourers; **Tanti-Mahili**, who carry palanquins; and **Mahili-Munda**, a small outlying sub-caste confined to Lohardaga".³ At villages Chutupalu and Dahu only **Bansphor Mahilis** are found. Risley conjectures that the main body of the Mahilis consisting of the groups **Bansphor**, **Sulunkhi** and **Tanti** Mahilis are more allied to the Santals. He, however, mentions that the Santals are allergic to making baskets and carrying palanquins which are the main occupations of the Mahilis. He thinks that the Mahili-Munda group of the Mahilis probably parted from the Munda tribe for similar reasons. Risley's opinion is not substantiated and is not very acceptable. It is not probable that three branches of the same tribe will have a Santal origin while the two others will have a Munda origin.

and even in their mythology, and are said to have been out-casted for unclean eating. They eat beef, fowls, and pork, and though the latter is the totem of the race, they avert the consequences of breaking of the taboo by throwing away the head. They are also much addicted to spirituous liquor. The religion is a mixture of half-forgotten Animism and Hinduism imperfectly understood. They worship **Bar Pahari** (the mountain God of the Mundas), **Manasa**, the Snake Goddess and other Godlings of the animistic tribes. They have not yet risen to the dignity of employing Brahmans. The Mahilis have a bad reputation as thieves, and have a sort of thieves' jargon of their own."⁴ If M. G. Hallet's observations in the Ranchi Gazetteer were based on observation and study, the Mahilis have undergone substantial changes since 1917.

In spite of a certain incidence of acculturation and adoption of Hindu religious customs and beliefs, the Mahilis still retain their original occupation of basket making, bamboo work, a little cultivation and working as a day labourer.

Risley much earlier to Hallet had ranked the Mahilis socially with the Bauris and Dosadhs, who are traditionally very low in the caste-hierarchy and work as labourers. He mentions that they will eat cooked food with the Kurmi, the Bhumij, and the Deswali Santals. Even Risley had mentioned that the Mahilis worship the Hindu Gods but they did not employ the Brahman priests. But at the moment the impact of

The District Gazetteer of Ranchi (1917) does not throw any further light on the origin of the Mahilis. It mentions "The Mahilis occur in very old Munda traditions,

3. H. H. Risley—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, (1891), Ethnographic Glossary, p. 40.

4. *District Gazetteer of Ranchi*, (1917), p. 88-89. The District Gazetteer of Ranchi is being re-written.

or hodox Hinduism seems to have been deeper on the Mahilis and there is a definite change in their habits, beliefs, diet and dress. The Mahilis do not take any beef or pork now but there is no restriction to eating them. They worship the Hindu Gods and Goddesses, and freely take part in the main **pujas** of the Hindus. On an enquiry it was ascertained that Risley's observation that the Mahilis do not employ the Brahman priests does not hold good now. The Mahilis have started performing the Sayanarain juja of the Hindus in their houses and employ Brahman priests but in other festivals they do not employ Brahman priests. Their dress is now like that of the Hindus according to their economic status and the women wear **sari** and **jhula** (blouse). The Mahilis never had any separate language or dialect and they speak **Nagpuria Hindi** or what is known as **Sadani Hindi**. They are not thieves by nature at all as was mentioned in the Ranchi District Gazetteer (1917) and certainly have no thieves' jargon. On an investigation it was ascertained that they are extremely peace-loving and form an useful element in the village economy being good artisans. The police case records and statistics do not substantiate that the Mahilis are thieves.

They are also fond of music and dance. During the **Karma** festival, both men and women freely take part in dance and music. Their dance and music do not differ substantially from the dance and music of the Mundas and Oraons. Levirate and Sororate are also practised. The dead bodies are both buried and cremated. It seems that cremation is a later idea and has been, more or less, adopted due to the impact of Hinduism.

Although the Mahilis take part in the **pujas** of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses they have not yet given up the **Surji Devi** which is not mentioned in the last District Gazetteer of Ranchi and mentioned in "Land and People of Tribal Bihar" published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute. The **Surji Puja** is performed in the month

of **Baisakh** (April-May). It is the worship of Sun God. Goats, pigeons and chickens are also sacrificed by their priest in the **Jaherthan** (sacred place). The sacrificial meat is shared. Unlike some of the tribals the Mahili women also take part in the **puja** and share the sacrificial meat. This **puja** is regarded as the most important one by the Mahilis. It is mentioned in the book "Land and People of Tribal Bihar" that the **Surji Puja** is performed after twelve years for the good of the village and the people. But on an investigation it was ascertained that that was not correct. Rather they perform it when they make a vow (**Manta**). They do not observe **Mansa puja** as was mentioned in the District Gazetteer of Ranchi (1917) and 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Government of Bihar, Morabadi Road, Ranchi (1961). A specific enquiry on this matter was made at both the villages visited.

A clear impact of Hinduism is seen in the fact that the Mahilis take great interest in **Durga puja** and this **puja** is also performed by them in their villages. Here also a he-goat and one or two pigeons are sacrificed. They do not engage any Brahman for performing the **puja** and they do not instal any image of Goddess **Durga**.

A most interesting result of the recent investigation on the Mahilis in Ranchi district was that the present day Mahilis do not seem to be even conscious of many sub-sects that have been listed by Risley. Some of the Mahilis replied to the investigators that they do not know of the sub-sects like **Charber** (a tree), **Dhilki**, **Dumriar** or **Dungri** (wild pig), **Goondli** (grain forbidden), **Kathergach** (jack tree), **Kerketta** (a kind of bird), etc. But during the investigation it was gathered that according to the Mahilis examined in the villages there are six sects which they know. They are **Kantiar**, **Dumaria**, **Tundwar**, **Mendriar**, **Hansdagia** and **Kesriyar**.

The Mahilis do not appear to have got a very effective tribal **panchayat** probably

due to their small number in the villages. In this respect our investigations do not confirm some of the recitals in the book 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' published by the Bihar Tribal Research Institute in 1961 that their **panchayats** decide feuds and disputes.⁶ In the village investigated there was no effective village **panchayat** and crimes, major or minor were not found to be settled by the **panchayat**. Nor was there any support to the fact mentioned in the 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' in the following: "The young Mahilis are made to stand an ordeal to find place in the tribe only after they are given five, seven, nine or eleven cicatrization marks on the left arms. This is a test of endurance for the young Mahilis. Similarly, the young Mahili women are given tattoo marks on their forehead, chin, arm and ankle like some other tribes of the State. This considered essential."⁷ The investigation in the villages visited disclosed that this fact mentioned in the book 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar' does not hold good now. The Mahilis are not made to stand an ordeal to find a place in the tribe. It was personally observed that the Mahili women are not given tattoo marks on their forehead, chin, arm and ankle. It is further gathered by personal investigation at the two villages mentioned that a pregnant Mahili woman does not follow the taboo of going out alone and for holding some iron pieces to ward off the evil as is mentioned in the book 'Land and People of Tribal Bihar'.⁸ Both Mahili men and women at the two villages visited contradicted this alleged taboo. It was further gathered that **pontika** (bride-price) in cash is normally not realised from the bridegroom's party. The normal practice is to present five **saris** and the **sari** for the would-be mother-in-law is more

costly. If **saris** are not available which is a rare contingency, money in lieu may be presented.⁹

It will also not be correct to state that the Mahilis are buried in the burial ground (**sasan**) of the Santals or Mundas of the village as mentioned in the Land and People of Tribal Bihar.¹⁰ The burial of a Mahili corpse is done near the **sasan** of the Mundas or Santals but certainly not in the same **sasan**.

Economic Condition

Our investigation did not show that the Mahilis have very much benefited through the welfare schemes sponsored by the Government or because of the Community Development Projects. At villages Chutupalu and Dahu of Ormanjhi police station investigation was made into 22 and 28 families respectively. The average number of the family was 4.5 members out of which two or three are the earning members. But in spite of the smallness of the size of the family the economic condition was found to be extremely poor. As a class the Mahilis are landless and their main source of livelihood is artisanship. The average size of the holding of a Mahili family varies from 5 to 1 acre. Very few Mahilis have cultivable land for growing paddy or seasonal vegetables. Even in the case of some with small pieces of cultivable land it was found that they had given away the **batai** (the sharing of the crop with the owner of the land). The Mahilis are found to be somewhat allergic to hiring themselves out as day labourers. At Chutupalu village this allergy was particularly marked. On the average a Mahili earns Re. 1/- to Rs. 1.50 or Rs. 2/- per day by making bamboo baskets, **sups**, umbrellas.

6. *Land and People of Tribal Bihar*, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, p. 141. The book does not mention the name of any village where the enquiry on the Mahilis was done.

7. *Land and People of Tribal Bihar*, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, p. 145. It is not mentioned in what villages this enquiry was conducted.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

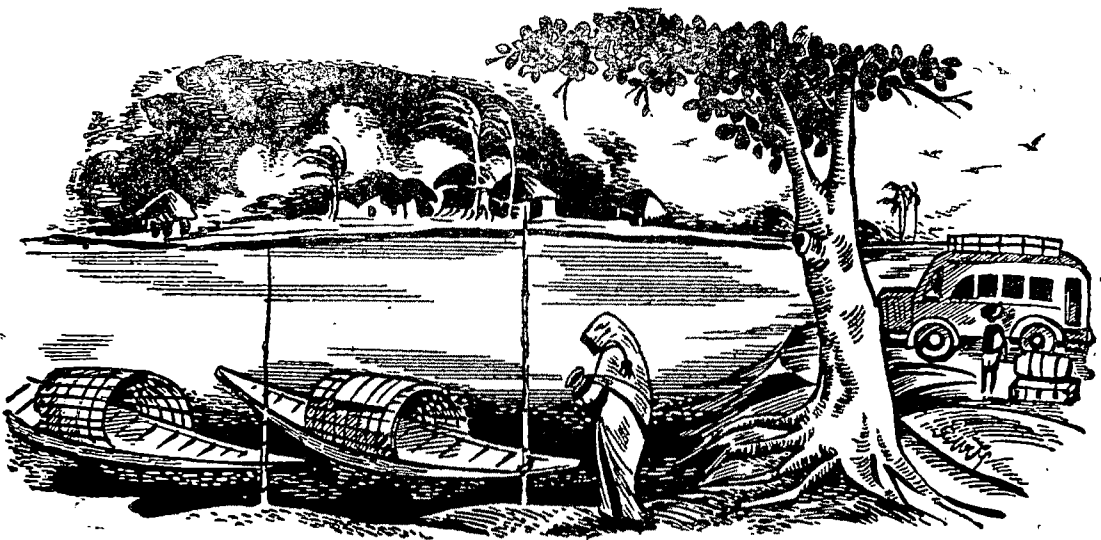
9. *Ibid.*, page 146.

10. *Ibid.*, page 146. Here also it is not mentioned where the investigation was done.

brooms, etc. Hence on the average the total income of a Mahili family ranges between Rs. 2|- to Rs. 4|- per day. After deduction of the cost of the raw materials the real earning of a Mahili family does not exceed Rs. 2|- to Rs. 4|- per day i.e., the average monthly income varies between Rs. 60|- to Rs. 120|- and they maintain their livelihood within their income. The manufactured goods are sold in the weekly **hats** or the neighbouring villages where there is a demand for such goods. In the rainy season the new off-shoots of the bamboos come out and therefore the bamboos are not cut during that season in the forest. The price of the bamboo goes up and the rainy season is generally a slack

season for the Mahilis. They generally remain idle for about three to four months in a year. In addition the Mahilis, men and women alike, are addicted more to country liquor. Owing to the ready availability of country liquor shops they have given up brewing their own rice-beer (**Pachwai**).

A remarkable fact found out of the investigation was that in spite of this poor economic incidence the Mahilis were comparatively free from indebtedness. At both the villages Dahu and Chutupalu there were Bamboo Co-operative Societies and some of the Mahilis had been advanced loans for buying bamboos. The Mahilis are found to be quite prompt in repaying their debts.



DEMOCRACY AND THE HUMAN RELATIONSHIP IN THE POETRY OF WALT WHITMAN

By K. C. DEB, M.A.

Walt Whitman has been hailed as the 'uncrowned poet-laureate of democracy'¹ and his *Leaves of Grass* as its very Bible. He is, indeed, a people's poet, singing what W. M. Rossetti called the 'pen of natural man.' The dominant note in his poetry is the note of faith and joy in life and of delight in 'all the men and women of all sorts' living in this wide world. In the *Song of Myself* and *Sault Au Monde*, two of his very characteristic poems, he travels all over the world seeing things, and hearing things, and discovering in the depth of his heart an answering sympathy with all the varied spectacles that the world presents. He professes to sing of 'life immense in passion, pulse and power',² accepting everything and rejecting nothing. His poetry is not a criticism of life; it is the poetry of the celebration of life.³ He is the poet not only of goodness, but 'the poet of wickedness' also, the 'poet of the Body', as also 'the poet of the Soul'. He 'speaks the pass-word primeval and gives the sign of democracy'.⁴

Democracy was to him more than a political concept. As Basil de Selincourt has put it, "Democracy to him meant certain spiritual conditions out of which the great individuals were emanating. These individuals were so great, they were filled with so much spontaneous good feeling for one another and the world, that government became a dead letter."⁵

Walt Whitman's attitude to democracy has to be understood in the context of the political history of the United States of America. Starting as a loose confederacy, which the colonies had formed to win their freedom, the United States adopted a constitution in 1787 'to form a more perfect union'. The Constitution gave each state the right to develop according to its own need and nature, and at the same time ensured that the union would be 'strong enough to maintain peace and friendly co-operation between the various states, and respect and prestige for itself among the nations of the world'.⁶ The result was the emergence of a truly national culture. America became 'the continent of glories and of the triumph of freedom and of the Democracies'.⁷

Center of equal daughters, equal sons
* * * *

A grand, sane, towering, seated Mother
Chair'd in the adamant of Time.'

When Washington said in his Farewell Address to the nation in 1796 :

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all.....Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity and interest,"

he was placing before the nation the ideal of universal brotherhood and toleration on which democracy is, and should be, found-

1. Emory Holloway—Introduction to the Everyman Edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

2. One's-self I sing.

3. "Inflating my throat, you divine average, you earth and life till the last ray gleams I sing"
Song at Sunset.

4. *Song of Myself*.

5. Selincourt : *Walt Whitman : A Critical Study*.

6. Holloway : Introduction to *Leaves of Grass*.

7. *Thoughts*.

8. *America*.

ed. Whitman, too, recognized that America offered a pattern of democratic life where unity reigned in the midst of diversity.

'America illustrates birth, muscular youth, the promise of sure fulfilment, the vehement struggle so fierce for unity in one's-self.'

It is the mission of America to integrate all and to forge 'one common indivisible destiny for All'.¹⁰

"With Victory on thy left, and at thy right hand Law; The Union holding all, fusing, absorbing, tolerating all, Thee, ever thee, I sing".¹⁰

In the **Preface** to the **Leaves of Grass** he called the United States 'the greatest poem'.

'Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadest doings of the day and night. Here is not merely a nation, but a teeming nation of nations. Here is action untied from strings, necessarily blind to particulars and details, magnificently moving in vast masses. . . . America is a race of races'.¹¹

This 'Nation of nations, this race of races' could live together in peace and amity, because democracy offered them freedom and equality. Men of different trades and professions, of diverse culture-patterns with their 'contempt for statutes and ceremonies' and with their 'boundless impatience of restraint' provided a refreshing spectacle of human life. If there were a 'Law of mystic evolution' leading mankind from the 'imperfection's murkiest cloud' to 'health, peace, salvation universal', it was operative in American democracy:

"And thou America,
For the scheme's culmination, its

thoughts and its reality, For these (not for thyself) thou hast arrived."¹²

America was to the poet a symbol of human unity 'O America because you build for mankind I build for you'.¹³ She offered a guarantee of the world's progress towards a more glorious civilization made possible by democracy. Democracy, Whitman believed, offered the fullest scope to the development of personality, and gave freedom and scope to the individual to strive for an attainable perfection. Freedom and equality which Whitman valued above everything else could be conceived of only within the framework of democracy. The 'true word of immortality' that a poet could utter was a message of individual freedom and social equality.¹⁴

In this context it is good to remember that Whitman, the poet of an affluent country, felt quite rightly that the splendour of wealth was but short-lived and that a great city was that which had the greatest men and women'.

Where Thrift is in its place, and prudence is in its place,
Where the men and women think lightly of the laws,
Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases

* * * *

Where the city of the faithfullest friends stands
Where the city of the cleanliness of the sexes stands,
Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands.
Where the city of best-bodied mothers stands.
There the great city stands.¹⁵

9. *Thoughts*.

10. *Song of the Exposition*.

11. In *By Blue Ontario's Shore*, this is made the theme of a verse stanza in section 5.

12. *Song of the Universal*.

13. *By Blue Ontario's Shore*.

14. The message of great poets to each man and woman is, "come to us on equal terms, only when you can understand us, we are no better than you. Did you suppose there could be only one Supreme? We affirm that there can be unnumbered Supremes, that one does not counter-vail another . . . and then men can be good or grand only of the consciousness of their supremacy within them." (Preface to *Leaves of Grass*).

15. *Song of the Broad Axe*.

SANTHANAM COMMITTEE REPORT : AN APPRAISAL

By BHARAT BHUSHAN GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Minister for Home Affairs, declared in the Lok Sabha on June 6, 1964, 'Since we know most of the problems (of corruption),¹ the real point is to take remedial action.'²

In pursuance of the above statement, a Committee on Prevention of Corruption, popularly known as the Santhanam Committee, consisting of the following members was appointed.³

1. Shri K. Santhanam, M.P. Chairman
2. Shri Santosh Kumar Basu, M.P.
3. Shri Tika Ram Paliwal, M.P.
4. Shri R. K. Khadilkar, M.P.
5. Shri Nath Pai, M.P.
6. Shri Shambhu Nath Chaturvedi, M.P.
7. Shri L. P. Singh, Director, Administrative Vigilance Division.
8. Shri D. P. Kohli, Inspector General, Special Police Establishment.

Shri T. C. A. Ramanujachari, Joint Director, Administrative Vigilance Division, was appointed Secretary of the Committee. As is apparent, the Committee was fairly representative of Parliament, the Vigilance Commission and the Police Establishment.

The terms of reference of the committee were :⁴

(i) To examine the organization, set up, functions and responsibilities of the Vigilance Units in the Ministries and Departments of the Government of India and to suggest measures to make them more effective.

(ii) To examine the organization, strength, procedures and methods of work

of the Special Police Establishment and the difficulties experienced by it, and to suggest measures to further improve its working.

(iii) To consider and suggest steps to be taken to emphasize the responsibilities of each Department for checking corruption.

(iv) To suggest changes in law which would ensure speedy trial of cases of bribery, corruption and criminal misconduct, and make the law otherwise more effective.

(v) To examine the rules relating to disciplinary proceedings and to consider what changes are necessary in order to expedite these proceedings and to make them more effective.

(vi) To suggest measures calculated to produce a social climate both among public servants and in the general public in which bribery and corruption may not flourish.

(vii) To examine the Government Servants Conduct Rules and to recommend changes necessary for ensuring maintenance of absolute integrity in the public services.

(viii) To suggest steps for securing public support for anti-corruption measures.

(ix) To consider special measures that may be necessary in corporate public undertakings to secure honesty and integrity amongst their employees.

A perusal of the terms of reference indicates that the Committee was set up primarily to eradicate corruption from Central Services (including those serving in public undertakings). It was even authorised to suggest changes in Government Servants' Conduct Rules and Indian Penal Code to expedite proceedings against erring officers.⁵ The creation of appropriate social climate and the measures to enlist public co-operation

1. Words within brackets are the author's.
2. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India. Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

5.

5. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 2. also see Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration*, 1958, p. 137.

come in only incidentally.⁶ It was later stated that there was no intention to restrict the committee's scope of work and the terms of reference were mentioned only to emphasize the lines of the committee's work.⁷ Despite this clarification, the committee stuck to its terms of reference. This is borne out by the nature of the Interim Reports that came in gradually. Recommendations regarding elimination of corruption in other spheres are halting, apologetic and incidental.⁸ In a 164-page report (including annexures) only 5 pages have been devoted to creation of a proper social climate. It is true, the committee sees two sides to corruption—the bribe-taker and bribe-giver.⁹ Emphasis has been laid on fighting corruption on both of these fronts,¹⁰ but the burden of remaining honest has been finally thrown on the public services. This was perhaps due to want of co-operation on the part of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce.¹¹

As I have stated, the major part of the Report has been devoted to measures necessary for eliminating corruption in Central Services. This aspect has also engaged the Committee for the best part of its time. The Committee was hardly well-equipped for its task. It was composed of four Lok Sabha and two Rajya Sabha members and two representatives of Administrative Vigilance Commission and one representative of Special Police Establishment. There was no representative of the Central Services as such on the Committee. There was an assurance that "some members of Parliament and, if possible, other public men would sit with our own officers in or-

der to review the problem of corruption and make suggestions."¹² In accordance with the above, the list of witnesses¹³ that have been consulted by the Committee is fairly representative. It comprises of 73 public men, journalists, and officers (both in service and retired). The last category mostly comprises ex-Comptroller and Auditor General of India, ex-Attorney General of India, General Managers of Railways, Secretaries of Departments, Commissioners of Income tax, Members of the Central Board of Revenue, Members of the Excise and Customs Department, one Textile Commissioner, one Joint Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, one Director General of Supplies and Disposals, one Executive Engineer and a few Vigilance Officers. One would wish there were a few permanent representatives of Central Services also on the committee to adequately represent them in regard to Government Servants' Conduct Rules and particularly in respect of the procedure to be followed in cases where disciplinary action was necessary. The Committee, therefore, produced a document which tilts against the Central Services to some extent.

The Santhanam Committee recommendations can be split up into two parts:

1. Recommendations for public men.
2. Recommendations for public services.

1. The recommendations regarding public men are halting and apologetic. These are incidental to what is described as the creation of a social climate. Adoption of a code of conduct for Ministers and its enforcement by the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers in their respective jurisdictions, investigation into allegations against a Minister by a Probe Committee drawn

6. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 2.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

12. The Santhanam Committee reported that "Corruption can exist only if there is some one willing to corrupt and capable of corrupting."

10. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

12. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 1.

13. See Appendix to the *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 291-292.

in a National Panel if these are made in writing to the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers by any 10 members of Parliament in a State Legislature, allegations appearing in the Press against Ministers to be referred to the Probe Committee as in case of allegations that are backed by ten legislators, in all other cases where allegations are made against Ministers there should be perfect freedom for Ministers to institute legal proceedings with state assistance, failure on the part of Ministers to take legal action should result in their resignation except in rare cases where the Minister's integrity is unquestioned, the constitution of a National Panel by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister, appointment of a Commission of inquiry in case of a *prima facie* case against a Minister, immediate dismissal of the Minister and further punitive action, if charges against a Minister are sustained by the Commission, and presentation of the report to the Parliament or the State Legislature, as the case may be, curbs on the commercial activities of the members of Parliament and State Legislatures, restriction on collection of funds by political parties and the utilization of the Press and public men in tracing out all cases where corrupt practices are suspected and in setting a tone to public opinion against persons who corrupt public officials, are the total recommendations of the committee in regard to public men.¹⁴

A perusal of the foregoing recommendations of the Santhanam Committee leave the enforcement of the code of conduct and the reference of allegations to the Probe Committee into the hands of the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers who may not be free from party or personal considerations. The Committee leaves to the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister's discretion to retain Ministers charged with corruption if they were satisfied that their integrity was unquestioned. This casts too heavy a burden on the Prime Minister or the Chief Ministers. The recommendation of the

Santhanam Committee in regard to the fiscal activities of the members of Parliament may be difficult to implement since pressures may be exerted by members of Parliament and members of State Legislatures through subtle and ingenious ways. These curbs cannot be left to the good sense of members. Some other machinery shall have to be evolved to impose restrictions on M.P.s' and M.L.A.s' fiscal activities to keep the Government free from political pressure groups.

2. The recommendations of the Committee in regard to public services are divisible into two sections: curative and preventive. Under the head curative, the Committee in its interim report of May 9, 1963 recommended¹⁵ that superior Government servants should keep a watchful eye over the integrity of subordinate staff, every Government servant should take full responsibility for his actions except where the orders of the official superior are explicit, and amplification of rules in regard to receipt of gifts and conflict between private and public duty is clear. It suggested periodic submission of statements of assets and liabilities including the value of movable property except articles of daily use, like clothes, utensils, crockery, books and jewellery.¹⁶ It also suggested an amendment of Article 311 of the Constitution to provide for a simplified procedure, in case, members of the former Secretary of State's services were involved in bribery, corruption and lack of integrity charges.¹⁷

The interim report dated August 23, 1963 made a number of recommendations regarding disciplinary rules out of which some relevant recommendations were, withdrawal of pension, in full or in part, compulsory retirement of a Government servant on completion of 25 years of service or after attaining 50 years of age if suspected of doubtful integrity. It also suggested an appropriate machinery to review all cases

11. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 102-104.

15. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 27.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

of doubtful integrity where action was called for.¹⁸

The Committee recommended proper planning and effective implementation of preventive measures, administrative, legal, social, economic and educative. It suggested a thorough review of laws, rules, procedures and practices for the purpose of deciding the level of discretionary powers, the manner of their exercise, control over such exercise of powers, the precautions to be taken at the points where citizens come into contact with the Ministry/Department and the purpose for which they do so.¹⁹

Other preventive measures recommended by the Committee were the grant of housing and medical facilities, for education of children of Government servants, adoption of an informal code of conduct for different categories of Government servants working in Ministries/Departments dealing with economic affairs of the country (and which spend large sums of money),²⁰ grant of extension or re-employment to persons of integrity and honesty, prevent sale of information, imposition of a ban on Government servants accepting private or commercial employment for two years after retirement, making of income-tax returns and assessments open, rupture of dealings with firms of doubtful integrity, maintenance of diaries by officers granting interviews, maintenance of regular accounts by companies and businessmen, evolution of effective propaganda and publicity machinery and submission of periodic summary of departmental action or courts' prosecution to the press.²¹

It also made certain general recommendations. It suggested changes in the Indian Penal Code to provide for punishment against social offences.²² A fresh definition of 'public servant' including Ministers of Union

and State Governments was urged.²³ It was recommended that offering of bribe or attempt to offer bribe should be made a substantive offence and should be made non-bailable. Possession of disproportionate sources of income should be brought within the definition of criminal misconduct and treated as a substantive offence.²⁴ It suggested simplification of procedure for prosecution of Government servants charged with corruption.²⁵

The Santhanam Committee recommended the reorganization of the entire Vigilance Organization on a proper and adequate basis without undermining the general principle that the Secretaries and Heads of Departments are primarily responsible for the purity, integrity and efficiency of departments.²⁶ The improvement in Vigilance Organization for Railways was suggested.²⁷ The setting up of Vigilance Organizations in Public Sector Undertakings²⁸ and the Judiciary was urged.²⁹ The Committee suggested the starting of training courses for the Vigilance Officers³⁰ and the enlargement of the powers of the Special Police Establishment.³¹

The Committee emphasized the significance of a social climate opposed to corruption in the task of purification of public services. This, according to the Committee, should begin from the top. Absolute integrity in the Central and State Ministers is an indispensable condition for the establishment of a tradition of purity in public services.³² Honest officers should be protected and those found guilty of corruption should

22. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1964, p. 123.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-136.

18. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 114-115.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-123.

deprived of their jobs and socially degraded.³³

The Committee has left the problem of corruption in the defence forces to be considered by a Separate Committee, and has, as an interim measure, recommended that conduct rules, disciplinary rules, preventive measures and procedural matters connected with social contacts and purchases could also be applied to the Defence Ministry and its establishments.³⁴ Exceptions were made about matters covered by the Army, Navy and Air Force Acts.³⁵

The Santhanam Committee's recommendations in regard to public men are halting, incidental and made with a certain reservation, but the Committee's recommendations in regard to removal of corruption from public services are more than adequate. The Committee has done well to go into both the preventive and curative sides of corruption in public services, and most of the recommendations are likely to have beneficial effects on integrity and efficiency of Government servants. Two recommendations deserve particular mention.

The jurisdiction of the courts in public services is sought to be extended under Article 314.³⁶ In fact, the extension is a veritable safeguard of public servants against victimization by higher public servants. There is no reason why the protection guaranteed to the citizen under Chapter III by way of Fundamental Rights should not be made available to public servants in India. In view of political polarization of public services in several States and the movement in reverse, popularly known as 'de-Kaironization' in the Punjab, it is advisable to keep civic rights of public servants intact. On the other hand, the right of public servants to seek the protec-

tion of the law should be ensured to all which are sought to be limited through the implementation of paras (vi)³⁷ and (viii)³⁸ of the interim report of August 23, 1963.

2. The Santhanam Committee suggested that Section 21 of the Indian Penal Code should be amended to re-define the words "public servant" to include 'every person in the service or pay of the Government, a local authority or a Corporation established by a Central or State Act, or a Government Company as defined in Section 617 of the Companies Act, 1956 and/or who is remunerated by fees or commission for the performance of any public duty.'³⁹ This is rather a bold suggestion, for according to this definition, "public servant" would include Ministers, Secretaries and even persons engaged in any trade or industry. Such a broad definition of public servant is desirable in view of the extended socio-economic activities of the Government. As a consequence, the rule of law would be effectively enforced in the country as in the United Kingdom. The Santhanam Committee, however, fails to analyze the far-reaching repercussions of this broad definition on Administration.

The Santhanam Committee submitted its interim reports in 1963 and 1964 as requested by the then Home Minister⁴⁰ and the Consolidated Report on March 31, 1964.⁴¹ The Chairman of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, held that "if the suggestions of the Committee are carried out corruption in the country would be appreciably reduced in the next two years."⁴² This may be optimistic but the least the Government can do in the matter is to give the Committee a chance by giving effect to most of its recommendations.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

Also see Annexure IV, pp. 299-300.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Also see Annexure IV, pp. 299-300.

40. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1961, p. 1.

41. *The Hindustan Times*, April 2, 1961.

42. Leading Article, *The Hindustan Times*, January 29, 1964.

32. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 101-102.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

34. *The Hindustan Times*, April 4, 1961.

35. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1961.

36. *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption*, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1961, p. 115.

SECULARISM IN POLITICS

By Dr. R. T. JANGAM

The article attempts a brief study of Secularism in Politics. Secularism is sought to be defined as an intellectual and moral attitude and socio-eco-political movement in western history. It is contended that Secularism became stronger stage by stage as religion beat its political, intellectual and 'religious' retreat; and that the expansion of the state activities which was broadly in conformity with the growing spirit of Secularism was marked by corresponding decline in the influence of religion. The article touches on the prospects of Secularism in the Indian context vis-a-vis the religious incompatibilities.

Secularism as an attitude or outlook on life or world should be distinguished from the movement corresponding to the attitude which influenced the nature of political institutions and course of events.

As an attitude, Secularism can be said to have three aspects—intellectual, moral and socio-eco-political. On the intellectual and moral levels, Secularism implies individual as an end in himself and an adequate source of values so that there is no need to postulate a religious or transcendental frame of reference for justification of moral values. Secularism may be anti-theistic or may not have any reference to God or deity. Secularism in both atheistic and anti-theistic forms obtained in 19th Century England where the movement of Secularism started (about 1846) under the leadership of G. J. Holyoake; and incidentally, the movement was more vigorous and flourished remarkably better when it was in its anti-theistic phase. In this sense, Secularism is non-conventional and non-religious. Secularism

further implies the individual's right to question, debate or consider on his own the problems that concern his life. This presupposes his reliance on reason as distinguished from reliance on faith or authority. In this sense, Secularism is rational and non-authoritarian.

On the socio-eco-political level, Secularism implies the movement aspect. The movement, as we can see now, purported to minimize or eliminate the influence of religion on the one hand and work out the implications of its intellectual and moral attitude as briefly explained above. The socio-political implications which were touched upon in the natural rights and contractual states of Hobbes ("Letter Concerning Toleration") were worked out in the socio-eco-political theories of the 18th and 19th Centuries. The theories include the sociological relativism of Montesquieu (or political relativism, as he takes "Sociology" in a wider sense), the utilitarian theories of economics, political ethics and jurisprudence especially of Mill, Bentham, Austin and Sidgwick; and socialist theories of economics, politics and history including Marxian brand of socialism (communism). In the 19th Century Europe, Secularism received, both on attitude and movement sides, tremendous impetus from the socio-eco-political event particularly, the French Revolution (1789) which had profound and far-reaching repercussions in the Western world as promoting the secular goals of liberty, equality and fraternity of men; the epoch-making attempt at widening the basis of democracy in England by the introduction (1832) of

reform Bill; and the contemporary movement of Chartism.

As regards the attempt of Secularism at minimizing or eliminating the influence of religion in the organization of social, economic and political life, it may be broadly stated that an advance of Secularism was marked by a corresponding retreat of religion—religion in the sense of a body of doctrines and values giving its sanction or lending the weight of its authority and tradition to the institutions and practices which, according to Secularism, were either outmoded or out of place. There was a time—roughly speaking, the period between 900 A.D. and 1400 A.D.—when religion determined and controlled not only the religious or spiritual life of the individual but also the social and political life. The scope of its activities was coextensive with the life of society, and the state or political authority formed only a constituent part of the religious domain. However, after the events developed later, papal power meant the contest for political domination to serve as a power; and this marked a beginning of the process of progressive limitations on the activities of religion. Henceforward, religion was to become less and less of a political influence.

The intellectual monopoly of religion came to be challenged and broken with the advent of Renaissance and Reformation and with the rise of defiant and radical thinkers like Bruno, Spinoza and Galileo who often paid the price for their intellectual freedom. The movements of Renaissance and Reformation and the rise of defiant thinkers made it difficult, if not impossible, for religion to dictate in the traditional fashion the contents, methods and ends of knowledge. Incidentally, it should be noted that the terms Renaissance, Reformation and Secularism, though not exactly identical, are significantly similar in their intents and orientation, on their attitude and movement sides. This marked a second stage of the process. Henceforward, religion was to become less and less of an intellectual influence.

Next, even the 'religious' monopoly of religion came to be challenged by defiant

practitioners of religion spearheaded by Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. To be on his own in religious or spiritual matters came to be advocated as a right of the individual. The individual was to have freedom in deciding the nature of relationship between himself and God; and the position, authority or acceptability of scriptures. This was a tremendous blow to the sacerdotalistic or the establishment aspect of religion. This marked the third stage at which the very citadel of religion—the religious domain—came to be shaken. Henceforward, religion was to decline in its dogmatism and exclusivism (even) in the religious domain.

The progressive retreat of religion is linked up with the progressive expansion of the state activities. How far the expansion of the state activities is directly the result of adoption of Secularism is a debatable matter. However, this can be broadly stated that the expansion of the state activities—especially in the democratic countries—presupposes logically and philosophically and is in broad conformity, with Secularism. The modernization of Turkey (about 1920)—the "sick man of Europe"—can be said to be perhaps the closest example of how the expansion of the state activities can be said to be based on the adoption of Secularism and how such adoption of Secularism can throw the traditional religion in the background or noticeably diminish its influence. The functions—and therefore the powers—of the states have increased phenomenally especially during the closing decades of the 19th Century and the present Century on account of the obsolescence of the negative state and the acceptance of the positive and welfare state; and the scientific and technological revolution which has made possible for states to assume positive or welfare roles. The enormous increase in the powers of the state is understandable in the case of monarchies or dictatorships. But even in the case of federal or democratic countries, the states have come to acquire enormous powers on account of war (the two World Wars in particular), depression, and the assumption (by the states) of welfare functions. The net result of such an increase in state powers is that religion has come to

be one of the institutions in society with a limited role to play. In some countries like Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt religion is given prominence, but only as an expedient or instrument; the political systems in these countries are not at the mercy of religion. Not only has religion come to play a limited role, but it is obliged to play the role within the political framework with attendant limitations and restrictions. In multi-religious political systems like ours, religion finds itself subject to one more limitation, namely, that its practice must be compatible, if not harmonious, with the practice of other religions. In India, on account of the logic of inevitable coexistence of different religions, the religious practice tends to be more private and less public so that the area of conflict due to incompatibility may be reduced. Strangely enough, there is a tendency on the part of politicians and policy-makers to slur over the basic differences of religions or to fight shy of them. The slogan of Secularism tends to underplay the basic religious differences and the traditionally proven incompatibilities among different religions, and to declare abruptly and rather wishfully the oneness, similarity or equality of all religions. It is sought to be assumed naively and superficially that the different religions will somehow coexist happily and the religious freedoms granted by the Indian Constitution can help such a happy coexistence. The assumption, besides being logically untenable, is practically dangerous. Because, through the fault of omission, it seeks to drive underground the religious differences and incompatibilities. These unresolved differences and incompatibilities

1. Wheare, K. C.: *Federal Government*, London. Oxford University Press, Third Edition, 1956: First Edition, 1916.

Today, it is an established proposition that the federal governments have become enormously unitary or have survived as just quasi-federal governments. Professor Wheare establishes the proposition in the light of massive evidence of the working of the federal systems of India, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, Australia and South Africa in particular. This is by no means the only work on the subject, but is one of the ground-breaking and leading ones.

constitute today a most formidable challenge to those who are seeking the political and cultural integration of India. The exigencies of the Secular state demand, besides the minimum compatibility, a common civil code² which would apply to all citizens regardless of their religious affiliation. For example, the law of marriage or monogamy should apply to all citizens. But, this does not happen. Because, apparently it is feared that some religions have not changed adjusted themselves doctrinally and institutionally—so as to make possible acceptance and practice of a common civil code. Going a step further we may say that there is a need for adequate secularization of all religions in India. The passage of the Hindu Code Bill highlighted the need for adequate secularization not only of other religions like Islam but Hinduism itself as was evident from the uproarious reactions from orthodox sections of the Hindu community.

The views of articulate and progressive Muslim leaders like Professors A.A. Fyzee and Humayun Kabir clearly show there is an intellectual minority within the fold of Islam which is struggling to secularize it. There is a feeling³ in the influential Christian quarters that the Christian citizens, though presumably ripe and ready for

2. A strong plea for common civil code was made at a Seminar on "The Indian Tradition and Its Significance for Cultural Freedom" organized at Poona on 21, 22 and 23 August 1964 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. The Seminar was attended by leaders in different walks of life like Jayaprakash Narayan, M. R. Masani, Lavamanshastri Jshi. This may be said to be a fair cross section of the vocal intellectuals and thinking men who plead for a common civil code.

3. Devandan, P. D.: *Preparation for Dialogue*, Bangalore, The Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, 1964, pp. 7.

The whole book which is a collection of articles has an underlying argument that Hinduism is undergoing a beneficial process of secularization and it is getting priority in this matter for variety of reasons. The Christian community should no longer be a mere spectator of the process but must do something to participate actively in the process.